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HISTORY
OF
THE SABBATH
AND
FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK

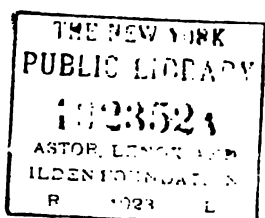
BY
J. N. ANDREWS *and* L. R. CONRADI

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Introduction

THE Sabbath is one of the best and one of the most important institutions ever given by a wise Creator to man. It came from God with his blessing upon it, and was designed to be only a blessing.

No other institution so forcibly or so constantly reminds man of the Creator; no other so plainly or so naturally suggests worship; no other so directly connects man with God.

Had the Sabbath always been observed by all as God ordained it, there never would have been, there never could have been, an atheist, an infidel, an agnostic, or an idolater in the world; for, through its observance, all would have known, and would have continued to know and worship the true and living God, the Creator of all things. In this alone may be seen the great importance of the Sabbath and its proper observance. From this also may be gathered the reason why the enemy of God and man has ever sought to induce men either to neglect and forget the Sabbath altogether, or so to alter and pervert it as to vitiate it, and turn it aside from the high and holy purpose for which it was designed and instituted in the beginning.

The history of the Sabbath embraces a period of nearly six thousand years. The acts by which the Sabbath was made were, first, the rest of the Creator on the seventh day after the six days of creation; second, his placing his blessing upon the day on which he had rested; and third, the sanctification, or setting apart by divine appointment, of this day for man, to a holy use. The Sabbath, therefore, like its twin institution, marriage, from which spring the family, the home, and the race, dates from the beginning. Like marriage, it was instituted before the fall, and comes down to us as a reminder of

Eden, a sign of a knowledge of God and of his creative and sanctifying power, and a pledge of the glorious time when Eden shall be restored, and sin shall be no more.

"The Sabbath was made for man," for the entire race. The divine appointment of the Sabbath, growing out of the facts of creation itself, must have been made directly to Adam, for he and his wife were the only beings in the world at that time who had the days of the week to use. As it was addressed to Adam while yet in his innocence and uprightness, it must have been given to him as the head of the race, and thus to the whole human family. The fourth commandment bases all its authority for requiring the keeping holy of the Sabbath day upon this original rest, blessing, and sanctification of the day on the part of the Creator, and must, therefore, be, in substance, what God commanded Adam and Eve in the beginning, as the representatives and progenitors of the race.

The patriarchs living before the flood could not possibly have been ignorant of the facts and obligations respecting the Sabbath which the fourth commandment shows to have originated in the beginning; for Adam was present with them for nearly one thousand years, or for a period equal to almost half that of the Christian dispensation. Those, therefore, who in those early ages walked with God and kept his commandments, must have kept the Sabbath.

Not long after the flood, God chose Abraham, and committed to his descendants, in a special manner, his law and his holy rest day. Great emphasis was laid upon the observance of the Sabbath at the time of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. In fact, their deliverance, it seems, was conditioned upon the renewal of their observance of it. See Exodus 5. In the wilderness the test as to whether they would keep God's law was made over the observance of the Sabbath. See Exodus 16. At Sinai the precept enjoining the keeping of the Sabbath was placed in the bosom of the moral law; and repeatedly the children of Israel were told that the Sabbath was a sign of their knowledge of God and of their sanctifica-

tion by God. See Ex. 31:13-17; Eze. 20:12, 20. Their failure to keep the Sabbath was one reason why they were allowed to go into the seventy years' captivity, as may be seen from Jer. 17:24-27 and 2 Chron. 36:19-21.

During Christ's earthly life, he, as our example, was a faithful observer of the Sabbath. Not a little of his ministry, however, was devoted to correcting the false and erroneous ideas respecting the Sabbath and its observance which had become prevalent among the Hebrews following the captivity, and placing it in its proper and original setting, as an institution designed to be a delight and a blessing, instead of one of gloom, unreasonable restrictions, hardship, and oppression.

All references to the seventh-day Sabbath throughout the New Testament are made as to a still-existing institution, and as one still observed by Christians.

The observers of the seventh day therefore include Adam; the anciently godly patriarchs; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the faithful and obedient in Israel; the prophets; Christ and the apostles; and the early Christian church,—all, in fact, who feared, obeyed, and worshiped God during the time covered by the records of inspiration, or from creation till the close of the first century of the Christian era.

Such being the record of the seventh day during the first four thousand years and more of this world's history, it may be asked, How came it to be so generally set aside since then, and another day elevated to its place, and given its sacred honors? The Scriptures nowhere attribute this work to God, to Christ, or to the apostles or prophets. The prophecies do, however, predict a great apostasy in the Christian church, and declare that the little horn of Daniel 7, and the man of sin of 2 Thessalonians 2, the lawless one, should think to change times and laws, and that these, together with the saints of the Most High, should be given into his hands until a time, times, and the dividing of times, or 1260 years. They likewise foretell of a restoration of the Sabbath before the close of the gospel dispensation, just prior to the final deliverance of

God's people from this world of sin, bondage, and oppression.

As Israel during their long sojourn and servitude in Egypt largely forgot the Sabbath,—were, in fact, commanded and required to work on the Sabbath,—so God's people during their long captivity under papal supremacy likewise largely lost sight of its observance. And as Israel's deliverance from Egyptian bondage was conditioned upon the manifestation of their loyalty and obedience to God through a return to the observance of the Sabbath, so in the closing work of the gospel just before the final deliverance of God's people, there is to be another Sabbath reform, by means of which the loyalty and obedience of all is to be manifested and tested.

Although the Sabbath was trodden underfoot and generally neglected during the long period of papal supremacy, it has never wholly ceased to be observed. From creation all along down the ages a holy line of witnesses for the Sabbath of the Bible may be traced. And now since the darkness of the world's midnight has been dispelled, thousands of witnesses for the Sabbath of creation, Sinai, and the cross are springing up in all lands.

What a history, therefore, has the Sabbath! Instituted in paradise; honored by God; set apart by divine appointment and given to man; observed by patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and the Lord Jesus Christ himself; trampled in the dust for over one thousand years by the man of sin; and finally restored by the remnant people of God,—such, in brief, is its record.

Some, in order to evade the plain duty enjoined in the Sabbath commandment, have gone so far as to set aside the commandment itself. Others, for the same reason, have insisted that the whole decalogue was done away. Still others, in their desperation, have even dared to discard all of that part of the Bible known as the Old Testament. But, in spite of all opposition and efforts to overthrow and evade the Sabbath, it is coming more and more to the front, and, in one way and another, man's need of the Sabbath is asserting itself throughout the world as never before. The now world-wide

movement to enforce the observance of Sunday by compulsory law, though wrong in itself, is a tacit acknowledgment of man's need of the Sabbath, and of the wisdom of the Creator in making the Sabbath for man in the beginning. A study of the origin, nature, and object of the Sabbath, therefore, seems eminently proper and fitting just now, if not actually forced upon us by the very circumstances which surround us.

It is the object of this volume to present a correct and complete history of the Sabbath from creation to the present time. In this new, revised, and enlarged edition, a few changes have been made in Part I, or that portion of the book dealing with the Biblical phase of the question; and much new and valuable matter has been added to Part II, or that portion dealing with the secular history of the Sabbath, the part having been thoroughly revised and rewritten by L. R. Conradi, of Hamburg, who for years has given careful study to this subject, and has had access to the great libraries of Europe. In this latter part, considerable space has been devoted to showing the several steps by which the Sunday festival gradually usurped the place of the seventh day, the only weekly Sabbath known to the Bible.

It will be seen that the history of the Sunday festival as the supplanter of the Bible Sabbath, presents an array of assumptions and frauds in its support. The responsibility for these must rest with those who originated them. The Sabbath instituted by God has never needed help of this kind. From the beginning it has rested upon a plain "Thus saith the Lord." Upon this foundation it still stands; and when the present heaven and earth shall pass away, it will still stand upon this enduring Word, to be observed by the redeemed in the earth made new.

As far as possible, original works and authorities have been consulted, so that the exact truth might be ascertained in every case; and a conscientious endeavor has been made to present the extracts from these in such a light as to do justice to every work and author quoted. In the foot-notes will be

found the references to the various authorities and works quoted. Near the close of the volume will be found a brief biographical sketch of the more than one hundred ninety authorities quoted in the work, which will doubtless be of interest and service to many.

That this volume, which is the result of many years of careful study and research, may bring light, good cheer, and hope to many, and thus help to prepare them for a place in the soon-coming kingdom, is the sincere wish of all who have had to do with its preparation.

History of the Sabbath

Part I—Bible History

CHAPTER I

IN THE BEGINNING — THE CREATION

Time and eternity—The Creator and his work—Events of the first day of time—Of the second—Of the third—Of the fourth—Of the fifth—Of the sixth—God's image in man.

TIME, as distinguished from eternity, may be defined as that part of duration which is measured by the Bible. From the earliest date in the book of Genesis to the resurrection of the unjust at the end of the millennium, a period of about seven thousand years is measured off.¹ Before the commencement of this great week of time, duration without beginning fills the past; and at the expiration of this period, unending duration opens before the people of God. Eternity is that word which embraces duration without beginning and without end; and that Being whose existence comprehends eternity is he "who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto," "the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God."²

¹ For the Scriptural and traditional evidence on this point, see Shimeall's "Bible Chronology," part 1, chap. 6; Taylor's "Voice of the Church," pp. 25-30; and Bliss's "Sacred Chronology," pp. 199-203.

² Isa. 57:15; 1 Sam. 15:29, margin; Jer. 10:10, margin; Micah 5:2, margin; 1 Tim. 6:16; 1:17; Ps. 90:2.

When it pleased this infinite Being, he gave existence to our earth. Out of nothing, God created all things;³ "so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear."⁴ This act of creation is that event which marks the commencement of the first week of time. He who could accomplish the whole work with one word chose rather to employ six days, and to accomplish the result by successive steps. Let us consider the footsteps of the Creator from the time when he laid the foundation of the earth until the close of the

³ Dr. Adam Clarke, in his "Commentary on the Old and New Testaments," uses the following language on Gen. 1:1: "Created] Caused that to exist which, previously to this moment, had no being. The rabbins, who are legitimate judges in a case of verbal criticism on their own language, are unanimous in asserting that the word *bara* expresses the commencement of the existence of a thing, or its egression from nonentity to entity. . . . These words should be translated, 'God in the beginning created the substance of the heavens and the substance of the earth;' i. e., the *prima materia*, or first elements, out of which the heavens and the earth were successively formed."

The Westminster Confession, chap. IV, § 1, declares: "It has pleased God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost . . . to create this world and all that is contained therein, both visible and invisible, in the beginning, within the space of six days, i. e., to found it out of nothing—and all, indeed, 'very good.'"

The most noted church Fathers, and Catholic and Protestant theologians, as well as the Reformers, are unanimous in teaching that God created the world out of nothing, by the Word, his Son, through the infinite power of his Spirit, to the praise of his glory.

John Calvin, commenting on this chapter, thus expounds the creative act: "His meaning is that the world was made out of nothing. Hence the folly of those is refuted who imagine that unformed matter existed from eternity."

The work of creation is thus defined in 2 Maccabees 7:28: "Look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not."

That this creative act marked the commencement of the first day instead of preceding it by almost infinite ages, is thus stated in 2 Esdras 6:38: "And I said, O Lord, thou spakest from the beginning of the creation, even the first day, and saidst thus: Let heaven and earth be made; and thy word was a perfect work."

Wycliffe's translation, the earliest of the English versions, renders Gen. 1:1 thus: "In the first, made God of naught heaven and earth."

⁴ Heb. 11:3.

sixth day, when the heavens and the earth were finished, "and God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good."⁵

On the first day of time, God created the heaven and the earth. The earth thus called into existence was without form, and void; and total darkness covered the Creator's works. Then "God said, Let there be light: and there was light. . . . And God divided the light from the darkness," and called the one day, and the other night.⁶

On the second day of time, "God said, Let there be a firmament [Heb., "expansion," margin] in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters." The dry land had not yet appeared; consequently the earth was covered with water. As no atmosphere existed, thick vapors rested upon the face of the water; but the atmosphere being now called into existence by the word of the Creator, causing those elements to unite which compose the air we breathe, the fogs and vapors that had rested upon the bosom of the water were borne aloft by it. This atmosphere, or expansion, is called heaven.⁷

On the third day of time, God gathered the waters together, and caused the dry land to appear. The gathering together of the waters God called seas; the dry land, thus rescued from the waters, he called earth. "And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yield-

⁵ Gen. 1:31.

⁶ Gen. 1:1-5; Heb. 1:10.

⁷ Gen. 1:6-8; Job 37:18.

ing fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth: and it was so. . . . And God saw that it was good.”⁸

On the fourth day of time, “God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years. . . . And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also.” Light had been created on the first day; and now, on the fourth day, he causes the sun and moon to appear as light-bearers, and places the light under their rule. And they continue unto this day, according to his ordinances; for all are his servants. Such was the work of the fourth day. And the Great Architect, surveying what he had wrought, pronounced it good.⁹

On the fifth day of time, “God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that it was good.”¹⁰

On the sixth day of time, “God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good.” Thus the earth, having been fitted for the purpose, was filled with every order of living creature, while the air and waters teemed with animal existence. To

⁸ Gen. 1: 9-13; Ps. 136: 6; 2 Peter 3: 5.

⁹ Gen. 1: 14-19; Ps. 119: 91; Jer. 33: 25.

¹⁰ Gen. 1: 20-23.

complete this noble work of creation, God next provides a ruler, the representative of himself, and places all in subjection under him. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul. And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil." Last of all, God created Eve, the mother of all living. The work of the Creator was now complete. "The heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them." The image of God now existed in man, and, while before the creation of Adam, God saw that his work was "good," he now declares it "very good;" for the eternal rule of righteousness, the unchangeable law of God, the very image of his own character, was enthroned in the human heart as we find it represented in Christ,¹¹ the express image of his Father. Luther fittingly designates the contents of the law as "the rule which reveals what man has been, and what he again shall

¹¹ Ps. 40:8; compare with Heb. 10:5-9.

be." This statement is in perfect harmony with the facts referred to above, as well as with the new covenant promise, as recorded in Jer. 31:33: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts." Adam and Eve were in paradise. They delighted in the law of God, and had free access to the tree of life. Eden bloomed on earth. Sin had not entered our world, and death was not here, for there was no sin. "The morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Thus ended the sixth-day.¹²

¹² Gen. 1: 24-31; 2: 7-9, 18-22; 3: 20; Job 38: 7.

CHAPTER II

THE INSTITUTION OF THE SABBATH

Events of the seventh day—Why the Creator rested—Acts by which the Sabbath was made—Time and order of their occurrence—Meaning of the word sanctified—The fourth commandment refers the origin of the Sabbath to creation—The second mention of the Sabbath confirms this fact—The Saviour's testimony—When did God sanctify the seventh day?—Object of the Author of the Sabbath—Testimony of Josephus and of Philo—Negative argument from the book of Genesis considered—Not a difficult matter for Adam's knowledge of the Sabbath to be transmitted to the patriarchs.

ALTHOUGH the work of the Creator was finished, the first week of time was not yet completed. Each of the six days had been distinguished by the Creator's work upon it; but the seventh was rendered memorable in a very different manner. "And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made." In yet stronger language it is written: "On the seventh day he rested, and was *refreshed*."¹

Thus the seventh day of the week became the rest day of the Lord. How remarkable is this fact! "The everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary."² He needed no rest; yet it is written, "On the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed." Why does not the record simply state the cessation of the Creator's work? Why did he at the close of that

¹ Gen. 2: 2; Ex. 31: 17.

² Isa. 40: 28.

work employ a day in rest? The answer will be learned from the next verse — Gen. 2:3. He was laying the foundation of a divine institution, the memorial of his own great work.

“And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: *because* that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made.” The fourth commandment states the same fact: He “rested the seventh day: *wherefore* the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.”³

The blessing and sanctification of the seventh day were because God had rested upon it. His resting upon it, then, was to lay the foundation for blessing and sanctifying the day. His being refreshed with this rest implies that he delighted in the act which laid the foundation for the memorial of his great work.

The second act of the Creator in instituting this memorial was to place his blessing upon the day of his rest. Thenceforward it was the blessed rest day

³ Gen. 2:3; Ex. 20:11.

The Hebrew root, “seven,” signifies *fulness, perfection*; and almost universally among the ancients, seven was the holy number, denoting perfection. Undoubtedly the key to this lies in the very fact that God created this world out of naught into a state of perfection during the first seven days, and that in the beginning, by his rest, blessing, and sanctification, he set apart the seventh day as the great memorial of the completion of his creative work. The Bible commences with a seven, as a token that, before sin had entered paradise, the first creation was “very good;” and closes with a number of sevens, to indicate that, in spite of sin, there will be a new creation unto eternal perfection. One writer fitly expressed it thus: “John in his Apocalypse useth much that number; as, seven churches, seven stars, seven spirits, seven candlesticks, seven angels, seven seals, seven trumpets: and we no sooner meet with a seventh day, but it is blessed; no sooner with a seventh man [Gen. 5:24; Jude 14], but he is translated.”—“*Morality of the Fourth Commandment*,” p. 7; London, 1652.

of the Lord. A third act completes the sacred institution: the day already blessed of God is now, last of all, sanctified, or hallowed, by him. To sanctify is "to make sacred or holy; to set apart to a holy or religious use; to consecrate by appropriate rites; to hallow." To hallow is "to make holy; to set apart for holy or religious use; to consecrate."⁴

The time when these three acts were performed is worthy of special notice. The first act was that of rest. This took place on the seventh day; for the day was devoted to rest. The second and third acts took place when the seventh day was past. "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he *had* rested from all his work." Hence it was on the first day of the second week of time that God blessed the seventh day, and set it apart to a holy use. The blessing and sanctification of the seventh day, therefore, relate, not to the first seventh day of time, but to the seventh day of the week for time to come, in memory of God's rest on that day from the work of creation.

With the beginning of time, God began to count days, giving to each an ordinal number for its *name*. Seven *different* days received as many different *names*. In memory of that which he did on the last of these days, he set that day apart by *name* to a holy use. This act gave existence to weeks, or

⁴ Webster's Unabridged Dictionary on the words sanctify and hallow. Edition 1882.

"'God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it.' Gen. 2:3. Moses . . . sanctified Aaron and his garments. Lev. 8:30."

"Sanctify: To set apart as holy or for holy purposes; consecrate; hallow; as, the Sabbath was sanctified by God."—*Standard Dictionary*.

periods of seven days; for with the seventh day he ceased to count, and by the divine appointment of that day to a holy use in memory of his rest thereon, he caused man to begin the count of a new week as soon as the first seventh day had ceased. And as God has been pleased to give man *in all* but *seven* different days, and has given to each one of these days a name which indicates its exact place in the week, his act of setting apart one of these by name, which act established the week and gave man the Sabbath, can never — except by sophistry — be made to relate to an indefinite or uncertain day.

The days of the week are measured off by the rotation of *our earth* on its axis; and hence our seventh day, as such, can come only to dwellers on this globe. To Adam and Eve, therefore, as inhabitants of this earth, and not to the inhabitants of some other world, were the days of the week given to use. Hence, when God set apart one of these days to a holy use in memory of his own rest on that day of the week, the very essence of the act consisted in his telling Adam that this day should be used only for sacred purposes. Adam was then in the garden of God, placed there by the Creator to dress it and to keep it. He was also commissioned of God to subdue the earth.⁵ When, therefore, the rest day of the Lord should return from week to week, all this secular employment, however proper in itself, must be laid aside, and the day be observed in memory of the Creator's rest.

⁵ Gen. 2 : 15 ; 1 : 28.

Martin Luther, in his "Sermons on Genesis," thus clearly testifies to the existence of the Sabbath before man sinned:—

"Seeing the Scriptures mention the Sabbath before Adam, was not he then commanded to work six days, and rest on the seventh?—Doubtless so, for we hear that he should labor in Eden, and have dominion over the fishes, birds, and beasts."*

That man would have kept the Sabbath, had he not fallen into sin, Luther shows, as follows:—

"And this labor and dominion would have remained—yet without toil and misery. Woman would also have borne children, yet without anguish, wailing, or travail: but on the seventh day all would have been quiet and at rest."†

The Hebrew verb *kahdash*, here rendered *sanctified*, and in the fourth commandment rendered *hallowed*, is defined by Gesenius, "To pronounce holy, to sanctify; to institute any holy thing, to appoint."‡ It is repeatedly used in the Old Testament for a public appointment, or proclamation. Thus, when the cities of refuge were set apart in Israel, it is written: "They appointed [Heb., "sanctified," margin] Kedesh in Galilee in Mount Naphtali, and Shechem in Mount Ephraim," etc. This sanctification, or appointment, of the cities of refuge was by a public announcement to Israel that these cities were set apart for that purpose. This verb is also used for the appointment of a public fast, and for

* Erlanger edition, vol. 33, p. 67.

† Id., p. 68.

‡ Hebrew Lexicon, p. 914. Edition 1854.

the gathering of a solemn assembly, as in the following instances: "Sanctify [*i. e.*, appoint] ye a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the elders and all the inhabitants of the land into the house of the Lord your God." "Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify [*i. e.*, appoint] a fast, call a solemn assembly." "And Jehu said, Proclaim [Heb., "sanctify," margin] a solemn assembly for Baal."⁹ This appointment for Baal was so public that all the worshippers of Baal in all Israel were gathered together. These fasts and solemn assemblies were sanctified, or set apart, by a public appointment, or proclamation, of the fact. When, therefore, God set apart the seventh day to a holy use, it was necessary that he should state that fact to those who had the days of the week to use. Without such announcement, the day could not be set apart from the others.

But the most striking illustration of the meaning of this word may be found in the record of the sanctification of Mount Sinai.¹⁰ When God was about to speak the ten commandments in the hearing of all Israel, he sent Moses down from the top of Mount Sinai to restrain the people from touching the mount. "And Moses said unto the Lord, The people can not come up to Mount Sinai: for thou chargedst us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and *sanctify it*." Turning back to the verse where God gave this charge to Moses, we read: "And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about, *saying*, Take

⁹ Joshua 20: 7; Joel 1: 14; 2: 15; 2 Kings 10: 20, 21; Zeph. 1: 7, margin.

¹⁰ Ex. 19: 12, 23.

heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it." Hence to sanctify the mount was to command the people not to touch even the border of it; for God was about to descend in majesty upon it. In other words, to sanctify, or set apart to a holy use, Mount Sinai, was to tell the people that God would have them treat the mountain as sacred to himself. And thus also to sanctify the rest day of the Lord was to tell Adam that he should treat the day as holy to the Lord.

The declaration, "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it," is not indeed a commandment for the observance of that day; but it is the record that such a precept was given to Adam.¹¹ For how could the Creator "set apart to a holy use" the day of his rest, when those who were to use the day knew

¹¹ Dr. Lange's Commentary speaks on this point thus (vol. 1, p. 197): "If we had no other passage than this of Gen. 2:3, there would be no difficulty in deducing from it a precept for the universal observance of a Sabbath, or seventh day, to be devoted to God as holy time by all of that race for whom the earth and all things therein were specially prepared. The first men must have known it. The words, 'He hallowed it,' can have no meaning otherwise. They would be a blank unless in reference to some who were required to keep it holy."

Dr. Nicholas Bound, in his "True Doctrine of the Sabbath" (London, 1606), page 7, thus states the antiquity of the Sabbath precept:—

"This first commandment of the Sabbath was no more, then, first given when it was pronounced from heaven by the Lord, than any other one of the moral precepts, nay, that it hath so much antiquity as the seventh day hath being; for, so soon as the day was, so soon was it sanctified, that we might know that, as it came in with the first man, so it must not go out but with the last man; and as it was in the beginning of the world, so it must continue to the end of the same; and as the first seventh day was sanctified, so must the last be. And this is that which one saith, that the Sabbath was commanded by God, and the seventh day was sanctified of him even from the beginning of the world; where (the latter words expounding the former) he sheweth that, when God did sanctify it, then also he commanded it to be kept holy; and therefore look how ancient the sanctification of the day is, the same antiquity also as the commandment of keeping it holy; for they two are all one."

nothing of his will in the case? Let those answer who are able.

This view of the record in Genesis we shall find to be sustained by all the testimony in the Bible relative to the rest day of the Lord. The facts which we have examined are the basis of the fourth commandment. Thus spake the great Lawgiver from the summit of the flaming mount: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. . . . The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. . . . For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."¹²

[The term Sabbath is transferred from the Hebrew language, and signifies rest.¹³ The command, "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," is therefore exactly equivalent to saying, "Remember the rest day, to keep it holy." The explanation which follows sustains this statement: "The seventh day is the Sabbath [or rest day] of the Lord thy God." The origin of this rest day is given in these words: "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it." That which is enjoined in the fourth commandment is to keep holy the rest day of the Lord. And this is defined to be the day on

¹² Ex. 20: 8-11.

¹³ Buck's Theological Dictionary, article, "Sabbath;" Calmet's Dictionary, article, "Sabbath."

which he rested from the work of creation. Moreover, the fourth commandment calls the seventh day the Sabbath day at the time when God blessed and hallowed that day; therefore the Sabbath is an institution dating from the foundation of the world. The fourth commandment points back to the creation for the origin of its obligation; and when we go back to that point, we find the substance of the fourth commandment given to Adam: "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it;" *i. e.*, set it apart to a holy use. And in the commandment itself, the same fact is stated: "The Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it;" *i. e.*, appointed it to a holy use. The one statement affirms that "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it;" the other, that "the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."

These two statements refer to the same acts. Because the word Sabbath does not occur in the first statement, it has been contended that the Sabbath did not originate at creation, it being the seventh day merely which was hallowed. From the second statement it has been contended that God did not bless the seventh day at all, but simply the Sabbath institution. But both statements embody all the truth. God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; and this day, thus blessed and hallowed, was his holy Sabbath, or rest day. Thus the fourth commandment establishes the origin of the Sabbath at creation. 3

The second mention of the Sabbath in the Bible

furnishes a decisive confirmation of the testimonies already adduced. On the sixth day of the week, while in the wilderness of Sin, Moses said to Israel, "To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord."¹⁴ What had been done to the seventh day since God blessed and sanctified it as his rest day in paradise? — Nothing. On the sixth day, Moses simply states the fact that the morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord. The seventh day had been such ever since God blessed and hallowed the day of his rest in the beginning.

The testimony of our divine Lord relative to the origin and design of the Sabbath is of peculiar importance. He is competent to testify; for he was with the Father in the beginning of the creation.¹⁵ "The Sabbath was made for man," said he, "not man for the Sabbath."¹⁶ The following grammatical rule is worthy of notice: "A noun without an adjective is invariably taken in its broadest extension; as, Man is accountable."¹⁷ The following texts will illustrate this rule, and also this statement of our Lord's: "Man lieth down, and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep." "There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man." "It is appointed unto men once to die."¹⁸ In these texts, "man" is used without restriction, hence all

¹⁴ Ex. 16: 22, 23.

¹⁵ John 1: 1-3; Gen. 1: 1, 26; Col. 1: 13-16.

¹⁶ Mark 2: 27.

¹⁷ Barrett's "Principles of English Grammar," p. 29.

¹⁸ Job 14: 12; 1 Cor. 10: 13; Heb. 9: 27.

mankind are necessarily intended. The Sabbath was therefore made for the whole human family, and consequently originated with mankind.

"The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God;" yet he made the Sabbath for man. "God made the Sabbath his by solemn appropriation, that he might convey it back to us under the guaranty of a divine charter, that none might rob us of it with impunity."

But is it not possible that God's act of blessing and sanctifying the seventh day did not occur at the close of the creation week? May it not be mentioned then, because God designed that the day of his rest should be afterward observed?

It is very certain that such an interpretation of the record can not be admitted, unless the facts in the case demand it; for it is, to say the least, a forced explanation of the language. The record in Genesis, unless this be an exception, is a plain narrative of events. What God did on each day is recorded in its order down to the seventh. It is certainly doing violence to the narrative to affirm that the record respecting the seventh day is of a different character from that respecting the other six. He rested the seventh day; he sanctified the seventh day, because he had rested upon it. The reason why he should sanctify the seventh day existed when his rest was closed.

To say, therefore, that God did not sanctify the day at that time, but did it in the days of Moses, is not only to distort the narrative, but to affirm that

he neglected for twenty-five hundred years to do that for which the reason existed at creation.¹⁹

But we ask that the facts be brought forward which prove that the Sabbath was sanctified in the wilderness of Sin, and not at creation. And what are the facts that show this? It is confessed that such facts are not upon record. Their existence is assumed in order to sustain the theory that the Sabbath originated at the fall of the manna, and not in paradise.

Did God sanctify the Sabbath in the wilderness of Sin? — There is no intimation of such a fact. On the contrary, it is mentioned at that time as something already set apart of God. On the sixth day, Moses said, "To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord."²⁰ Surely this is not the act of instituting the Sabbath, but the familiar mention of an existing fact. We pass on to Mount Sinai. Did God sanctify the Sabbath when he spoke the ten commandments? No one claims that he did. It is admitted by all that Moses spoke of it familiarly the previous month.²¹ Does the Lord at Sinai speak of the sanctification of the Sabbath? — He does; but in the very language of Genesis he goes back

¹⁹ Dr. Twisse illustrates the absurdity of that view which makes the first observance of the Sabbath in memory of creation to begin some twenty-five hundred years after that event: "We read that when the Illicens, inhabitants of Ilium, called anciently by the name of Troy, sent an embassy to Tiberius, to condole the death of his father Augustus, he, considering the unreasonableness thereof, it being a long time after his death, requited them accordingly, saying that he was sorry for their heaviness also, having lost so renowned a knight as Hector was, to wit, above a thousand years before, in the wars of Troy."—*Morality of the Fourth Commandment*," p. 198.

²⁰ Ex. 16: 23.

²¹ Exodus 16.

for the sanctification of the Sabbath, not to the wilderness of Sin, but to the creation of the world.²² We ask those who hold the theory under examination, this question: If the Sabbath was not sanctified at creation, but was sanctified in the wilderness of Sin, why does the narrative in each instance²³ record the sanctification of the Sabbath at creation, and omit all mention of that fact in the wilderness of Sin? Nay, why does the record of events in the wilderness of Sin show that the holy Sabbath was at that time already in existence? In a word, How can a theory which is subversive of all the facts in the record, be maintained as the truth of God?

We have seen the Sabbath ordained of God at the close of the creation week. The object of its Author is worthy of special attention. Why did the Creator set up this memorial in paradise? Why did he set apart from the other days of the week that day which he had employed in rest? —“Because that in it,” says the record, “he had rested from all his work which God created and made.” A *rest* necessarily implies and presupposes a *work performed*; and hence the Sabbath was ordained of God as a memorial of the work of creation. Therefore that precept of the moral law which relates to this memorial, unlike every other precept of that law, begins with the word “Remember.” The importance of this memorial will be appreciated when we learn from the Scriptures that it is the work of creation which is claimed by its Author as the great evidence

²² Ex. 20: 8-11. ²³ Compare Gen. 2: 1-3 and Ex. 20: 8-11.

of his eternal power and Godhead, and as that great fact which distinguishes him from all false gods. Thus it is written:—

“He that built all things is God.” “The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens.” “But the Lord is the true God, he is the living God, and an everlasting King.” “He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion.” “For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead.” “For he spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast.” Thus “the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.”²⁴

Such is the estimate which the Scriptures place upon the work of creation as evincing the eternal power and Godhead of the Creator. The Sabbath stands as the memorial of this great work. Its observance is an act of grateful acknowledgment on the part of his intelligent creatures that he is their Creator, and that they owe all to him; and that for his pleasure they are and were created. How appropriate this observance for Adam! And when man had fallen, how important for his well-being that he should “remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy.” He would thus have been preserved from atheism and from idolatry; for, so long as he observed the Sabbath, he could never forget that there was a God from whom all things derived their

²⁴ Heb. 3:4; Jer. 10:10-12; Rom. 1:20; Ps. 33:9; Heb. 11:3.

being; nor could he worship as God any other being than the Creator.²⁵

The seventh day, as hallowed by God in Eden, was not Jewish, but divine; it was not the memorial of the flight of Israel from Egypt, but of the Creator's rest. Nor is it true that the most distinguished Jewish writers deny the primeval origin of the Sabbath, or claim it as a Jewish memorial. We cite the historian Josephus and his learned contemporary, Philo Judæus. Josephus, whose "Antiquities of the Jews" runs parallel with the Bible from the beginning, when treating of the wilderness of Sin, makes no allusion whatever to the Sabbath—a clear proof that he had no idea that it originated in that wilderness. But when giving the account of creation, he bears the following testimony:—

"Moses says that in just six days the world and all that is therein was made; and that the seventh day was a rest and a release from the labor of such operations; whence it is that we celebrate a rest from our labors on that day, and call it the Sabbath, which word denotes rest in the Hebrew tongue."²⁶

²⁵ The importance of keeping the Sabbath ordained by God as a preventive against idolatry and infidelity has thus been clearly stated by others:—

"The original Sabbath being a perpetual memorial of God, the Creator, calling man to imitate God in the observance of the same, man could not keep the original Sabbath and forget God."—*Sermon on "The Sabbath,"* by Prof. E. W. Thomas, M. A., of West Cairo, Ohio, in *Herald of Gospel Liberty* (Dayton, Ohio), June 19, 1890.

"By causing men to violate the second commandment, Satan aimed to degrade their conceptions of the divine Being. By setting aside the fourth, he would cause them to forget God altogether. . . . The Sabbath, as a memorial of God's creative power, points to him as the Maker of the heavens and the earth. Hence it is a constant witness to his existence and a reminder of his greatness, his wisdom, and his love. Had the Sabbath always been sacredly observed, there could never have been an atheist or an idolater."—"Patriarchs and Prophets," p. 336.

²⁶ "Antiquities of the Jews," b. 1, chap. 1, sec. 1.

And Philo bears an emphatic testimony relative to the character of the Sabbath as a memorial. He says:—

“But after the whole world had been completed according to the perfect nature of the number six, the Father hallowed the day following, the seventh, praising it, and calling it holy. For that day is the festival, not of one city or one country, but of all the earth; a day which alone it is right to call the day of festival for all people, and the birthday of the world.”²⁷

Nor was the rest day of the Lord a shadow of man's rest after his recovery from the fall. God will ever be worshiped in an understanding manner by his intelligent creatures. When, therefore, he set apart his rest day to a holy use, if it was not as a memorial of his work, but as a shadow of man's redemption from the fall, the real design of the institution must have been stated; and as a consequence, man in his unfallen state could never observe the Sabbath as a delight, but ever with deep distress, as reminding him that he was soon to apostatize from God. Nor was the holy of the Lord and honorable, one of the “carnal ordinances, imposed on them until the time of reformation;”²⁸ for there could be no reformation with unfallen beings.

The following from the pen of another writer clearly sets forth the truth respecting this institution:—

“In Eden, God set up the memorial of his work of creation, in placing his blessing upon the seventh day. The Sabbath was committed to Adam, the father and represen-

²⁷ “Works of Philo,” vol. 1, “The Creation of the World,” sec. 30.

²⁸ Isa. 58: 13, 14; Heb. 9: 10.

tative of the whole human family. Its observance was to be an act of grateful acknowledgment, on the part of all who should dwell upon the earth, that God was their creator and their rightful sovereign; that they were the work of his hands, and the subjects of his authority. Thus the institution was wholly commemorative, and given to all mankind. There was nothing in it shadowy, or of restricted application to any people.

"God saw that a Sabbath was essential for man, even in paradise. He needed to lay aside his own interests and pursuits for one day of the seven, that he might more fully contemplate the works of God, and meditate upon his power and goodness. He needed a Sabbath, to remind him more vividly of God, and to awaken gratitude because all that he enjoyed and possessed came from the beneficent hand of the Creator.

"God designs that the Sabbath shall direct the minds of men to the contemplation of his created works. Nature speaks to their senses, declaring that there is a living God, the Creator, the Supreme Ruler of all. 'The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge.' The beauty that clothes the earth is a token of God's love. We may behold it in the everlasting hills, in the lofty trees, in the opening buds and the delicate flowers. All speak to us of God. The Sabbath, ever pointing to him who made them all, bids men open the great book of nature, and trace therein the wisdom, the power, and the love of the Creator."²⁹

But man did not continue in his uprightness. Paradise was lost, and Adam was excluded from the tree of life. The curse of God fell upon the earth, and death entered by sin; and passed upon all men.³⁰ After this sad apostasy, no further mention of the Sabbath occurs until Moses, on the sixth day, said,

²⁹ "Patriarchs and Prophets," p. 48.

³⁰ Genesis 3; Rom. 5:12.

"To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord."

It is objected that there is no precept in the book of Genesis for the observance of the Sabbath, and consequently that no obligation existed on the part of the patriarchs to observe it. There is a defect in this argument not noticed by those who use it. The book of Genesis was not a rule given to the patriarchs to walk by. On the contrary, it was written by Moses twenty-five hundred years after creation, and long after the patriarchs were dead. Consequently, the fact that certain precepts are not found in Genesis is no evidence that they were not obligatory upon the patriarchs. Thus the book does not command men to love God with all their hearts, and their neighbors as themselves; nor does it prohibit idolatry, blasphemy, disobedience to parents, adultery, theft, false witness, or covetousness. Who will affirm from this that the patriarchs were under no restraint in these things? As a mere record of events, written long after their occurrence, it was not necessary that the book should contain a moral code. But had the book been given to the patriarchs as a rule of life, it must have contained such a code.

The argument under consideration is unsound: (1) Because based upon the supposition that the book of Genesis was the rule of life for the patriarchs; (2) because if carried out, it would release the patriarchs from every precept of the moral law except the sixth;⁸¹ (3) because the act of God in

⁸¹ Gen. 9: 5, 6.

setting apart his rest day to a holy use, as we have seen, necessarily involves the fact that he gave a precept concerning it to Adam, in whose time it was thus set apart. And hence, though the book of Genesis contains no precept concerning the Sabbath, it does contain direct evidence that such a precept was given to the head and representative of the human family.

After giving the institution of the Sabbath, the book of Genesis, in its brief record of two thousand three hundred seventy years, does not again mention it. This has been urged by antisabbatarians as ample proof that those holy men, who, during this period, were perfect, and walked with God in the observance of his commandments, statutes, and laws,²² all lived in open profanation and utter disregard of that day which God had blessed and set apart to a holy use. But the book of Genesis also omits any distinct reference to the doctrine of future punishment, the resurrection of the body, the revelation of the Lord in flaming fire, and the judgment of the great day. Does this silence prove that the patriarchs did not believe these great doctrines? Does it make them any the less sacred?

But the Sabbath is not mentioned from Moses to David, a period of five hundred years, during which it was enforced by the penalty of death. Does this prove that it was not observed during this period? ²³ The jubilee occupied a very prominent place in the

²² Gen. 5: 24; 6: 9; 26: 5.

²³ See the beginning of chapter 8.

typical system, yet in the whole Bible a single instance of its observance is not recorded. What is still more remarkable, there is not on record a single instance of the observance of the great day of atonement, notwithstanding the work in the holiest on that day was the most important service connected with the earthly sanctuary. And yet the observance of the other and less important festivals of the seventh month, which are so intimately connected with the day of atonement, the one preceding it by ten days, the other following it in five, is repeatedly and particularly recorded.³⁴ It would be sophistry to argue from this silence respecting the day of atonement, when there were so many instances in which its mention was almost demanded, that that day was never observed; and yet it is actually a better argument than the similar one urged against the Sabbath from the book of Genesis.

The reckoning of time by weeks is derived from nothing in nature, but owes its existence to the divine appointment of the seventh day to a holy use, in memory of the Lord's rest from the six days' work of creation.³⁵ This period of time is marked only

³⁴ Ezra 3:1-6; Neh. 8:2, 9-12, 14-18; 1 Kings 8:2, 65; 2 Chron. 5:3; 7:8, 9; John 7:2-14, 37.

³⁵ "The week, another primeval measure, is not a natural measure of time, as some astronomers and chronologers have supposed, indicated by the phases or quarters of the moon. It was originated by divine appointment at the creation, six days of labor and one of rest being wisely appointed for man's physical and spiritual well-being."—*Bliss's "Sacred Chronology,"* p. 6; compare Hales's "*Analysis of Chronology,*" vol. 1, p. 19.

"Seven has been the ancient and honored number among the nations of the earth. They have measured their time by weeks from the beginning. The original of this was the Sabbath of God, as Moses has given the reasons of it in his writings."—"Brief Dissertation on the First Three Chapters of Genesis," by Dr. Coleman, p. 26.

by the recurrence of the sanctified rest day of the Creator. That the patriarchs reckoned time by weeks and by seven of days, is evident from several texts.³⁶ That they should retain the week, and forget the Sabbath by which alone the week is marked, is not a probable supposition. That the reckoning of the week was rightly kept from creation to the time of Moses, is evident from the fact that in the wilderness of Sin the people of their own accord gathered a double portion of manna on the sixth day. And Moses said to them, "To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord."³⁷

The brevity of the record in Genesis causes us to overlook many facts of the deepest interest. Adam lived nine hundred thirty years. How deep and absorbing the interest that must have existed in the human family to see the first man! to converse with one who had himself talked with God! to hear from his lips a description of that paradise in which he had lived! to learn from one created on the sixth day the wondrous events of the creation week! to hear from him the words of the Creator when he set apart his rest day to a holy use! and to learn, alas! the sad story of the loss of paradise and the tree of life.³⁸

It was, therefore, not difficult for the facts respecting the six days of creation and the sanctification of the rest day to be diffused among mankind in the

³⁶ Gen. 29:27, 28; 8:10, 12; 7:4, 10; 50:10; Ex. 7:25; Job 2:13.

³⁷ Ex. 16:22, 23.

³⁸ The interest to see the first man is thus stated: "Sem and Seth were in great honor among men, and so was Adam, above every living thing in the creation." Ecclesiasticus 49:16.

patriarchal age. Nay, it was impossible that it should be otherwise, especially among the godly. From Adam to Abraham, a succession of men preserved the knowledge of God upon the earth; for Adam lived till Lamech, the father of Noah, was fifty-six years of age; Lamech lived till Shem, the son of Noah, was ninety-three; Shem lived till Abraham was one hundred fifty years of age. Thus are we brought down to Abraham, the father of the faithful. Of him it is recorded that he obeyed God's voice, and kept his charge, his commandments, his statutes, and his laws. And of him the Most High bears the following testimony: "I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment."³⁹ Through a line of holy men from Adam down, the knowledge of God and his Sabbath was preserved in the earth.⁴⁰ Through Abraham and his descendants this knowledge was perpetuated; and we shall next find the Sabbath familiarly mentioned among his posterity as an existing institution.

³⁹ Gen. 26: 5; 18: 19.

⁴⁰ Alexander Campbell thus speaks of the Sabbath as a commemorative institution:—

"Heaven left not this fact, the creation, the basis of a thousand volumes, to be gathered from abstract reasonings, vitiated traditions, ingenious analogies, or plausible conjectures, but from a monumental institution which was as universal as the annals of time, as the birth of nations, and as the language spoken by mortals. An institution, too, which, notwithstanding its demands, not only of the seventh part of all time, but of the seventh day in uninterrupted succession, was celebrated from the creation to the deluge, during the deluge, and after the deluge till the giving of the law."—*Popular Lectures*," pp. 283, 284. "The Sabbath was observed from Abraham's time, nay, from the creation."—*Evidences of Christianity*," pp. 502, 503.

CHAPTER III.

THE SABBATH COMMITTED TO THE HEBREWS

Object of this chapter—Total apostasy of the human family in the antediluvian age—Destruction of mankind—The family of Noah spared—Second apostasy of mankind in the patriarchal age—The apostate nations left to their own ways—The family of Abraham chosen—Separated from the rest of mankind—Their history—Their relation to God—The Sabbath in existence when they came forth from Egypt—Analysis of Exodus 16—The Sabbath committed to the Hebrews.

WE are now to trace the history of divine truth for many ages in almost exclusive connection with the family of Abraham. That we may vindicate the truth from the reproach of pertaining only to the Hebrews,—a reproach often urged against the Sabbath,—and justify the dealings of God with mankind in leaving to their own ways the apostate nations, let us carefully examine the Bible for the reasons which directed divine Providence in the choice of Abraham's family as the depositaries of divine truth.

The antediluvian world had been highly favored of God. The period of life extended to each generation was twelvefold that of the present age of man. For almost one thousand years, Adam, who had conversed with God in paradise, had been with them. Before the death of Adam, Enoch began his holy walk of three hundred years, and then he was translated that he should not see death. This testimony to the piety of Enoch was a powerful evidence to the antediluvians in behalf of truth and righteous-

ness. Moreover, the Spirit of God strove with mankind; but the perversity of man triumphed over all the gracious restraints of the Holy Spirit. "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." Even the sons of God joined in the general departure from him. At last, a single family was all that remained of the worshipers of the Most High.¹

Then came the deluge, sweeping the world of its guilty inhabitants with the besom of destruction.² So terrible a display of divine justice might well be thought sufficient to restrain impiety for ages. Surely the family of Noah could not soon forget this awful lesson. But alas! revolt and apostasy speedily followed, and men turned from God to the worship of idols. Against the divine mandate, separating the human family into nations,³ and the command to scatter abroad and replenish the earth, mankind united in one great act of rebellion in the plain of Shinar. "And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." Then God confounded them in their impiety, and scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth.⁴ Men did

¹ Genesis 2 to 6; Heb. 11:4-7; 1 Peter 3:20; 2 Peter 2:5.

² Genesis 7; Matt. 24:37-39; Luke 17:26, 27; 2 Peter 3:5, 6.

³ Deut. 32:7, 8; Acts 17:26; Gen. 9:1; Josephus's "Antiquities of the Jews," b. 1, chap. 4.

⁴ Gen. 11:1-9; Josephus's "Antiquities of the Jews," b. 1, chap. 4. This took place in the days of Peleg, who was born about one hundred years after the flood. Gen. 10:25 compared with 11:10-16; "Antiquities of the Jews," b. 1, chap. 6, sec. 4.

not like to retain God in their knowledge; wherefore God gave them over to a reprobate mind, and suffered them to change the truth of God into a lie, and to worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator. Such was the origin of idolatry and the consequent heathenism.⁵

In the midst of this wide-spread apostasy, one man was found whose heart was faithful to God. Abraham was chosen from an idolatrous family, as the depositary of divine truth, the father of all that believe, the heir of the world, and the friend of God.⁶ His faith presents a striking contrast to that of his descendants, four hundred years later. It was by faith that he entered Canaan, almost single-handed, not knowing whither he went, and sojourned there in tents, looking forward to that city whose builder and maker is God — and to that better land, wherein dwelleth righteousness. By faith Abraham saw the day of Christ and rejoiced, and erected altars everywhere, proclaiming the “glad tidings.” So strong was his trust in the power of God’s word and Spirit, that even the barren brought forth.⁷ As he by the eye of faith beheld the substance of things unseen, it was not only counted unto him for righteousness, but, being a living faith, it wrought obedience to the divine law. God established the everlasting covenant of faith with this believing patriarch, and confirmed it in Christ, his Seed. So ready was

⁵ Rom. 1: 18-32; Acts 14: 15, 17; 17: 29, 30.

⁶ Gen. 12: 1-3; Joshua 24: 2, 3, 14; Neh. 9: 7, 8; Rom. 4: 13-17; 2 Chron. 20: 7; Isa. 41: 8; James 2: 23.

⁷ Heb. 11: 8-16; John 8: 56-58; Gen. 12: 7, 8; Gal. 4: 27; Rom. 4: 19.

Abraham to obey, that he was even willing to offer up his son, his only son, Isaac.⁸ It is thus that Abraham became the father not only of one nation, but of "many nations;" for through his Seed not one nation alone, but "all" peoples were to be so richly blessed that his spiritual children should become as countless as the stars of heaven, "because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws."⁹ He was counted righteous while he was still uncircumcised, and he received the sign of circumcision, that he might be the father not only of the circumcision, but of all those who follow in his footsteps of faith.¹⁰ It was in this manner that Israel, who so often erred from Abraham's simple faith, was outwardly separated from the heathen nations around them, so that they might preserve the knowledge of divine truth, and the memory and worship of the Most High.¹¹

But they could not possess the land designed for them until the iniquity of the Amorites, its inhabitants, was full, that they should be thrust out before them. The horror of great darkness and the smoking furnace seen by Abraham in vision, foreshadowed the iron furnace and the bitter servitude in Egypt. The family of Abraham must go down thither. Brief prosperity and long and terrible oppression follow.¹²

This oppression consisted not only in physical

⁸ Gen. 17: 1; Gal. 3: 16, 17; Heb. 11: 17-19.

⁹ Gen. 17: 4; 18: 18; 26: 4, 5.

¹⁰ Rom. 4: 10-12. ¹¹ Eph. 2: 12-19; Num. 23: 9.

¹² Genesis 15; Exodus 1 to 5; Deut. 4: 20.

bondage, but involved the right to worship the true God, the Creator of the heavens and earth, and to keep his commandments, particularly in the matter of observing the Sabbath. This question became a direct issue, and came to a crisis, during the latter part of their stay in Egypt, the power of the oppressor being broken and the people being delivered only through the terrible plagues which followed, and the direct intervention and miraculous power of God.¹³

¹³ That the question of keeping the Sabbath in Egypt became not only a prominent one but a national issue, is confirmed by the book of Jasher, which, though not a part of the Bible, is twice mentioned in the Bible. See Joshua 10: 12, 13, and 2 Sam. 1: 18. Relating an incident which occurred under the reign of the Pharaoh called Melol, prior to Moses' flight to the land of Midian, this book says:—

"And the day arrived when Moses went to Goshen to see his brethren, that he saw the children of Israel in their burdens and hard labor, and Moses was grieved on their account. And Moses returned to Egypt and came to the house of Pharaoh, and came before the king, and Moses bowed down before the king. And Moses said unto Pharaoh, I pray thee, my lord, I have come to seek a small request from thee, turn not away my face empty; and Pharaoh said unto him, Speak. And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Let there be given unto thy servants the children of Israel who are in Goshen, one day to rest therein from their labor. And the king answered Moses and said, Behold I have lifted up thy face in this thing to grant thy request. And Pharaoh ordered a proclamation to be issued throughout Egypt and Goshen, saying, To you, all the children of Israel, thus says the king, for six days you shall do your work and labor, but on the seventh day you shall rest, and shall not perform any work; thus shall you do in all the days, as the king and Moses the son of Bathia have commanded. And Moses rejoiced at this thing which the king had granted to him, and all the children of Israel did as Moses ordered them. For this thing was from the Lord to the children of Israel, for the Lord had begun to remember the children of Israel to save them for the sake of their fathers. And the Lord was with Moses, and his fame went throughout Egypt. And Moses became great in the eyes of all the Egyptians, and in the eyes of all the children of Israel, seeking good for his people Israel, and speaking words of peace regarding them to the king."—*Book of Jasher* 70: 41-51.

Upon the death of Melol, his son Adikam came to the throne. He revoked the permission to keep the Sabbath granted by his father to the children of Israel, and made their burdens still harder, as further narrated in the same book:—

"And Pharaoh sat upon his father's throne to reign over Egypt, and he conducted the government of Egypt in his wisdom. And whilst he

The conflict here referred to is briefly narrated in Exodus, chapters five to twelve inclusive. When Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh and said, "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness," Pharaoh replied, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go."¹⁴ Pharaoh at once began to accuse Moses and Aaron, saying, "Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, let [hinder] the people from their works? get you unto your burdens."¹⁵ In what way were Moses and Aaron hindering the Israelites from their works? It can not be supposed that they were teaching them not to work at all. No; they

reigned, he exceeded his father and all the preceding kings in wickedness, and he increased his yoke over the children of Israel. And he went with his servants to Goshen to the children of Israel, and he strengthened the labor over them, and he said unto them, Complete your work, each day's task, and let not your hands slacken from our work from this day forward as you did in the days of my father. And he placed officers over them from amongst the children of Israel, and over these officers he placed taskmasters from amongst his servants. And he placed over them a measure of bricks for them to do according to that number, day by day, and he turned back and went to Egypt. At that time the taskmasters of Pharaoh ordered the officers of the children of Israel according to the command of Pharaoh, saying, Thus says Pharaoh, Do your work each day, and finish your task, and observe the daily measure of bricks; diminish not anything. . . . And the labor imposed upon the children of Israel in the days of Adikam exceeded in hardship that which they performed in the days of his father."—*Book of Jasher 77: 7-13, 21. Published by M. M. Noah and A. S. Gould, New York, 1840.*

Here we find another testimony to the fact that the Sabbath existed and was known before the giving of the law on Sinai, and even before the experience in the wilderness or the exodus from Egypt. The conflict over the keeping of the Sabbath here so clearly brought to view gives added force to the reason assigned in Deut. 5: 15 why the children of Israel should keep the Sabbath,—“Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, . . . therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day.”

¹⁴ Ex. 5: 1, 2.

¹⁵ Ex. 5: 4.

were teaching them to keep the Sabbath.¹⁶ This is confirmed by the very next verse in the narrative: "And Pharaoh said, Behold, the people of the land now are many, and ye make them rest [Heb. *Shabbath*] from their burdens."¹⁷

How Pharaoh regarded this instruction, on the part of Moses and Aaron, to keep the Sabbath, is shown by his instruction to the taskmasters of the people and their officers: "Let there more work be laid upon the men, . . . and *let them not regard vain words.*"¹⁸ Thus did this heathen and idolatrous king show his contempt for God and his law. And so blind was his heart and so stubborn his resistance that he utterly refused to let Israel go until his land was laid waste, and the angel of death had visited every family, and "there was not a house where there was not one dead."¹⁹

At length the power of the oppressor is broken, and the people of God are delivered. The expiration of four hundred and thirty years from the promise to Abraham marks the hour of deliverance to his posterity.²⁰ The nation of Israel is brought forth from Egypt as God's peculiar treasure, that he may give them his Sabbath, and his law, and himself. The psalmist testifies that God "brought forth his people

¹⁶ "In their bondage the Israelites had to some extent lost the knowledge of God's law, and they had departed from its precepts. The Sabbath had been generally disregarded, and the exactions of their taskmasters made its observance apparently impossible. But Moses had shown his people that obedience to God was the first condition of deliverance; and the efforts made to restore the observance of the Sabbath had come to the notice of their oppressors."—"Patriarchs and Prophets," p. 260.

¹⁷ Ex. 5:5. ¹⁸ Ex. 5:9. ¹⁹ Ex. 10:7; 12:30.

²⁰ Ex. 12:29-42; Gal. 3:17.

with joy, and his chosen with gladness: and gave them the lands of the heathen: and they inherited the labor of the people; that they might observe his statutes, and keep his laws." And the Most High says, "I am the Lord which hallow you, that brought you out of the land of Egypt, *to be your God.*"²¹ Not that the commandments of God, his Sabbath, and himself had no prior existence, nor that the people were altogether ignorant of the true God, his Sabbath, and his law; for the Sabbath was appointed to a holy use before the fall of man; and the commandments of God, his statutes, and his laws were kept by Abraham; and the Israelites themselves, before the law was given on Mount Sinai, when some of them had violated the Sabbath, were reprov'd by the question, "How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?"²² And as to the Most High, the psalmist exclaims, "Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God."²³ But there must be a formal public espousal of the people by God, and of his law and Sabbath and himself by the people.²⁴ But neither the Sabbath, nor the law, nor the great Lawgiver, by their connection with the Hebrews, became Jewish. The Lawgiver, indeed, became the God of Israel,²⁵ (and what Gentile shall refuse him adoration for that rea-

²¹ Ps. 105: 43-45; Lev. 22: 32, 33; Num. 15: 41.

²² Gen. 2: 2, 3; 26: 5; Ex. 16: 4, 27, 28; 18: 16.

²³ Ps. 90: 2.

²⁴ Ex. 19: 3-8; 24: 3-8; Jer. 3: 14 compared with last clause of Jer. 31: 32.

²⁵ Ex. 20: 2; 24: 10.

son?) but the Sabbath still remained the Sabbath of the Lord,²⁶ and the law continued to be the law of the Most High.

In the month following their passage through the Red Sea, the Hebrews came into the wilderness of Sin. It is at this point in his narrative that Moses for the second time mentions the sanctified rest day of the Creator. The people murmured for bread:—

“Then said the Lord unto Moses, Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather a certain rate every day, that I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law, or no. And it shall come to pass, that on the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in; and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily. . . . I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel: speak unto them, saying, At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the Lord your God. And it came to pass, that at even the quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the host. And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoarfrost on the ground. And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, It is manna: for they wist not what it was. And Moses said unto them, This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat. This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded, Gather of it every man according to his eating, an omer for every man, according to the number of your persons; take ye every man for them which are in his tents. And the children of Israel did so, and gathered, some more, some less. And when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack; they gathered every man according to his eating. And Moses said, Let no man leave of it till the morning. Notwithstanding they harkened not unto

²⁶ Ex. 20:10; Deut. 5:14; Neh. 9:14.

Moses; but some of them left of it until the morning, and it bred worms, and stank: and Moses was wroth with them. And they gathered it every morning, every man according to his eating: and when the sun waxed hot, it melted. And it came to pass, that on the sixth day they gathered twice as much bread,²⁷ two omers for one man: and all the rulers of the congregation came and told Moses. And he said unto them, This is that which the Lord hath said,²⁸ To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord: bake that which ye will bake to-day, and seethe that ye will seethe;

²⁷ On this verse, Dr. A. Clarke thus comments: "*On the sixth day they gathered twice as much.* This they did that they might have a provision for the Sabbath."

²⁸ The Douay Bible reads: "To-morrow is the rest of the Sabbath sanctified unto the Lord." Dr. Clarke comments as follows: "*To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath*]. There is nothing either in the text or context that seems to intimate that the Sabbath was now *first* given to the Israelites, as some have supposed; on the contrary, it is here spoken of as being perfectly well known, from its having been generally observed. The commandment, it is true, may be considered as being now *renewed*; because they might have supposed that in their unsettled state in the wilderness they might have been exempted from the observance of it. Thus we find, (1) That when God finished his creation, he instituted the Sabbath; (2) when he brought the people out of Egypt, he insisted on the strict observance of it; (3) when he gave the law, he made it a tenth part of the whole; such importance has this institution in the eyes of the Supreme Being!"

Luther comments thus upon this passage: "Hence you can see that the Sabbath was before the law of Moses came, and has existed from the beginning of the world. Especially have the devout, who have preserved the true faith, met together and called upon God on this day."—"Luther's Works," vol. 35, p. 330.

Richard Baxter, a famous divine, in his "Divine Appointment of the Lord's Day," thus clearly states the origin of the Sabbath: "Why should God begin two thousand years after [the creation of the world] to give men a Sabbath upon the reason of his rest from the creation of it, if he had never called man to that commemoration before? And it is certain that the Sabbath was observed at the falling of the manna before the giving of the law; and let any considering Christian judge . . . (1) whether the not falling of manna, or the rest of God after the creation, was like to be the original reason of the Sabbath; (2) and whether, if it had been the first, it would not have been said, Remember to keep holy the Sabbath day; for on six days the manna fell, and not on the seventh; rather than 'for in six days God created heaven and earth, etc., and rested the seventh day.' And it is casually added, 'Wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.' Nay, consider whether this annexed reason intimates not that the day on this ground being hallowed before, therefore it was that God sent not down the manna on that day, and that he prohibited the people from seeking it."—"Practical Works," vol. 3, p. 774. Edition 1707.

and that which remaineth over lay up for you to be kept until the morning. And they laid it up till the morning, as Moses bade: and it did not stink, neither was there any worm therein. And Moses said, Eat that to-day; for to-day is a Sabbath unto the Lord: ²⁹ to-day ye shall not find it in the field. Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, in it there shall be none. And it came to pass, that there went out some of the people on the seventh day for to gather, and they found none. And the Lord said unto Moses, How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws? See, for that the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day. So the people rested on the seventh day." ³⁰

This narrative shows, 1. That God had a law and commandments prior to the giving of the manna. 2. That God, in giving his people bread from heaven, designed to prove them respecting his law. 3. That in this law was the holy Sabbath; for the test relative to walking in the law pertained directly to the Sabbath; and when God said, "How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?" it was the Sabbath which they had violated. 4. That in proving the people respecting this existing law, Moses gave no new precept respecting the Sabbath, but remained silent relative to the preparation for the Sabbath until after the people of their own accord had gathered a double portion on the sixth day. 5. That by this act the people proved, not only that they were not ignorant of the Sabbath, but that they were dis-

²⁹ The Douay Bible reads: "Because it is the Sabbath of the Lord."

³⁰ Exodus 16.

posed to observe it.²¹ 6. That the reckoning of the week, traces of which appear through the patriarchal age,²² had been rightly kept; for the people knew when the sixth day had arrived. 7. That had there been any doubt existing on that point, the fall of the manna on the six days, the withholding of it on the seventh, and the preservation of that needed for the Sabbath over that day, must have settled that point incontrovertibly.²³ 8. That there was no act of instituting the Sabbath in the wilderness of Sin; for God did not then make it his rest day, nor did he then bless and sanctify the day. On the contrary, the record shows that the seventh day was already the sanctified rest day of the Lord.²⁴ 9. That the obligation to observe the Sabbath existed and was known before the fall of manna; for the language used implies the existence of such an obligation, but does not contain

²¹ It has indeed been asserted that God by a miracle equalized the portion of every one on five days, and doubled the portion of each on the sixth, so that no act of the people had any bearing on the Sabbath. But the equal portion of each on the five days was not thus understood by Paul. He says: "But by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want: that there may be equality: as it is written, He that had gathered much had nothing over; and he that had gathered little had no lack." 2 Cor. 8:14, 15.

²² Gen. 7:4, 10; 8:10, 12; 29:27, 28; 50:10; Ex. 7:25; Job 2:13.

²³ By this threefold miracle, occurring every week for forty years, the great Lawgiver distinguished his hallowed day. The people were therefore admirably prepared to listen to the fourth commandment, enjoining the observance of the very day on which he had rested. Ex. 16:35; Joshua 5:12; Ex. 20:8-11.

²⁴ The twelfth chapter of Exodus relates the origin of the Passover. It is in striking contrast with Exodus 16, which is supposed by some to give the origin of the Sabbath. If the reader will compare the two chapters, he will see the difference between the origin of an institution as given in Exodus 12, and a familiar reference to an existing institution as in Exodus 16. If he will also compare Genesis 2 with Exodus 12, he will see that the one gives the origin of the Sabbath in the same manner that the other gives the origin of the Passover.

a new enactment until after some of the people had violated the Sabbath. God says to Moses, "On the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in," but he does not speak of the seventh. And on the sixth day, Moses said, "To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord," but he does not command them to observe it. On the seventh day he says that it is the Sabbath, and that they would find no manna in the field. "Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, in it there shall be none." But in all this there is no precept given, yet the existence of such a precept is plainly implied. 10. That when some of the people violated the Sabbath, they were reprov'd in language which clearly indicated a previous transgression of this precept. "How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?" 11. And that this rebuke of the Lawgiver restrained for the time the transgression of the people, for the record says, "So the people rested on the seventh day."

"See, for that the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days;³⁵ abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day."³⁶ As a special trust, God committed the Sabbath to the Hebrews. It was now given them, not now made for them. It was made for man at the close of the first

³⁵ This implies, first the fall of a larger quantity on that day, and second, its preservation for the wants of the Sabbath.

³⁶ This must refer to going out for manna, as the connection implies; for religious assemblies on the Sabbath were commanded and observed. Lev. 23:3; Mark 1:21; Luke 4:16; Acts 1:12; 15:21.

week of time; but all other nations having turned from the Creator to the worship of idols, it was given to the Hebrew people. Nor does this prove that all the Hebrews had hitherto disregarded it; for Christ uses the same language respecting circumcision. Thus he says, "Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision; not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers."³⁷ Yet God had enjoined that ordinance upon Abraham and his family four hundred years previous to this gift of it by Moses, and it had been retained by them.³⁸

The language, "The Lord hath given you the Sabbath," implies a solemn act of committing a treasure to their trust. How was this done? No act of instituting the Sabbath here took place. No precept enjoining its observance was given until some of the people violated it, when it was given in the form of a reproof; which evinced a previous obligation, and that they were transgressing an existing law. And this view is certainly strengthened by the fact that no explanation of the institution was given to the people,—which indicates that some knowledge of the Sabbath was already in their possession.

But how, then, did God give them the Sabbath? He did this, first, by delivering them from the abject

³⁷ John 7:22.

³⁸ Gen. 17:24; Exodus 4. Moses is said to have given circumcision to the Hebrews; yet it is a singular fact that his first mention of that ordinance is purely incidental, and plainly implies an existing knowledge of it on their part. Thus it is written: "This is the ordinance of the Passover: There shall no stranger eat thereof: but every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof." Ex. 12:43, 44. And in like manner, when the Sabbath was given to Israel, that people were not ignorant of the sacred institution.

bondage of Egypt, where they were a nation of slaves; and secondly, by providing them with food in such a manner as to impose the strongest obligation to keep the Sabbath. Forty years did he give them bread from heaven, sending it for six days, and withholding it on the seventh, and preserving food for them over the Sabbath. Thus was the Sabbath specially entrusted to them.

As a gift to the Hebrews, the Creator's great memorial became a sign between God and themselves. "I gave them my Sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them." As a sign, its object is stated to be, to make known the true God; and we are told why it was such a sign. "It is a sign between me and the children of Israel forever: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed."³⁹ The institution itself signified that God created the heavens and the earth in six days, and rested on the seventh. Its observance by the people, therefore, signified that the Creator was their God.

The Sabbath was a sign between God and the children of Israel, because they alone were the worshipers of the Creator. All other nations had turned from him to "the gods that have not made the heavens and the earth."⁴⁰ For this reason the memorial of the great Creator was committed to the Hebrews. Thus was the Sabbath a golden link uniting the Creator and his worshipers.

³⁹ Eze. 20 : 12 ; Ex. 31 : 17. ⁴⁰ Jer. 10 : 10-12.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT

The Holy One upon Mount Sinai—Three great gifts bestowed upon the Hebrews—The Sabbath proclaimed by the voice of God—Position assigned it in the moral law—Origin of the Sabbath—Definite character of the commandment—Revolution of the earth upon its axis—Name of the Sabbatic institution—Seventh day of the commandment identical with the seventh day of the New Testament week—Testimony of Nehemiah—Moral obligation of the fourth commandment.

NOW we approach the record of that sublime event, the personal descent of the Lord upon Mount Sinai.¹ The sixteenth chapter of Exodus is remarkable for the record that God gave to Israel the Sabbath; the nineteenth chapter, that God took them as a holy nation unto himself; the twentieth chapter, for recording his act in giving to Israel his law.

Some speak against the Sabbath and the law as being Jewish, because they were given to Israel. As well might the Creator be spoken against in the same manner, who brought them out of Egypt to be *their* God, and who styles himself the God of Israel.² The Hebrews were honored by being thus entrusted with the Sabbath and the law, not the Sabbath and the law and the Creator rendered Jewish by this connection. The sacred writers speak of the high exaltation of Israel in being thus entrusted with the law of God.

¹ That the Lord was there in person with his angels, see, in addition to the narrative in Exodus, chapters 19, 20, and 32 to 34, the following testimonies: Deut. 33: 2; Judges 5: 5; Neh. 9: 6-13; Ps. 68: 17.

² Ex. 24: 10; Lev. 22: 32, 33; Num. 15: 41; Isa. 41: 17.

"He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation: and as for his judgments, they have not known them. Praise ye the Lord." "What advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there of circumcision? Much every way: chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God." "Who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen."³

After the Most High had solemnly espoused the people unto himself as his peculiar treasure in the earth,⁴ they were brought forth out of the camp to meet with God. "And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly." Out of the midst of this fire God proclaimed the ten words of his law.⁵ The fourth of these precepts is the grand law of the Sabbath. Thus spake the great Lawgiver:—

"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger

³Ps. 147: 19, 20: Rom. 3: 1, 2; 9: 4, 5. The following presents the subject in a clear light: "I say, and believe I am supported by the Bible, that the moral law was never given to the Jews as a people exclusively; but they were for a season the keepers of it in charge. And through them the law, oracles, and testimony have been handed down to us. See Paul's clear reasoning in Romans, chapters 2, 3, and 4, on that point." —*Wm. Miller's "Life and Views," p. 161.*

⁴Exodus 19; Deut. 7: 6; 14: 2; 2 Sam. 7: 23; 1 Kings 8: 53; Amos 3: 1, 2.

⁵Ex. 20: 1-17; 34: 28, margin; Deut. 5: 4-22; 10: 4, margin.

that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."

The estimate which the Lawgiver placed upon his Sabbath is seen in that he deemed it worthy of a place in his code of ten commandments, thus causing it to stand in the midst of ten immutable moral precepts. Nor is it to be thought a small honor that the Most High, naming one by one the great principles of morality until all are given, and he adds no more,^o should include in their number the observance of his hallowed rest day. This precept is expressly given to enforce the observance of the Creator's great memorial, and, unlike all the others, traces its obligation back to the creation, where that memorial was ordained, and thus cites the foundation for the knowledge of the true God and all true worship and obedience.

The Sabbath is to be remembered and kept holy, because God hallowed it, *i. e.*, appointed it to a holy use, at the close of the first week. And this sanctification, or hallowing, of the rest day, when the first seventh day of time was past, was the solemn act of setting apart the seventh day for time to come, in memory of the Creator's rest. Thus the fourth commandment reaches back and embraces the institution of the Sabbath in paradise; while the sanctification of the Sabbath in paradise extends forward to all coming time. The narrative respecting the wilderness of Sin admirably cements the union of the two; for

^o Deut. 5: 22.

there, before the fourth commandment was given on Sinai, stands the Sabbath, holy to the Lord, with an existing obligation to observe it, though no commandment in that narrative creates the obligation. This obligation is derived from the same source as the fourth commandment, namely, the sanctification of the Sabbath in paradise, showing that it was an existing duty, and not a new precept. It should never be forgotten that the fourth commandment does not trace its obligation to the wilderness of Sin, but to the creation,—a decisive proof that the Sabbath did not originate in the wilderness of Sin.

The fourth commandment is remarkably definite. It embraces, first, a precept: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy;" secondly, an explanation of this precept: "Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates;" thirdly, the reasons on which the precept is based, embracing the origin of the institution, and the very acts by which it was made, and enforcing all by the example⁷ of the Lawgiver himself: "for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."

⁷He who created the world on the first day of the week, and completed its organization in six days, rested on the seventh day, and was refreshed. Genesis 1 and 2; Ex. 31:17.

The rest day of the Lord is thus distinguished from the six days on which he labored. The blessing and sanctification pertain to the day of the Creator's rest. There can be, therefore, no indefiniteness in the precept. It is not merely one day in seven, but that day in the seven on which the Creator rested, and upon which he placed his blessing, namely, the seventh day.⁸ And this day is definitely pointed out in the name given it by God: "The seventh day is the Sabbath [*i. e.*, the rest day] of the Lord thy God."

That the seventh day in the fourth commandment is the seventh day of the New Testament week may be plainly proved. In the record of our Lord's burial, Luke writes thus:—

"And that day was the preparation, and the Sabbath drew on. And the women also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulcher, and how his body was laid. And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the Sabbath day according to the commandment. Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulcher, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them."⁹

Luke testifies that these women kept "the Sabbath

⁸ To this, however, it is objected that in consequence of the rotation of the earth on its axis, the day begins earlier in the East, and later in the West; and hence that there is no definite seventh day to the world of mankind. To suit such objectors, the earth ought not to rotate. But in that case, so far from removing the difficulty, there would be no seventh day at all, nor any other day whatever; for one side of the globe would have perpetual day, and the other side perpetual night. The truth is, everything depends upon the rotation of the earth. God made the Sabbath for man (Mark 2:27); he made man to dwell on the face of the earth (Acts 17:26); he caused the earth to rotate on its axis that it might measure off the days of the week, causing that the sun should shine on the earth, as it rotates from west to east, thus causing the day to go round the world from east to west. Seven of these rotations constitute a week; the seventh one brings the Sabbath to all the world.

⁹ Luke 23:54-56: 24:1.

day according to the commandment." The commandment says, "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." This day thus observed was the last, or seventh, day of the week;¹⁰ for the following day was the first day of the week. Hence the seventh day of the commandment is the seventh day of the New Testament week.

The testimony of Nehemiah is deeply interesting:—

"Thou camest down also upon Mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgments, and true laws, good statutes and commandments: and madest known unto them thy holy Sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant."¹¹

It is remarkable that God is said to have made known the Sabbath when he thus came down upon the mount; for the children of Israel had the Sabbath in possession when they came to Sinai. This language must therefore refer to that complete unfolding of the Sabbatic institution which is given in the fourth commandment. And mark the expression, "madest known"¹² unto them thy holy Sab-

¹⁰ See also Matt. 28:1; Mark 16:1, 2.

¹¹ Neh. 9:13, 14.

¹² This expression is strikingly illustrated in the statement of Eze. 20:5, where God is said to have made himself known unto Israel in Egypt. This language can not mean that the people were altogether ignorant of the true God, however wicked some of them may have been, or however far they may have been led to forget him in their bondage and their idolatrous surroundings, for they had been God's peculiar people from the days of Abraham. Ex. 2:23-25; 3:6, 7; 4:31. The language implies the prior existence both of the Lawgiver and of his Sabbath, when it is said that they were "made known" to his people. A fuller and more complete revelation must therefore be the thought intended.

bath," not madest the Sabbath for them, but madest it known,— language which plainly implies its previous existence, and cites the mind back to the Creator's rest for the origin of the institution.¹⁸

The moral obligation of the fourth commandment, which is so often denied, may be clearly shown by reference to the origin of all things. God created the world, and gave existence to man upon it. To him he gave life, and breath, and all things. Man therefore owes everything to God. Every faculty of his mind, every power of his being, all his strength, and all his time, belong of right to the Creator; hence it was the benevolence of the Creator that gave to man six days for his own wants. And in setting apart the seventh day to a holy use, in memory of his own rest, the Most High was reserving unto himself one of the seven days, when he could rightly claim all as his. The six days are the gift of God to man, to be rightly employed in secular affairs, not the seventh day the gift of man to God. The fourth commandment, therefore, does not require man to give something of his own to God; but it does require that man should not appropriate to himself that which God has reserved for his own worship. To observe this day, then, is to render to God of the things that are his; to appropriate it to man's use is simply to rob God.

¹⁸ It should never be forgotten that the term Sabbath day signifies rest day; that the Sabbath of the Lord is the rest day of the Lord; and hence that the expression, "the holy Sabbath," refers the mind to the Creator's rest day, and to his act of blessing and hallowing it.

CHAPTER V

THE SABBATH COMMANDMENT WRITTEN BY THE FINGER OF GOD

Classification of the precepts given through Moses — The Sabbath renewed — Solemn ratification of the covenant between God and Israel — Moses called up to receive the law which God had written upon stone — The ten commandments probably proclaimed upon the Sabbath — Events of the forty days — The Sabbath becomes the sign between God and Israel — The penalty of death — The tables of testimony given to Moses, and broken when he saw the idolatry of the people — The idolaters punished — Moses goes up to renew the tables — The Sabbath again enjoined — The tables given again — The ten commandments were the testimony of God — Who wrote them? — Three distinguished honors which pertain to the Sabbath — The ten commandments a complete code — Relation of the fourth commandment to the atonement — Valid reason why God himself should write that law which was placed beneath the mercy-seat.

WHEN the voice of the Holy One had ceased, “the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was.” A brief interview followed,¹ when God gave to Moses a series of precepts, which, as a sample of the statutes given through him, may be classified thus: Ceremonial precepts, pointing to the good things to come; judicial precepts, intended for the civil government of the nation; and moral precepts, stating anew in other forms the ten commandments. In this brief interview the Sabbath is not forgotten: —

“Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest: that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed.”²

¹ Exodus 20 to 24.

² Ex. 23: 12.

This scripture furnishes incidental proof that the Sabbath was made for mankind, and for those creatures that share the labors of man. The stranger and the foreigner must keep it, and it was for their refreshment.³ But the same persons could not partake of the Passover until they were made members of the Hebrew church by circumcision.⁴

When Moses had returned unto the people, he repeated all the words of the Lord. With one voice all the people exclaimed, "All the words which the Lord hath said will we do." Then Moses wrote all the words of the Lord. "And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, All that the Lord hath said will we do, and be obedient." Then Moses "sprinkled both the book, and all the people, saying, This is the blood of the testament which God hath enjoined unto you."⁵

The way was thus prepared for God to bestow a second signal honor upon his law.

"And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written; that thou mayest teach them. . . . And Moses went up into the mount, and a cloud covered the mount. And the glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud.⁶ And the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel. And Moses went into the

³ See also Ex. 20:10; Deut. 5:14; Isaiah 56.

⁴ Ex. 12:43-48. ⁵ Ex. 24:3-8; Heb. 9:18-20.

⁶ Dr. Clarke has the following note on this verse: "It is very likely that Moses went up into the mount on the first day of the week; and having with Joshua remained in the region of the cloud during six days,

midst of the cloud, and gat him up into the mount: and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights."⁷

During this forty days, God gave to Moses a pattern of the ark in which to place the law that he had written upon stone, and of the mercy-seat to place over the law, and of the sanctuary in which to deposit the ark. He also ordained the priesthood, which was to minister in the sanctuary before the ark.⁸ These things being ordained, and the Lawgiver about to commit his law as written by himself into the hands of Moses, he again enjoins the Sabbath:—

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily my Sabbaths ye shall keep: for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations; that we may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you. Ye shall keep the Sabbath therefore; for it is holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death: for whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people. Six days may work be done; but in the seventh is the Sabbath of rest, holy to the Lord: whosoever doeth any work in the Sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death. Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant. It is a sign

on the seventh, which was the Sabbath, God spake to him."—*Comment on Ex. 24: 16.* The marking off of a week from the forty days in this remarkable manner goes far toward establishing the view of Dr. Clarke. And if this be correct, it would strongly indicate that the ten commandments were given upon the Sabbath, for there seems to be good evidence that they were given the day before Moses went up to receive the tables of stone; as the interview in which chapters 21-23 were given would require but a brief space, and certainly followed immediately upon the giving of the ten commandments. Ex. 20: 18-21. When the interview closed, Moses came down to the people, and wrote all the words of the Lord. In the morning he rose up early, and, having ratified the covenant, went up to receive the law which God had written. Ex. 24: 3-13.

⁷ Ex. 24: 12-18. ⁸ Exodus 25 to 31.

between me and the children of Israel forever: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed. And he gave unto Moses when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God."⁹

This should be compared with the testimony of Ezekiel, speaking in the name of God:—

"I gave them my statutes, and showed them my judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live in them. Moreover also I gave them my Sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them. . . . I am the Lord your God; walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them; and hallow my Sabbaths; and they shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I am the Lord your God."¹⁰

It will be observed that neither of these scriptures teaches that the Sabbath was made *for* Israel, nor yet do they teach that it was made *after* the Hebrews came out of Egypt. In neither of these particulars do they *even seem* to contradict those texts that place the institution of the Sabbath at creation. But we do learn from them: 1. That it was God's act of giving to the Hebrews his Sabbath that made it a sign between himself and *them*. "I gave them my Sabbaths, *to be* a sign between me and them." This act of committing to them the Sabbath has been already noticed.¹¹ 2. That it was to be a sign between God and the Hebrews, "that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them." Wherever the word LORD in the Old Testament is in small capitals, as in the

⁹ Ex. 31: 12-18.

¹⁰ Eze. 20: 11, 12, 19, 20.

¹¹ See chapter 3.

texts under consideration, it is Jehovah in the Hebrew. The Sabbath, then, as a sign, signified that it was Jehovah, *i. e.*, the infinite, self-existent God, who had sanctified them. To *sanctify* is to separate, set apart, or appoint to a holy, sacred, or religious use.¹² That the Hebrew nation had thus been set apart in the most remarkable manner from all mankind, was sufficiently evident. But who was it that had thus separated them from all other people? As a gracious answer to this important question, God gave to the Hebrews his own hallowed rest day. But how could the great memorial of the Creator determine such a question? Listen to the words of the Most High: "Verily my Sabbaths," *i. e.*, my rest days, "ye shall keep: for it is a sign between me and you. . . . It is a sign between me and the children of Israel forever: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed." The Sabbath, as a sign between God and Israel, was a perpetual testimony that he who had separated them from all mankind as his peculiar treasure in the earth, was that Being who had created the heavens and the earth in six days, and rested on the seventh. It was, therefore, the strongest possible assurance that he who sanctified them was indeed Jehovah.

From the days of Abraham, God had set the Hebrews apart. He who had previously borne no local,

¹² "To sanctify, *kahdash*, signifies to consecrate, separate, and set apart a thing or person from all secular purposes to some religious use."—*Clarke's Comment on Ex. 13: 2*. The same writer says, on Ex. 19: 23, "Here the word *kahdash* is taken in its proper, literal sense, signifying the separating of a thing, person, or place from all profane or common uses, and devoting it to sacred purposes."

national, or family name, did from that time until the end of his covenant relation with the Hebrew race, take to himself such titles as seemed to show him to be their God alone. From his choice of Abraham and his family forward, he designates himself as the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; the God of the Hebrews and the God of Israel.¹³ He brought Israel out of Egypt to be *their God*,¹⁴ and at Sinai he joined himself to them in solemn espousal. In this way did he set apart, or sanctify, unto himself the Hebrews, because all other nations had given themselves up to idolatry. Thus the God of heaven and earth condescended to give himself to a single race, and to set them apart from all mankind. It should be observed that it was not the Sabbath which had set Israel apart from all other nations, but it was the idolatry of all other nations that had caused God to set the Hebrews apart for himself; and that God gave to Israel the Sabbath which he had hallowed for mankind at creation as the most expressive sign that he who thus sanctified them was indeed the true and living God.

It was the act of God in giving his Sabbath to the Israelites that rendered it a sign *between himself and them*. But the Sabbath did not derive its existence from being given to the Hebrews as it was; for it was the ancient Sabbath of the Lord when given to them, and we have seen¹⁵ that it was not given by a new commandment. On the contrary, it rested at that time upon existing obligation. But it was the prov-

¹³ Gen. 17: 7, 8; 26: 24; 28: 13; Ex. 3: 6, 13-16, 18; 5: 3; Isa. 45: 3.

¹⁴ Lev. 11: 45. ¹⁵ See chapter 3.

idence of God in behalf of the Hebrews, first, in rescuing them from abject servitude, and second, in sending them bread from heaven for six days, and preserving food for the Sabbath, that constituted the Sabbath a gift to that people. And mark the significance of the *manner* in which this gift was bestowed, as showing who it was that sanctified them. It became a gift to the Hebrews by the wonderful providence of the manna,—a miracle that ceased not openly to declare the Sabbath every week for the space of forty years, thus showing incontrovertibly that he who led them was the author of the Sabbath, and therefore the creator of heaven and earth. That the Sabbath, which was made for man, should be given to the Hebrews in such a manner, is certainly not more remarkable than that the God of the whole earth should give his oracles and himself to that people. The Most High and his law and Sabbath did not thus become Jewish; but the Hebrews were made the honored depositaries of divine truth, and the knowledge of God and of his commandments was by this means preserved in the earth.

The reason on which this sign is based, points unmistakably to the true origin of the Sabbath. It did not originate from the fall of the manna for six days, and its cessation on the seventh; on the contrary, the manna was given in this way because the Sabbath was already in existence. It originated in the fact that "in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed." Thus the Sabbath is shown to have originated with

the rest and refreshment of the Creator, and not at the fall of the manna. As an *institution*, the Sabbath declared its author to be the Creator of heaven and earth; as a *sign*¹⁶ *between God and Israel*, it is declared that he who set them apart was Jehovah.

The last act of the Lawgiver in this memorable interview was to place in the hands of Moses the "two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God." Then he revealed to Moses the sad apostasy of Israel, and urged him to hasten down to them.

¹⁶ As a sign, it did not thereby become a shadow and a ceremony; for the Lord of the Sabbath was himself a sign. "Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and wonders in Israel from the Lord of hosts, which dwelleth in Mount Zion." Isa. 8:18. In Heb. 2:13 this language is referred to Christ. "And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against." Luke 2:34. That the Sabbath was a sign between God and Israel throughout their generations, that is, for the time that they were his peculiar people, no more proves that it is now abolished than the fact that Jesus is now a sign that is spoken against proves that he will cease to exist when he shall no longer be such a sign. Nor does this language argue that the Sabbath was made only for them, or that its obligation ceased when they ceased to be the people of God; for the prohibition against eating blood was a perpetual statute for their generations; yet it was given to Noah when God first permitted the use of animal food, and was still obligatory upon the Gentiles when the apostles turned to them. Lev. 3:17; Gen. 9:1-4; Acts 15.

The penalty of death at the hand of the civil magistrate is affixed to the violation of the Sabbath. The same penalty is affixed to nearly every other precept of the moral law. See Lev. 20:9, 10; 24:15-17; Deut. 13:6-18; 17:2-7. It should be remembered that the moral law embracing the Sabbath formed a part of the *civil* code of the Hebrew nation. As such, the great Lawgiver annexed penalties to be inflicted by the magistrate, thus doubtless shadowing forth the final retribution of the ungodly. Such penalties were suspended by that remarkable decision of the Saviour that those who were without sin should cast the first stone. But such a Being will arise to punish men, when the hailstones of his wrath shall desolate the earth. Our Lord did not, therefore, set aside the real penalty of the law, the wages of sin, nor did he weaken that precept which had been violated. John 8:1-9; Job 38:22, 23; Isa. 28:17; Rev. 16:17-21; Rom. 6:23.

"And Moses turned, and went down from the mount, and the two tables of the testimony were in his hand: the tables were written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written. And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables. . . . And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf, and the dancing: and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount."

Then Moses inflicted retribution upon the idolaters, "and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men." Moses returned unto God, and interceded in behalf of the people; and God promised that his angel should go with them, but that he himself would not go up in their midst, lest he should consume them.¹⁷ Then Moses presented an earnest supplication to the Most High that he might see his glory. This petition was granted, saving that the face of God should not be seen.¹⁸

But before Moses ascended, that he might behold the majesty of the infinite Lawgiver, the Lord said unto him: —

"Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest. . . . And he hewed two tables of stone like unto the first; and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto Mount Sinai, as the Lord had commanded him, and took in his hand the two tables of stone. And the Lord descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord. And the Lord passed by before him."¹⁹

¹⁷ This fact will shed light upon these texts which introduce the agency of angels in the giving of the law. Acts 7:38, 53; Gal. 3:19; Heb. 2:2.

¹⁸ Exodus 32 and 33. ¹⁹ Exodus 34; Deut. 9; 10:1, 2.

Then Moses beheld the glory of the Lord, and he "made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshiped." This interview lasted forty days and forty nights, as did the first, and seems to have been spent by Moses in interceding with God that he would not destroy the people for their sin. The record of this period is very brief, but in this record the Sabbath is mentioned. "Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest: in earing time and in harvest thou shalt rest,"²⁰ thus admonishing them not to forget in their busiest season the Sabbath of the Lord.

This second period of forty days ends, like the first, with the act of God in placing the tables of stone in the hands of Moses. "And he was there with the Lord forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread nor drink water. And he"²¹ wrote upon the

²⁰ Ex. 34: 21.

²¹ The idea has been suggested by some from this verse that it was Moses, and not God, who wrote the second tables. This view is thought to be strengthened by the previous verse: "Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel." But it is to be observed that the words upon the tables of stone were the ten commandments; while the words here referred to were those which God spoke to Moses during this interview of forty days, beginning with verse 10 and extending to verse 27. That the pronoun *he* in verse 28 might properly enough refer to Moses, if positive testimony did not forbid such reference, is readily admitted. That it is necessary to attend to the connection in deciding the antecedents of pronouns is strikingly illustrated in 2 Sam. 24: 1, where the pronoun *he* would naturally refer to the Lord, thus making God the one who moved David to number Israel. Yet the connection shows that this was not the case; for the anger of the Lord was kindled by the act; and 1 Chron. 21: 1 positively declares that *he* who thus moved David was Satan. For positive testimony that it was God and not Moses who wrote upon the second tables, see Ex. 34: 1; Deut. 10: 1-5. These texts carefully discriminate between the work of Moses and the work of God, assigning the preparation of the tables, the carrying of them up to the mount, and the bringing of them down from the mount, to Moses, but expressly assigning the writing on the tables to God himself.

tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments." From this it appears that the tables of testimony were two tables of stone with the ten commandments written upon them by the finger of God, which proves that the testimony of God is, in truth, the ten commandments. The writing on the second tables was an exact copy of that on the first. "Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write," said God, "upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou breakest." And of the first tables, Moses says: "He declared unto you his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even ten commandments; and he wrote them upon two tables of stone."²²

Thus did God commit to his people the ten commandments. Without human or angelic agency, he proclaimed them himself; and not trusting his most honored servant, Moses, or even an angel of his presence, himself wrote them with his own finger. "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," is one of the ten words thus honored by the Most High. Nor are these two high honors the only ones conferred upon this precept. While it shares them in common with the other nine commandments, it stands in advance of them in that it is established by the *example* of the Lawgiver himself. These precepts were given upon two tables with evident reference to the two-fold division of the law of God,—supreme love to God, and the love of our neighbor as ourselves. The

²² Ex. 34: 1, 28; Deut. 4: 12, 13; 5: 22.

Sabbath commandment, placed at the close of the first table, forms the golden clasp that binds together both divisions of the moral law. It guards and enforces that day which God claims as his; it follows man through the six days which God has given him to be properly spent in the various relations of life, and embracing in its loan of six days to man all the duties of the second table, while itself belonging to the first.

That these ten commandments form a complete code of moral law, is proved by the language of the Lawgiver, when he called Moses up to receive them. "Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written."²³ This law and commandments was the testimony of God engraved upon stone. The same great fact is presented by Moses in his blessing pronounced upon Israel: "And he said, The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from Mount Paran, and he came with ten thousands of saints: *from his right hand* went a fiery law for them."²⁴ There can be no dispute that in this language the Most High is represented as personally present with ten thousands of his holy ones, or angels. And that which he wrote with his own right hand is called by Moses "a fiery law," or as the margin has it, "a fire of law." And now the man of God completes his sacred trust. He rehearses what God did

²³ Ex. 24: 12.

²⁴ Deut. 33: 2. That angels are sometimes called saints or holy ones, see Dan. 8: 13-16. That angels were present with God at Sinai, see Ps. 68: 17.

in committing his law to him, and what he himself did in its final disposition: "And he wrote on the tables, according to the first writing, the ten commandments, which the Lord spake unto you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly: and the Lord gave them unto me. And I turned myself and came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I had made; and there they be, as the Lord commanded me." Thus was the law of God deposited in the ark beneath the mercy-seat.²⁵ The top of the ark was called the mercy-seat, because all those who had broken the law contained in the ark beneath the mercy-seat could find pardon by the sprinkling of the blood of atonement upon it.

The law within the ark was that which demanded an atonement; the ceremonial law, which ordained the Levitical priesthood and the sacrifices for sin, was that which taught men how the atonement could be made. The broken law was beneath the mercy-seat, the blood of sin-offering was sprinkled upon its top, and pardon was extended to the penitent sinner. There was actual sin, and hence a real law which man had broken; but there was not a real atonement, and hence the need of the great Antitype to the Levitical sacrifices. The real atonement, when it is made, must relate to that law respecting which an atonement had been shadowed forth. In other words, the shadowy atonement related to that law which was shut up in

²⁵ Deut. 10: 4, 5; Ex. 25: 10-22.

the ark, indicating that a real atonement was demanded by that law. It is necessary that the law which demands atonement in order that its transgressor may be spared, should itself be perfect, else the fault would, in part at least, rest with the Law-giver, and not wholly with the sinner. Hence, the atonement, when made, does not take away the broken law, for that is perfect, but is expressly designed to take away the guilt of the transgressor.²⁶ Let it be remembered, then, that the fourth commandment is one of the ten precepts of God's broken law, one of the immutable, holy principles that made the death of God's only Son necessary before pardon could be extended to guilty man. These facts being borne in mind, it will not be thought strange that the Law-giver should reserve the proclamation of such a law to himself; that its proclamation should be attended by such scenes of awe and grandeur;²⁷ and that he should entrust to no created being the writing of that law which should demand the death of the Son of God to atone for the transgression of it.

²⁶ 1 John 3:4, 5.

²⁷ "The people of Israel, because of their sinfulness, were forbidden to approach the mount when God was about to descend upon it to proclaim his law, lest they should be consumed by the burning glory of his presence. If such manifestations of his power marked the place chosen for the proclamation of God's law, how terrible must be his tribunal when he comes for the execution of these sacred statutes. How will those who have trampled upon his authority endure his glory in the great day of final retribution? The terrors of Sinai were to represent to the people the scenes of the Judgment. The sound of the trumpet summoned Israel to meet with God. The voice of the archangel and the trump of God shall summon, from the whole earth, both the living and the dead to the presence of their Judge. The Father and the Son, attended by a multitude of angels, were present upon the mount. At the great Judgment-day, Christ will come 'in the glory of his Father with his angels.' He shall then sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations."—"*Patriarchs and Prophets*," p. 339.

CHAPTER VI

THE SABBATH DURING THE DAY OF TEMPTATION

General history of the Sabbath in the wilderness—Its violation one cause of excluding that generation from the promised land—Its violation by their children in the wilderness one of the causes of their final dispersion from their own land—The statute respecting fires upon the Sabbath—Various precepts relative to the Sabbath—The Sabbath not a Jewish feast—The man who gathered sticks upon the Sabbath—Appeal of Moses in behalf of the decalogue—The Sabbath not derived from the covenant at Horeb—Final appeal of Moses in behalf of the Sabbath—The original fourth commandment—The Sabbath not a memorial of the flight from Egypt—What words were engraved upon stone?—General summary from the books of Moses.

THE history of the Sabbath during the provocation in the day of temptation in the wilderness, when God was grieved for forty years with his people, may be stated in few words. Even under the eye of Moses, and with the most stupendous miracles in their memory and before their eyes, they were idolaters,¹ neglecters of sacrifices, neglecters of circumcision,² murmurers against God, despisers of his law,³ and violators of his Sabbath. Of their treatment of the Sabbath while in the wilderness, Ezekiel gives us the following graphic description:—

“But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness: they walked not in my statutes, and they despised my judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live in

¹ Exodus 32; Joshua 24: 2, 14, 23; Eze. 20: 7, 8, 16, 18, 24.

² Amos 5: 25-27; Acts 7: 41-43; Joshua 5: 2-8.

³ Numbers 14; Psalms 95; Eze. 20: 13.

them; and my Sabbaths they greatly polluted: then I said, I would pour out my fury upon them in the wilderness, to consume them. But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted before the heathen, in whose sight I brought them out."⁴

This language shows a general violation of the Sabbath, and evidently refers to the apostasy of Israel during the first forty days that Moses was absent from them. God did then purpose their destruction; but at the intercession of Moses he spared them for the reason assigned, that his name might not be disgraced before the heathen.⁵ A further probation being granted them, they signally failed a second time, so that God lifted up his hand to them, that they should not enter the promised land. The prophet continues:—

"Yet also I lifted up my hand unto them in the wilderness, that I would not bring them into the land which I had given them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands; *because* they despised my judgments, and walked not in my statutes, but polluted my Sabbaths: for their heart went after their idols. Nevertheless mine eye spared them from destroying them, neither did I make an end of them in the wilderness."⁶

This undoubtedly has reference to the act of God in excluding all that were over twenty years of age when they left Egypt, from entering the promised land.⁷ It is to be noticed that the violation of the Sabbath is distinctly stated as one of the reasons for which that generation was excluded from the land of promise. God spared the people so that the nation

⁴ Eze. 20: 13, 14.

⁵ Exodus 32.

⁶ Eze. 20: 15-17.

⁷ Numbers 14.

was not utterly cut off; for he extended to the younger part a further probation. Continuing in verses 18-24, he says: —

“But I said unto their children in the wilderness, Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols: I am the Lord your God; walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them; and hallow my Sabbaths; and they shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I am the Lord your God. Notwithstanding the children rebelled against me: they walked not in my statutes, neither kept my judgments to do them, which if a man do, he shall even live in them; they polluted my Sabbaths: then I said, I would pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the wilderness. Nevertheless I withdrew my hand, and wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted in the sight of the heathen, in whose sight I brought them forth. I lifted up mine hand unto them also in the wilderness, that I would scatter them among the heathen, and disperse them through the countries; because they had not executed my judgments, but had despised my statutes, and had polluted my Sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers' idols.”

Thus it appears that the younger generation, which God spared when he excluded their fathers from the land of promise, did, like their fathers, transgress God's law, pollute his Sabbath, and cleave to idolatry. God did not see fit to exclude them from the land of Canaan, but he did lift up his hand to them in the wilderness, that he would give them up to dispersion among their enemies after they had entered the land of promise. By this it is seen that the Hebrews, while in the wilderness, laid the foundation for their subsequent dispersion from their own land; and that one of the things which led to their final ruin as a nation

was the violation of the Sabbath before they had entered the promised land. Well might Moses say to them in the last month of his life: "Ye have been rebellious against the Lord from the day that I knew you."⁸ In Caleb and Joshua was another spirit, for they followed the Lord fully.⁹

Such is the general history of Sabbatic observance in the wilderness. Even the miracle of the manna, which every week for forty years bore public testimony to the Sabbath,¹⁰ became to the body of the Hebrews merely an ordinary event, so that they dared to murmur against the bread thus sent from heaven;¹¹ and we may well believe that those who were thus hardened through the deceitfulness of sin, had little regard for the testimony of the manna in behalf of the Sabbath.¹² In the Mosaic record we next read of the Sabbath as follows:—

"And Moses gathered all the congregation of the children of Israel together, and said unto them, These are the words which the Lord hath commanded, that ye should do them. Six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you an holy day, a Sabbath of rest to the Lord: whosoever doeth work therein shall be put to death.¹³ Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath day."¹⁴

The chief feature of interest in this text relates

⁸ Deut. 9: 24. ⁹ Numbers 14; Heb. 3: 16.

¹⁰ Exodus 16; Joshua 5: 12.

¹¹ Numbers 11 and 21.

¹² A comparison of Ex. 19; 20: 18-21; 24: 3-8, with chapter 32, will show the astonishing transitions of the Hebrews from faith and obedience to rebellion and idolatry. See a general history of these acts in Psalms 78 and 106.

¹³ For a notice of this penalty, see chapter 5.

¹⁴ Ex. 35: 1-3.

to the prohibition of kindling fires on the Sabbath. As this is the only prohibition of the kind in the Bible, and as it is often urged as a reason why the Sabbath should not be kept now, a brief examination of the supposed difficulty will not be out of place. It should be observed: (1) That this language does not form a part of the fourth commandment, the grand law of the Sabbath; (2) that as there were laws pertaining to the Sabbath which were no part of the Sabbatic institution, but grew out of its being entrusted to the Hebrews,—such as the law respecting the presentation of the showbread on the Sabbath, and that respecting the burnt-offering for the Sabbath,¹⁵—so it is at least possible that this is a precept pertaining only to that nation, and not a part of the original institution; (3) that as there were laws peculiar only to the Hebrews, so there were many that pertained to them only while they were in the wilderness (such were all those precepts that related to the manna, the building and setting up of the tabernacle, the manner of encamping about it, etc); (4) that of this class were all the statutes given from the time that Moses brought down the second tables of stone until the events narrated in the close of the book of Exodus, unless the words under consideration form an exception; (5) that the prohibition of fires was a law of this class; *i. e.*, a law designed only for the wilderness; and this is evident from several decisive facts:—

¹⁵ Lev. 24: 5-9; Num. 28: 9, 10.

1. That the land of Palestine, during a part of the year, is so cold that fires are necessary to prevent suffering.¹⁶

2. That the Sabbath was not designed to be a cause of distress and suffering, but of refreshment, of delight, and of blessing.¹⁷

3. That in the wilderness of Sinai, where this pre-

¹⁶ The Bible abounds in facts which establish this proposition. The psalmist, in an address to Jerusalem, uses the following language: "He giveth snow like wool: he scattereth the hoarfrost like ashes. He casteth forth his ice like morsels: who can stand before his cold? He sendeth out his word, and melteth them: he causeth his wind to blow, and the waters flow. He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel." Ps. 147: 16-19. Dr. Clarke has the following note on this text: "At particular times the cold in the East is so very intense as to kill man and beast. Jacobus de Vitriaco, one of the writers in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, says that in an expedition in which he was engaged against Mount Tabor, on the twenty-fourth of December the cold was so intense that many of the poor people and the beasts of burden died by it. And Albertus Aquensis, another of these writers, speaking of the cold in Judea, says that *thirty* of the people who attended Baldwin I in the mountainous districts near the Dead Sea, were killed by it; and that in that expedition they had to contend with horrible hail and ice, with unheard-of snow and rain. From this we find that the winters are often very severe in Judea; and that in such cases as the above we may well call out, 'Who can stand before his cold?'" See his comment on Psalms 147. See also Jer. 36: 22; John 18: 18; Matt. 24: 20; Mark 13: 18. 1 Maccabees 13: 22 mentions a very great snow-storm in Palestine, so that horsemen could not march.

¹⁷ The testimony of the Bible on this point is very explicit. Thus we read: "Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest; that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger may be refreshed." Ex. 23: 12. To be without fire in the severity of winter would cause the Sabbath to be a curse and not a refreshment. It would ruin the health of those who should thus expose themselves, and render the Sabbath anything but a source of refreshment. The prophet uses the following language: "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable," etc. The Sabbath, then, was designed by God to be a source of delight to his people, and not a cause of suffering. The merciful and beneficent character of the Sabbath is seen in the following texts: Matt. 12: 10-13; Mark 2: 27, 28; Luke 14: 3-6. From them we learn that God regards the sufferings of the brute creation, and would have them alleviated upon the Sabbath; how much more the distress and the needs of his people, for whose refreshment and delight the Sabbath was made.

cept respecting fires on the Sabbath was given, it was not a cause of suffering, as they were two hundred miles south of Jerusalem, in the warm climate of Arabia.

4. That this precept was of a temporary character is further implied in that while other laws are said to be perpetual statutes and precepts to be kept after they should enter the land,¹⁸ no hint of this kind appears here. On the contrary, this seems to be similar in character to the precept respecting the manna,¹⁹ and to be coexistent with and adapted to it.

5. If the prohibition respecting fires did indeed pertain to the promised land, and not merely to the wilderness, it would every few years conflict directly with the law of the Passover; for the Passover was to be roasted by each family of the children of Israel on the evening following the fourteenth day of the first month,²⁰ which would fall occasionally upon the Sabbath. The prohibition of fires upon the Sabbath would not conflict with the Passover while the Hebrews were in the wilderness; for the Passover was not to be observed until they reached that land.²¹ But if that prohibition did ex-

¹⁸ Ex. 29:9; 31:16; Lev. 3:17; 24:9; Num. 19:21; Deut. 5:31; 6:1; 7. The number and variety of these allusions will surprise the inquirer.

¹⁹ Ex. 16:23. ²⁰ Exodus 12; Deuteronomy 16.

²¹ The law of the Passover certainly contemplated the arrival of the Hebrews in the promised land before its regular observance. Ex. 12:25. Indeed, it was only once observed in the wilderness; namely, in the year following their departure from Egypt; and after that, was omitted until they entered the land of Canaan. Numbers 9; Joshua 5. This is proved, not merely from the fact that no other instances are recorded, but because circumcision was omitted during the whole period of their sojourn in the wilderness; and without this ordinance the children would have been excluded from the Passover. Exodus 12; Joshua 5.

tend forward to the promised land, where the Pass-over was to be regularly observed, these two statutes would often come in direct conflict. This is certainly a strong confirmation of the view that the prohibition of building fires upon the Sabbath was a temporary statute, relating only to the wilderness, where fires, if built at all, would be needed only for the purpose of cooking, and this was not to be done on the Sabbath. All cooking and preparing of food for the Sabbath was to be done on the sixth day, or the day just before the Sabbath. Ex. 16: 22, 23. For this reason the sixth day is called the "preparation" day. Luke 23: 54.²²

From these facts it follows that the favorite argument drawn from the prohibition of fires, that the Sabbath was a local institution and adapted only to the land of Canaan, must be abandoned; for it is evident that that prohibition was a temporary statute, not even adapted to the land of promise, and

²² Dr. Gill, who considered the seventh-day Sabbath as a Jewish institution, beginning with Moses and ending with Christ, and one with which Gentiles have no concern, has given his judgment concerning this question of fire on the Sabbath. He certainly had no motive in answering this popular objection, only that of stating the truth. He says:—

"This law seems to be a temporary one, and not to be continued, nor is it said to be throughout their generations, as elsewhere, where the law of the Sabbath is given or repeated; it is to be restrained to the building of the tabernacle, and while that was about to which it is prefaced; and it is designed to prevent all public or private working on the Sabbath day in anything belonging to that;" etc.—*Comment on Ex. 35: 3.*

Dr. Bound gives us St. Augustine's idea of this precept: "He doth not admonish them of it without cause; for that he speaketh in making the tabernacle, and all things belonging to it, and sheweth that, notwithstanding that, they must rest upon the Sabbath day, and not under the color of that (as it is said in the text) so much as kindle a fire."—*True Doctrine of the Sabbath,* p. 140.

not designed for that land. We next read of the Sabbath as follows:—

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them, Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy. Ye shall fear every man his mother, and his father, and keep my Sabbaths: I am the Lord your God." "Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary: I am the Lord."²³

These constant references to the Sabbath contrast strikingly with the general disobedience of the people. Again God says:—

"Six days shall work be done: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of rest, an holy convocation; ye shall do no work therein: it is the Sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings."²⁴

Thus did God solemnly designate his rest day as a season of holy worship, and as the day of weekly religious assemblies. Again the great Lawgiver sets forth the duty to keep his Sabbath thus:—

"Ye shall make you no idols nor graven image, neither rear you up a standing image, neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down unto it: for I am the Lord your God. Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary: I am the Lord."²⁵

²³ Lev. 19: 1-3, 30.

²⁴ Lev. 23: 3. It has been asserted from verse 2 that the Sabbath was one of the feasts of the Lord. But a comparison of verses 2 and 4 shows that there is a break in the narrative, for the purpose of introducing the Sabbath as a holy convocation, and that verse 4 begins the theme anew in the very language of verse 2; and it is to be observed that the remainder of the chapter sets forth the actual Jewish feasts; viz., that of unleavened bread, the Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles. What further clears this point of all obscurity is the fact that verses 37 and 38 carefully discriminate between the feasts of the Lord and the Sabbaths of the Lord. These say: "These are the feasts of the Lord, . . . beside the Sabbaths of the Lord." But Ex. 23: 14 settles the point beyond controversy: "Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year." And then verses 15-17 enumerate these feasts as in Lev. 23: 4-44. See also 2 Chron. 8: 13.

²⁵ Lev. 26: 1, 2.

Happy would it have been for the people of God had they thus refrained from idolatry, and sacredly regarded the rest day of the Creator. Yet idolatry and Sabbath-breaking were so general in the wilderness that the generation which came forth from Egypt were expressly told that they could not enter the promised land.²⁶ After God had thus cut off from inheriting the land the men who had rebelled against him,²⁷ we next read thus of the Sabbath:—

“And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath day. And they that found him gathering sticks brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the congregation. And they put him in ward, because it was not declared what should be done to him. And the Lord said unto Moses, The man shall be surely put to death: all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp. And all the congregation brought him without the camp, and stoned him with stones, and he died; as the Lord commanded Moses.”²⁸

The following facts should be considered in explaining this text: 1. That this was a case of peculiar guilt; for the whole congregation before whom this man stood in judgment, and by whom he was put to death, were themselves guilty of violating the Sabbath, and had just been excluded from the promised land for this and other sins.²⁹ 2. That this was not a case which came under the existing penalty of death for work upon the Sabbath; for the man was put in confinement that the mind of the Lord respecting his guilt might be obtained. The peculiar-

²⁶ Num. 14: 28-35; Eze. 20: 15, 16.

²⁷ Numbers 13 and 14.

²⁸ Num. 15: 32-36.

²⁹ Eze. 20: 15, 16, comp. with Num. 14: 35; 26: 63-65.

ity of his transgression may be learned from the context. These verses precede the account of this case:—

“But the soul that doeth aught presumptuously, whether he be born in the land, or a stranger, the same reproacheth the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people. Because he hath despised the word of the Lord, and hath broken his commandment, that soul shall utterly be cut off.”³⁰

These words, being followed immediately by this remarkable case, were evidently designed to be illustrated by it. It is manifest, therefore, that this was an instance of presumptuous sin, in which the transgressor intended despite to the Spirit of grace and to the statutes of the Most High; hence this case can not be quoted as evidence of extraordinary strictness on the part of the Hebrews in observing the Sabbath; for we have direct evidence that they did greatly pollute it during the whole forty years of their sojourn in the wilderness.³¹ It stands as an instance of transgression in which the sinner intended to show his contempt for the Lawgiver, and in this consisted his peculiar guilt.³² It may fittingly be

³⁰ Num. 15: 30, 31. ³¹ Ezekiel 20.

³² Hengstenberg, a distinguished German antisabbatarian, thus candidly treats this text: “A man who had gathered wood on the Sabbath is brought forth at the command of the Lord, and stoned by the whole congregation before the camp. Calvin says rightly, ‘The guilty man did not fall through error, but through gross contempt of the law, so that he treated it as a light matter to overthrow and destroy all that is holy.’ It is evident from the manner of its introduction that the account is not given with any reference to its chronological position; it reads, ‘And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath day.’ It stands simply as an example of the presumptuous breach of the law, of which the preceding verses speak. He was one who despised the word of the Lord, and broke his commandments [verse 31]; one who with a high hand sinned and reproached the Lord. Verse 30.”—*The Lord's Day*, pp. 31, 32.

classed with such cases as those of Nadab and Abihu, Achan, Uzzah, and Ananias and Sapphira,³³ all of which illustrate the principle laid down by the apostle Paul when he said, "Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after."³⁴

In the last month of his long and eventful life, Moses rehearsed all the great acts of God in behalf of his people, with the statutes and precepts that he had given them. This rehearsal is contained in the book of Deuteronomy, a name which signifies *second law*, and is applied to that book because it is a second writing of the law. It is the farewell of Moses to a disobedient and rebellious people; and he endeavors to fasten upon them the strongest possible sense of personal obligation to obey. When he is about to rehearse the ten commandments, he uses language evidently designed to impress upon the minds of the Hebrews a sense of their individual obligation to do what God had commanded. He says:—

"Hear, O Israel, the statutes and judgments which I speak in your ears this day, that ye may learn them, and keep, and do them. The Lord our God made a covenant with us in Horeb. The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day."³⁵

It was not the act of your fathers that placed this responsibility upon you, but your own individual acts that brought you into the bond of this covenant. You have personally pledged yourselves to the Most

³³ Lev. 10: 1-3; Joshua 7: 1 Chron. 13: 9, 10; Acts 5: 1-11.

³⁴ 1 Tim. 5: 24. ³⁵ Deut. 5: 1-3.

High to keep these precepts.³⁶ Such is the obvious import of this language; yet it has been gravely adduced as proof that the Sabbath of the Lord was made solely for the Hebrews, and was not obligatory upon the patriarchs. The singularity of this deduction appears in that it is brought to bear against the fourth commandment alone; whereas, if it were a just and logical argument, it would show that the ancient patriarchs were under no obligation in respect to any precept of the moral law. But it is certain that the covenant at Horeb was simply an embodiment of the precepts of the moral law, with mutual pledges respecting them between God and the people, and that that covenant did not give existence to any of the ten commandments. At all events, we find the Sabbath ordained of God at the close of creation,³⁷ and obligatory upon the Hebrews in the wilderness before God had given them a new precept on the subject.³⁸ As this was before the covenant at Horeb, it is conclusive proof that the Sabbath did no more originate from that covenant than did the prohibition of idolatry, theft, or murder.

Moses then repeated the ten commandments, giving the substance of the fourth as follows:—

“Keep the Sabbath day, to sanctify it, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee. Six days thou shalt labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle,

³⁶ See the pledges of this people in Exodus 19 and 24.

³⁷ See chapter 2. ³⁸ See chapter 3.

nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; that thy man servant and thy maid servant may rest as well as thou. And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day."³⁹

It is a singular fact that this scripture is not infrequently quoted as the original fourth commandment by those who write against and oppose the Bible Sabbath, while the original precept itself is carefully omitted and ignored. Yet there is the strongest evidence that this is not the original precept; for Moses rehearsed these words at the end of the forty years' sojourn, whereas the original commandment was given in the third month after the departure from Egypt.⁴⁰ The commandment itself, as here given, contains direct proof on the point. It reads: "Keep the Sabbath day, to sanctify it, *as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee*," referring elsewhere for the original statute. Moreover, the precept as here given is evidently incomplete. It contains no clue to the origin of the Sabbath of the Lord, nor does it show the acts by which the Sabbath came into existence; neither does it give the great fundamental reason given by God himself in the fourth commandment why the Sabbath is to be remembered and kept holy,—“for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.” This is

³⁹ Deut. 5: 12-15.

⁴⁰ Compare Exodus 19, 20, and Deuteronomy 1.

why those who represent the Sabbath as made in the wilderness and not at creation quote this as the fourth commandment, and omit the original precept which God himself proclaimed, where all these facts are distinctly stated.⁴¹

But while Moses in this rehearsal omitted a large part of the fourth commandment, he referred to the original precept for the whole matter, and then appended to this rehearsal a powerful plea of obligation on the part of the Hebrews to keep the Sabbath. It should be remembered that many of the people had steadily persisted in the violation of the Sabbath, and that this was the last time that Moses spoke in its behalf. He said:—

“And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day.”

These words are often cited as proof that the Sabbath originated at the departure of Israel from Egypt, and that it was ordained at that time as a memorial of their deliverance from Egypt. But it will be observed, (1) That this text says not one word respecting the origin of the Sabbath, or rest day of the Lord; (2) that the facts on this point are all given in the original fourth commandment, and are there referred to creation; (3) that there is no reason to believe that God rested upon the seventh day at the time of this flight from Egypt, nor that he then blessed and hallowed the day; (4) that the Sab-

⁴¹ Ex. 20: 8-11.

bath has nothing in it that would fitly commemorate the deliverance from Egypt, as that was a flight, and this is a rest (that flight was upon the fifteenth day of the first month, and this rest is upon the seventh day of each week; one occurring annually, the other, weekly); (5) but that God did ordain a fitting memorial of that deliverance, to be observed by the Hebrews,—the Passover, on the fourteenth day of the first month, in memory of God's passing over them when he smote the Egyptians; and the feast of unleavened bread, in memory of their eating this bread when they fled out of Egypt.⁴²

What, then, do these words imply? Perhaps their meaning may be more readily perceived by comparing them with an exact parallel found in the same book, and from the pen of the same writer:—

“Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger, nor of the fatherless; nor take a widow's raiment to pledge: but thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and the Lord thy God redeemed thee thence: therefore I command thee to do this thing.”⁴³

This precept was not to commemorate deliverance from Egyptian bondage; nor could that deliverance give existence to the moral obligation expressed in it. If the language in the one case proves that men were not under obligation to keep the Sabbath before the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, it proves with equal conclusiveness in the other that before that deliverance they were not under obligation to treat with justice and mercy the stranger, the father-

⁴² Exodus 12, 13.

⁴³ Deut. 24: 17, 18.

less, and the widow. And if the Sabbath is shown in the one case to be Jewish, in the other, the statute of the great Lawgiver in behalf of the needy and the helpless must share the same fate. It is manifest that this language is in each case an appeal to their sense of gratitude. You were slaves in Egypt, and God rescued you; therefore remember others who are in distress, and oppress them not. You were bondmen in Egypt, where, in your servitude and the rigorous exactions placed upon you, Sabbath-keeping seemed almost impossible, but God redeemed you; therefore sanctify unto the Lord the day which he has reserved unto himself,—a most powerful appeal to those who had hitherto persisted in polluting it, and a special reason why they should observe it. Deliverance from abject servitude was indeed necessary in each case, in order that the things enjoined might be fully observed; but that deliverance did not give existence to either of these duties. Truly, it was one of the acts by which the Sabbath of the Lord was given to that nation, but it was not one of the acts by which God made the Sabbath, nor did it render the rest day of the Lord a Jewish institution.

That the words engraved upon stone were simply the ten commandments, is evident.

1. It is said of the first tables:—

“And the Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude; only ye heard a voice. And he declared unto you his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even ten commandments; and he wrote them upon two tables of stone.”⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Deut. 4: 12, 13.

2. This scripture shows that the first tables of stone contained only the ten commandments. That the second tables were an exact copy of what was written upon the first, is plainly stated in the following verses:—

“And the Lord said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest.” “And I will write on the tables the words that were in the first tables which thou brakest, and thou shalt put them in the ark.”⁴⁵

3. This is confirmed by the decisive testimony found in these verses:—

“And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments [Heb., “words,” margin].” “And he wrote on the tables, according to the first writing, the ten commandments [“words,” margin], which the Lord spake unto you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly: and the Lord gave them unto me.”⁴⁶

These texts will explain the following language:—

“And the Lord delivered unto me two tables of stone written with the finger of God; and on them was written according to all the words, which the Lord spake with you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly.”⁴⁷

God is said to have written upon the tables according to all the words which he spoke in the day of the assembly; and these words which he thus wrote are said to have been *ten words*. But the preface to the decalogue was not one of these ten words,

⁴⁵ Ex. 34:1; Deut. 10:2.

⁴⁶ Ex. 34:28; Deut. 10:4.

⁴⁷ Deut. 9:10.

and hence was not written by the finger of God upon stone. That this distinction must not be overlooked, is shown by the following text and its connection: —

"These words the Lord spake unto all your assembly in the mount, out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice: and he added no more. And he wrote them in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me."⁴⁸

"These words" here brought to view, as written by the finger of God after having been uttered by him in the hearing of all the people, must be understood as one of two things: They are simply the ten words of the law of God, or they are all the words used by Moses in this rehearsal of the decalogue. But they can not refer to the words used in this rehearsal; for (1) Moses omits an important part of the fourth precept as given by God himself in its proclamation from the mount; (2) in this rehearsal of that precept he cites back to the original for that which is omitted;⁴⁹ (3) he appends to this precept an appeal in its behalf to their sense of gratitude, which was not made by God in giving it; (4) this language only purports to be a rehearsal, and not the original law itself; and this is further evinced by many verbal deviations from the original decalogue.⁵⁰ These facts are decisive as to what was placed upon the tables of stone. That was not an incomplete copy, citing elsewhere for the original, but the original code itself. And hence, when Moses

⁴⁸ Deut. 5: 22.

⁴⁹ Deut. 5: 12-15 compared with Ex. 20: 8-11.

⁵⁰ Deuteronomy 5 compared with Exodus 20.

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speaks of these words as engraved upon the table he refers not to the words used by himself in this rehearsal, but to the ten words of the law of God and excludes all else.

Thus have we traced the Sabbath through the books of Moses. We have found its origin in paradise, when man was in his uprightness; we have found that Abraham, by faith, must have kept it as a part of God's law; we have seen the Hebrews set apart from all mankind as the depositaries of divine truth; we have seen the Sabbath and the whole moral law committed as a sacred trust to them; we have seen the command for the observance of the Sabbath proclaimed by God as one of the ten commandments; we have seen it written by the finger of God upon stone in the bosom of the moral law; we have seen that law, possessing no Jewish, but simple moral and divine, features, placed beneath the mercy-seat in the ark of God's testament; we have seen that various precepts pertaining to the Sabbath were given to the Hebrews, and designed only for them; we have seen that the Hebrews did greatly pollute the Sabbath during their sojourn in the wilderness and we have heard the final appeal made in its behalf by Moses to that rebellious people.

We rest the foundation of the Sabbatic institution upon its sanctification before the fall of man; the fourth commandment is its great citadel of defense and its place in the midst of the moral law beneath the mercy-seat shows its immutable obligation and its relation to the atonement.

CHAPTER VII

THE FEASTS, NEW MOONS, AND SABBATHS OF THE HEBREWS

Enumeration of the Hebrew festivals—The Passover—The Pentecost—The Feast of Tabernacles—The new moons—The first and second annual sabbaths—The third—The fourth—The fifth—The sixth and seventh—The sabbath of the land—The jubilee—None of these festivals in force until the Hebrews entered their own land—The contrast between the Sabbath of the Lord and the sabbaths of the Hebrews—Testimony of Isaiah—Of Hosea—Of Jeremiah—Final cessation of these festivals.

UP to this time we have followed the Sabbath of the Lord through the books of Moses. A brief survey of the Jewish festivals is necessary to the complete view of the subject before us. Of these there were three feasts: the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles; there was each new moon, that is, the first day of each month throughout the year; then there were seven annual sabbaths, namely, the first day of unleavened bread, the seventh day of that feast, the day of Pentecost, the first day of the seventh month, the tenth day of that month, the fifteenth day of that month, and the twenty-second day of the same. In addition to all these, every seventh year was to be the sabbath of the land, and every fiftieth year the year of jubilee.

The Passover takes its name from the fact that the angel of the Lord "passed over" the houses of the Hebrews on that eventful night when the first-born in every Egyptian family was slain. This feast was

ordained in commemoration of the deliverance of that people from Egyptian bondage. It began with the slaying of the paschal lamb on the fourteenth day of the first month, and extended through a period of seven days, in which nothing but unleavened bread was to be eaten. Its great antitype was reached when Christ, our Passover, was sacrificed for us.¹

The Pentecost was the second of the Jewish feasts, and occupied but a single day. It was celebrated on the fiftieth day after the first-fruits of barley harvest had been waved before the Lord. At the time of this feast, the first-fruits of wheat harvest were offered up to God. The antitype of this festival was reached on the fiftieth day after the resurrection of Christ, when the great outpouring of the Holy Ghost took place.²

The Feast of Tabernacles was the last of the Jewish feasts. It was celebrated in the seventh month, when they had gathered in the fruit of the land, and extended from the fifteenth to the twenty-first day of that month. It was ordained as a festival of rejoicing before the Lord; and during this period the children of Israel dwelt in booths in commemoration of their dwelling thus during their sojourn in the wilderness. It probably typifies the great rejoicing after the final gathering of all the people of God into his kingdom.³

¹ Exodus 12; 1 Cor. 5:7, 8.

² Lev. 23:10-21; Num. 28:26-31; Deut. 16:9-12; Acts 2:1-18.

³ Lev. 23:34-43; Deut. 16:13-15; Nehemiah 8; Rev. 7:9-14.

In connection with these feasts, it was ordained that each new moon, that is, the first day of every month, should be observed with certain specified offerings, and with tokens of rejoicing.⁴ The annual sabbaths of the Hebrews have already been enumerated. The first two of these sabbaths were the first and seventh days of the feast of unleavened bread, that is, the fifteenth and twenty-first days of the first month. They were thus ordained by God:—

“Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses. . . . And in the first day there shall be an holy convocation, and in the seventh day there shall be an holy convocation to you; no manner of work shall be done in them, save that which every man must eat, that only may be done of you.”⁵

The third in order of the annual sabbaths was the day of Pentecost. This festival was ordained as a rest day, in the following language:—

“And ye shall proclaim on the selfsame day, that it may be an holy convocation unto you: ye shall do no servile work therein: it shall be a statute forever in all your dwellings throughout your generations.”⁶

The first day of the seventh month was the fourth annual sabbath of the Hebrews. Moses was commanded to—

“speak unto the children of Israel, saying, In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall ye have a sabbath, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, an holy convocation. Ye shall do no servile work therein: but ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord.”⁷

⁴Num. 10:10; 28:11-15; 1 Sam. 20:5, 24, 27; Ps. 81:3.

⁵Ex. 12:15, 16; Lev. 23:7, 8; Num. 28:17, 18, 25.

⁶Lev. 23:21; Num. 28:26. ⁷Lev. 23:24, 25; Num. 29:1-6.

The great day of atonement was the fifth of these sabbaths. The Lord said unto Moses: —

“Also on the tenth day of this seventh month there shall be a day of atonement: it shall be an holy convocation unto you; . . . ye shall do no manner of work: it shall be a statute forever throughout your generations in all your dwellings. It shall be unto you a sabbath of rest, and ye shall afflict your souls: in the ninth day of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye celebrate your sabbath.”⁸

The sixth and seventh of these annual sabbaths were the fifteenth and twenty-second days of the seventh month, that is, the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and the day after its conclusion. They were enjoined by God in the following manner: —

“Also in the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall keep a feast unto the Lord seven days: on the first day shall be a sabbath, and on the eighth day shall be a sabbath.”⁹

Besides all these, every seventh year was a sabbath of rest unto the land. The people might labor as usual in other business, but they were forbidden to till the land, that the land itself might rest.¹⁰ After seven of these sabbaths, the following, or fiftieth, year was to be the year of jubilee, in which every man was to be restored to his inheritance.¹¹ There is no evidence that the jubilee was ever observed, and it is certain that the sabbatical year was almost entirely disregarded.¹²

Such were the feasts, new moons, and sabbaths of

⁸ Lev. 23: 27-32; 16: 29-31; Num. 29: 7.

⁹ Lev. 23: 39.

¹⁰ Ex. 23: 10, 11; Lev. 25: 2-7.

¹¹ Lev. 25: 8-54.

¹² Lev. 26: 34, 35, 43; 2 Chron. 36: 21.

the Hebrews. A few words will suffice to point out the broad distinction between them and the Sabbath of the Lord. The first of the three feasts was ordained in memory of their deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and was to be observed when they should enter their own land.¹³ The second feast, as we have seen, could not be observed until after the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan; for it was to be celebrated when the first-fruits of wheat harvest should be offered before the Lord. The third feast was ordained in memory of their sojourn in the wilderness, and was to be celebrated by them each year after the ingathering of the entire harvest. Of course, this feast, like the others, could not be observed until the people were settled in their own land. The new moons, as has already been seen, were not ordained until after these feasts had been instituted. The annual sabbaths were part of these feasts, and could have no existence until after the feasts to which they belonged had been established. Thus the first and second of these sabbaths were the first and seventh days of the paschal feast; the third was identical with the feast of Pentecost; the fourth was the same as the new moon in the seventh month; the fifth was the great day of atonement; and the sixth and seventh were the fifteenth and twenty-second days of the seventh month, that is, the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and the next day after the close of the feast. As these feasts were not to be observed until the Hebrews should possess their own

¹³ Ex. 12: 25.

land, the annual sabbaths could have no existence until that time. And so of the sabbaths of the land. These could have no existence until after the Hebrews should possess and cultivate their own land; after six years of cultivation, the land should rest the seventh year, and remain untilled. After seven of these sabbaths of the land, came the year of jubilee.

In the ceremonial law given to Israel through the instrumentality of Moses, there were special sacrifices enjoined on the weekly Sabbath, the seven annual sabbaths, and the new moons. The usual continual offering had to be made every day; but these sabbaths were distinguished from the ordinary weekdays by the addition of further offerings. The purpose of an offering is consecration to God in willing obedience; for obedience as the fruit of faith is what God desires. Offerings are acceptable to God only when they are rendered as expressions of faith on the part of a truly repentant sinner, who thus confesses that God has provided a sacrifice as a propitiation for sin, and that he from that time on, as the one atoned for, promises to obey God. Hence, when Israel deviated from this faith and willing obedience, their offerings became an abomination to the Lord. His holy name was disgraced by them; and these feast-days, with their important sacrifices, became mere sacrilegious farces, whereas they should have expressed increased devotion. "The calling of assemblies" and "the solemn meetings" were "an abomination" unto the Lord, and he therefore says to Israel: "Your new moons and your appointed feasts

my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them.”¹⁴ All these festivals were in themselves good, in that they served as an expression of faith in the redemption provided for deliverance from sin.

The difference between these seven annual sabbaths of Israel and the weekly Sabbath of the Lord, has been clearly distinguished by God:—

1. The Lord himself made this distinction twice in the enumeration of the feasts as recorded in Lev. 23: 2-4, 37, 38.

2. God rested on the first seventh day, and with the completion of each week comes the recurrence of the divine rest day; the celebration of the annual sabbaths was by man only.

3. The weekly Sabbath was the divine memorial of a finished creation; the annual sabbaths pertained to the plan of redemption, and were instituted after creation was marred by sin.

4. The weekly Sabbath originated in paradise before sin entered the world; the annual sabbaths have reference to the gospel provision for salvation from sin.

5. The one was weekly, a memorial of the Creator's rest; the others were annual, connected with the memorials of the deliverance of the Hebrews from Egypt.

6. The one was proclaimed by God as one of the ten commandments, was written with his finger, in the midst of the moral law upon the tables of stone,

¹⁴ Isa. 1: 14.

and deposited in the ark beneath the mercy-seat; the others were embodied in that handwriting of ordinances which was a shadow of good things to come.

The annual sabbaths were imperfect representations and types of future realities, and were given to Israel through Moses, in the wilderness, to be celebrated first and only in Canaan, until they were superseded by the reality in Christ. They were consequently national, local, and temporary. The weekly Sabbath, however, was the divine rest day, was blessed and sanctified at creation for all men, times, and places. It is a day designed for rest from all labor and bondage. It is not only for the master and landowner, but also for the servant, the tradesman, for the poor and oppressed, for the stranger and sojourner, for beast and land. It brings rest to the captive and the slave, that they may be free and exempt from any burden. And this Sabbath brings with it the fulness of God's blessing to all, and an abundance of divine bliss and refreshment.

Israel and Judah turned away from Jehovah; they inclined their hearts to the idols of Baal, courted their favor, gave them credit for all the blessings of corn, wine, silver, and gold, which Jehovah had given them; they also dedicated their offerings to these gods, rendered them their songs of praise, and celebrated Jehovah's feast- and rest days as festivals and "days of Baalim."¹⁵ They even called the Lord himself "my Baalim." God therefore brought just retribution upon this covenant-breaking Israel,

¹⁵ Hosea 2:13.

and allowed the Assyrians and Babylonians, those whose favor they had courted, to turn upon them and rob them of that of which they had robbed him. The Sabbath of Jehovah, his feasts, and his new moons were wrested from him by Israel, and became "days of Baalim," and consequently "*her* feast-days, *her* new moons, and *her* sabbaths." God was righteously angry with such sacrilegious feasts, sacrifices, and worship. He therefore sent messages of reproof through three prophets, "in the days of Uzziah;" namely, Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah.

The change in the covenant relation between Jehovah and Israel thus brought about is especially noticeable. Instead of his being their God, Israel had chosen Baal as their deity. Israel's committing spiritual adultery with Baal caused God to separate himself from them as long as they adhered to Baal; but he promised to accept them again if they would return to him, their only lawful God. He therefore declared to Israel through the prophet Hosea: —

"Ephraim is joined to his idols: let him alone." "For ye are not my people, and I will not be your God." "Plead with your mother, plead: for she is not my wife, neither am I *her* husband: let her therefore put away her whoredoms out of her sight."¹⁶

Israel still outwardly professed adherence to the Sabbath and the feasts. The form was still preserved, but inwardly these observances had become but dead forms. In reality these celebrations were no longer reverent feasts of joy to Jehovah, but were

¹⁶ Hosea 4: 17; 1: 9; 2: 2.

performed to the honor of Baal. God therefore sent them the following message through the prophet Hosea:—

“I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feast-days, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her solemn feasts. And I will destroy her vines and her fig-trees, whereof she hath said, These are my rewards that my lovers have given me. . . . And I will visit upon her the days of Baalim, wherein she burned incense to them, and she decked herself with her earrings and her jewels, and she went after her lovers, and forgot me, saith the Lord.”¹⁷

And through the prophet Amos, God expressed his great displeasure at the forms which had been perverted to the honor of Baalim, in the following words:—

“I hate, I despise your feast-days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat-offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace-offerings of your fat beasts.” “Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances of deceit? that we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat? . . . And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness upon every head; and I will make it as the mourning of an only son, and the end thereof as a bitter day.”¹⁸

Through the prophet Isaiah the Lord also sent the following vision to Israel:—

“Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give

¹⁷ Hosea 2: 11-13.

¹⁸ Amos 5: 21, 22: 8: 4-6, 10.

ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I can not away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil." ¹⁹

The entire worship of Israel, all her feasts, new moons, and sabbaths, had become "a trouble" unto the Lord, on account of the idolatry and dead forms connected with them; but true sacrifices and the correct celebration of the Lord's Sabbath, feasts, and new moons, never became such. On the contrary, the same Isaiah who condemned Israel's idolatrous sacrifices and celebrations of the Sabbath, proclaimed great blessings upon those who would keep the Sabbath as God ordained it.

The Lord encourages all in proper Sabbath-keeping; but mock observance wearies him. In order to prevent the mock celebration of the Sabbath, he does not fence the Sabbath institution about with new ordinances, but reveals its wonderful genius and object and its abundance of blessings.

¹⁹ Isa. 1: 10-16.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SABBATH FROM DAVID TO NEHEMIAH

Silence of six successive books of the Bible relative to the Sabbath — This silence compared with that of the book of Genesis — The siege of Jericho — The standing still of the sun — David's act of eating the showbread — The Sabbath of the Lord, how connected with, and how distinguished from, the annual sabbaths — Earliest reference to the Sabbath after the days of Moses — Incidental allusions to the Sabbath — Testimony of Amos — Of Isaiah — The Sabbath a blessing to *mankind* — The condition of being gathered to the Holy Land — The Sabbath not a local institution — Commentary on the fourth commandment — Testimony of Jeremiah — Jerusalem to be saved if she would keep the Sabbath — This gracious offer despised — The Sabbath distinguished from the other days of the week — The Sabbath after the Babylonish captivity — Time for commencing the Sabbath — The violation of the Sabbath caused the destruction of Jerusalem.

LEAVING the books of Moses, there is a long-continued break in the history of the Sabbath. No mention of it is found in the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, First Samuel, Second Samuel, or First Kings. It is not until we reach the second book of Kings¹ that the Sabbath is even mentioned. In the book of First Chronicles, however, which, as a narrative, is parallel to the two books of Samuel, the Sabbath is mentioned² with reference to the events of David's life. Yet this leaves a period of five hundred years which the Bible passes in silence respecting the Sabbath.

During this period we have a circumstantial his-

¹ 2 Kings 4:23.

² 1 Chron. 9:32. We learn from verse 22 that this order was originally ordained by David and Samuel.

tory of the Hebrew people from their entrance into the promised land forward to the establishment of David as their king, embracing many particulars in the life of Joshua, of the elders and judges of Israel, of Gideon, of Barak, of Jephthah, of Samson, of Eli, of Naomi and Ruth, of Hannah and Samuel, of Saul, of Jonathan, and of David. Yet in all this minute record we have no direct mention of the Sabbath.

A favorite argument with antisabbatarians in proof of the total neglect of the Sabbath in the patriarchal age, is that the book of Genesis, which gives a distinct view of the origin of the Sabbath in paradise at the close of the first week of time, does not, in recording the lives of the patriarchs, say anything relative to its observance. Yet in that one book are crowded the events of two thousand three hundred and seventy years. What, then, should they say of the fact that six successive books of the Bible, relating with comparative minuteness the events of five hundred years, and involving many circumstances that would naturally call out a mention of the Sabbath, do not mention it at all? Does the silence of one book, which nevertheless gives the institution of the Sabbath at its very commencement, and which brings into its record almost twenty-four hundred years, prove that there were no Sabbath-keepers prior to Moses? What, then, is proved by the fact that six successive books of the Bible, confining themselves to the events of five hundred years, an average of less than one hundred years apiece, the

whole period covered by them being about one fifth that embraced in the book of Genesis, do nevertheless preserve total silence respecting the Sabbath?

No one will adduce this silence as evidence of utter neglect of the Sabbath during this period; yet why not? Is it because that, when the narrative, after this long silence, brings in the Sabbath again, it is done incidentally, and not as a new institution? Precisely such is the case with the second mention of the Sabbath in the Mosaic record, that is, with its mention after the silence in Genesis.³ Is it because the fourth commandment had been given to the Hebrews, whereas no such precept had previously been given to mankind? This answer can not be admitted, for we have seen that the substance of the fourth commandment was given to the head of the human family; and it is certain that when the Hebrews came out of Egypt, they were under obligation to keep the Sabbath in consequence of existing law.⁴ The argument, therefore, is certainly more conclusive that there were no Sabbath-keepers from Moses to David, than that there were none from Adam to Moses; yet no one will attempt to maintain the former position, however many there may be to affirm the latter.

Several facts are narrated in the history of this period of five centuries that have a claim to our notice. The first of these is found in the record of the siege of Jericho.⁵ By the command of God, the city

³ Compare Ex. 16: 23 and 1 Chron. 9: 32.

⁴ See chapters 2 and 3. ⁵ Joshua 6.

was encompassed by the Hebrews each day for seven days; on the last day of the seven, they encompassed it seven times, when by divine interposition the walls were thrown down before them, and the city was taken by assault. One day of this seven must have been the Sabbath of the Lord. Did not the people of God, therefore, violate the Sabbath in this instance? Let the following facts answer: 1. That which they did in this case was by direct command of God. 2. That which is forbidden in the fourth commandment is *our own work*: "Six days shalt thou labor, and do *all thy work*: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." He who reserved the seventh day unto himself had the right to require its appropriation to his service as he saw fit. 3. The act of encompassing the city was strictly as a *religious* procession. The ark of the covenant of the Lord was borne before the people; and before the ark went seven priests, blowing with trumpets of rams' horns. 4. Nor could the city have been very extensive, else going around it seven times on the last day, and then having time left for its complete destruction, would have been impossible. 5. Nor can we believe that the Hebrews, by God's command carrying the ark before them, which contained simply the ten words of the Most High, were violating the fourth of these words, "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." It is certain that one of those seven days on which they encompassed Jericho was the Sabbath; but there is no necessity for supposing it to have been the day in which the city was taken.

Nor is this a reasonable conjecture, when all the facts in the case are considered. On this incident, Dr. Clarke remarks as follows:—

“It does not appear that there could be any breach in the Sabbath by the people’s simply going around the city, the ark in company, and the priests sounding the sacred trumpets. This was a mere religious procession, performed at the command of God, in which no servile work was done.”⁶

At the word of Joshua, it pleased God to arrest the earth in its rotation, and thus cause the sun to remain stationary for a season, that the Canaanites might be overthrown before Israel.⁷ Did not this great miracle derange the Sabbath?—Not at all; for the lengthening of one of the six days by God’s intervention could not prevent the actual arrival of the seventh day, though it would delay it; nor could it destroy its identity. The case involves a difficulty for those who hold the theory that God sanctified the seventh part of time, and not the seventh day; for in this case the seventh part of time was not allotted to the Sabbath. But there is no difficulty involved for those who believe that God set apart the seventh day to be kept as it arrives, in memory of his own rest. To one of the six days was allotted a greater length than ever before or since; yet this did not in the slightest degree conflict with the seventh day, which nevertheless did come. Moreover, all this was while men under special divine direction were upon the stage of action; and it was by the direct providence of God; and what is also to be

⁶ See Dr. A. Clarke’s comment on Joshua 6: 15.

⁷ Joshua 10: 12-14.

particularly remembered, it was at a time when no one will deny that the fourth commandment was in full force.

David's eating the showbread is a case worthy of notice, as it probably took place upon the Sabbath, and because it is cited by our Lord in a memorable conversation with the Pharisees.⁸ The law of the showbread enjoined the setting forth of twelve loaves in the sanctuary upon the pure table before the Lord *every* Sabbath;⁹ and when new bread was thus placed before the Lord each Sabbath, the old was taken away to be eaten by the priests.¹⁰ It appears that the showbread which was given to David had that day been taken from before the Lord, to put hot bread in its place, and consequently that day was the Sabbath; because when David asked for bread, the priest said, "There is no common bread under mine hand, but there is hallowed bread." And David said, "The bread is in a manner common, especially [as the margin has it] when *this day* there is other sanctified in the vessel." And so the sacred writer adds: "The priest gave him hallowed bread: for there was no bread there but the showbread, that was taken from before the Lord, to put hot bread in the day when it was taken away." The circumstances of this case, as here enumerated, all favor the view that this was upon the Sabbath: (1) There was *no common* bread with the priest, which is not strange when it is remembered that the showbread was to be

⁸ 1 Sam. 21: 1-6; Matt. 12: 3, 4; Mark 2: 25, 26; Luke 6: 3, 4.

⁹ Lev. 24: 5-9; 1 Chron. 9: 32. ¹⁰ 1 Sam. 21: 5, 6; Matt. 12: 3, 4.

taken from before the Lord each Sabbath, and eaten by the priests; (2) that the priest did not offer to *prepare* other bread is not singular if it be understood that this was the Sabbath; (3) the surprise of the priest in meeting David may have been in part owing to the fact that it was the Sabbath; (4) this may also account for the detention of Doeg that day before the Lord; (5) when our Lord was called upon to pronounce upon the conduct of his disciples who had plucked and eaten the ears of corn upon the Sabbath to satisfy their hunger, he cited this case of David, and that of the priests' offering sacrifices in the temple upon the Sabbath, as justifying the disciples. There is a wonderful propriety and fitness in this citation, if it be understood that this act of David took place upon the Sabbath. It will be found to present the matter in a very different light from that in which antisabbatarians present it.¹¹

A distinction may be here pointed out, which should never be lost sight of. The presentation of the showbread and the offering of burnt sacrifices upon the Sabbath, as ordained in the ceremonial law, formed no part of the original Sabbatic institution; for the Sabbath was made before the fall of man; while burnt-offerings and ceremonial rites in the sanctuary were introduced in consequence of the fall. While these rites were in force, they necessarily, to some extent, connected the Sabbath with the festivals of the Jews in which the like offerings were made. This is seen only in those scriptures which record

¹¹ See chapter 10.

the provision made for these offerings.¹² When the ceremonial law was nailed to the cross, all the Jewish festivals ceased to exist; for they were ordained by that law; ¹³ but the abrogation of that law could only take away those rites which it had appended to the Sabbath, leaving the original institution precisely as it came at first from its Author.

The earliest reference to the Sabbath after the days of Moses is found in what David and Samuel ordained respecting the offices of the priests and Levites at the house of God. It is as follows:—

“And other of their brethren, of the sons of the Kohathites, were over the showbread, to prepare it every Sabbath.”¹⁴

It will be observed that this is only an incidental mention of the Sabbath. Such an allusion, occurring after so long a silence, is decisive proof that the Sabbath had not been forgotten or lost during the five centuries in which it had not been mentioned by the sacred historians. After this, no direct mention of the Sabbath is found from the days of David to those of Elisha the prophet, a period of about one hundred and fifty years. Perhaps the ninety-second psalm is an exception to this statement, as its title, in both Hebrew and English, declares that it was written for the Sabbath day;¹⁵ and it is

¹² 1 Chron. 23:31; 2 Chron. 2:4; 8:13; 31:3; Neh. 10:31, 33; Eze. 45:17.

¹³ See chapter 7. ¹⁴ 1 Chron. 9:32.

¹⁵ Cotton Mather says: “There is a psalm in the Bible whereof the title is, ‘A Psalm or Song for the Sabbath Day.’ Now ’tis a clause in that psalm, ‘O Lord, how great are thy works! thy thoughts are very deep.’ Ps. 92:5. That clause intimates what we should make the subject of our meditations on the Sabbath day. Our thoughts are to be on

not improbable that it was composed by David, the sweet singer of Israel.

The son of the Shunammite woman was dead, and she sought the prophet Elisha. Her husband not knowing that the child was dead, said to her: —

“Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? it is neither new moon, nor Sabbath. And she said, It shall be well.”¹⁰

It is probable that the Sabbath of the Lord is here intended, as it is thrice used in a like connection.¹¹ If this be correct, it shows that the Hebrews were accustomed to visit the prophets of God upon that day for divine instruction,—a very good commentary upon the words used in relation to the gathering of the manna: “Let no man go out of his place on the seventh day.”¹²

Incidental allusion is made to the Sabbath at the accession of Jehoash to the throne of Judah,¹³ about B. C. 878. In the reign of Uzziah, the grandson of Jehoash, the prophet Amos, B. C. 787, uses the following language: —

“Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit? that we may buy

God's works.”—“*Discourse on the Lord's Day*,” p. 30, A. D. 1703. Hengstenberg says: “This psalm is, according to the heading, ‘A Song for the Sabbath Day.’ The proper positive employment of the Sabbath appears here to be a thankful contemplation of the works of God, a devotional absorption in them which could only exist when ordinary occupations are laid aside.”—“*The Lord's Day*,” pp. 36, 37.

¹⁰ 2 Kings 4:23.

¹¹ Isa. 66:23; Eze. 46:1; Amos 8:5.

¹² Ex. 16:29.

¹³ 2 Kings 11:5-9; 2 Chron. 23:4-8.

the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat?"²⁰

These words were spoken more directly concerning the ten tribes, and indicate the sad state of apostasy which soon after resulted in their overthrow as a people. About fifty years after this, at the close of the reign of Ahaz, another allusion to the Sabbath is found.²¹ In the days of Hezekiah, about B. C. 712, the prophet Isaiah, in enforcing the Sabbath, says: —

"Thus saith the Lord, Keep ye judgment, and do justice: for my salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to be revealed. Blessed is the man that doeth this, and the son of man that layeth hold on it; that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and keepeth his hand from doing any evil. Neither let the son of the stranger, that hath joined himself to the Lord, speak, saying, The Lord hath utterly separated me from his people: neither let the eunuch say, Behold, I am a dry tree. For thus saith the Lord unto the eunuchs that keep my Sabbaths, and choose the things that please me, and take hold of my covenant; even unto them will I give in mine house and within my walls a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters: I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off. Also the sons of the stranger, that join themselves to the Lord, to serve him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer: their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar; for mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people. The Lord God which gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather others to him, beside those that are gathered unto him."²²

²⁰ Amos 8: 4-6.

²¹ 2 Kings 16: 18.

²² Isa. 56: 1-8.

This prophecy presents several features of peculiar interest: 1. It pertains to a time when the salvation of God is near at hand.²³ 2. It most distinctly shows that the Sabbath is not a Jewish institution; for it pronounces a blessing upon that man, without respect to nationality, who shall keep the Sabbath; and it then particularizes the son of the stranger, that is, the Gentile,²⁴ and makes a peculiar promise to him if he will keep the Sabbath. 3. This prophecy relates to Israel when they are outcasts, that is, when they are in their dispersion, promising to gather them, and *others*, that is, the Gentiles, with them; but of course, the condition of being gathered to God's holy mountain must be complied with, namely, to love the name of the Lord, to be his servants, and to keep the Sabbath from polluting it. 4. And hence it follows that the Sabbath is not a local institution, susceptible of being observed in the promised land alone, like the annual sabbaths,²⁵ but one made for mankind, and capable of being observed by the outcasts of Israel when scattered in every land under heaven.²⁶

Isaiah again presents the Sabbath; and this he does in language most emphatically distinguishing it from all ceremonial institutions:—

“If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable; and shalt honor him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor

²³ For the coming of this salvation, see Heb. 9:28; 1 Peter 1:9.

²⁴ Ex. 12:48, 49; Isa. 14:1; Eph. 2:12.

²⁵ See chapter 7 ²⁶ Deut. 28:64; Luke 21:24.

speaking thine own words: then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."²⁷

This language is a divine, evangelical comment on the fourth commandment. It appends to it an, exceeding great and precious promise, that takes hold upon the land promised to Jacob, even the new earth.²⁸

In the year B. C. 601, thirteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, God made to the Jewish people through Jeremiah the gracious offer that if they would keep his Sabbath, their city should stand forever. At the same time he testified unto them that if they would not do this, their city should be utterly destroyed. Said the prophet:—

"Hear ye the word of the Lord, ye kings of Judah, and all Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, that enter in by these gates: Thus saith the Lord: Take heed to yourselves, and bear no burden on the Sabbath day, nor bring it in by the gates of Jerusalem;²⁹ neither carry forth a burden out of your houses on the Sabbath day,³⁰ neither do ye any work, but hallow ye the Sabbath day, as I commanded your fathers. But they obeyed not, neither inclined their ear, but made their necks stiff, that they might not hear, nor receive instruction.³¹ And it shall come to pass, if ye diligently harken

²⁷ Isa. 58:13, 14. ²⁸ Matt. 8:11; Heb. 11:8-16; Revelation 21.

²⁹ On this text Dr. A. Clarke comments thus: "From this and the following verses we find the ruin of the Jews attributed to the breach of the Sabbath; as this led to a neglect of sacrifice, the ordinances of religion, and all public worship, so it necessarily brought with it all immorality. The breach of the Sabbath was that which let in upon them all the waters of God's wrath."

³⁰ For an inspired comment on this language, see Neh. 13:15-18.

³¹ This language strongly implies that the violation of the Sabbath had ever been general with the Hebrews. See Jer. 7:23-28.

unto me, saith the Lord, to bring in no burden through the gates of this city on the Sabbath day, but hallow the Sabbath day, to do no work therein; then shall there enter into the gates of this city kings and princes sitting upon the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, they, and their princes, the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem: and this city shall *remain forever*. And they shall come from the cities of Judah, and from the places about Jerusalem, and from the land of Benjamin, and from the plain, and from the mountains, and from the south, bringing burnt-offerings, and sacrifices, and meat-offerings, and incense, and bringing sacrifices of praise, unto the house of the Lord. But if ye will not harken unto me to hallow the Sabbath day, and not to bear a burden, even entering in at the gates of Jerusalem on the Sabbath day; then will I kindle a fire in the gates thereof, and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem, and it shall not be quenched.”²²

This gracious offer of the Most High to his rebellious people was not regarded by them; for eight years after this, Ezekiel testifies of them:—

“In thee have they set light by father and mother: in the midst of thee have they dealt by oppression with the stranger: in thee have they vexed the fatherless and the widow. Thou hast despised mine holy things, and hast profaned my Sabbaths. . . . Her priests have violated my law and have profaned mine holy things: they have put no difference between the holy and profane, neither have they showed difference between the unclean and the clean, and have hid their eyes from my Sabbaths, and I am profaned among them. . . . Moreover this they have done unto me: they have defiled my sanctuary in the same day, and have profaned my Sabbaths. For when they had slain their children to their idols, then they came the same day into my sanctuary to profane it; and, lo, thus have they done in the midst of mine house.”²³

Idolatry and Sabbath-breaking, which were be-

²² Jer. 17: 20-27.

²³ Eze. 22: 7, 8, 26; 23: 38, 39.

setting sins with the Hebrews in the wilderness, and which there laid the foundation for their dispersion from their own land,"³⁴ had ever cleaved unto them. And now, when their destruction was impending from the overwhelming power of the king of Babylon, they were so deeply attached to these and kindred sins that they would not regard the voice of warning. Before entering the sanctuary of God upon his Sabbath, they first slew their own children in sacrifice to their idols!³⁵ Thus iniquity came to its height, and wrath came upon them to the uttermost.

"They mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord rose against his people, till there was no remedy. Therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age: he gave them all into his hand. And all the vessels of the house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king, and of his princes; all these he brought to Babylon. And they burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof. And them that had escaped from the sword carried he away to Babylon; where they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the king of Persia."³⁶

While the Hebrews were in captivity at Babylon, God made them an offer to restore them to their own land, and give them again a city and a temple

³⁴ Eze. 20: 23, 24; Deut. 32: 16-35.

³⁵ Eze. 23: 38, 39.

³⁶ 2 Chron. 36: 16-20.

under circumstances of wonderful glory.³⁷ The condition of that offer being disregarded,³⁸ the proffered glory was never inherited by them. In this offer were several allusions to the Sabbath of the Lord, and also to the festivals of the Hebrews.³⁹ One of these allusions is worthy of particular notice, for the distinctness with which it discriminates between the Sabbath and the other days of the week:—

“Thus saith the Lord God: The gate of the inner court that looketh toward the east shall be shut *the six working-days*; but on the Sabbath it shall be opened, and in the day of the new moon it shall be opened.”⁴⁰

Six days of the week are by divine inspiration called “the six working-days;” the seventh is called the Sabbath of the Lord. Who shall dare confound this marked distinction?

After the Jews had returned from their captivity in Babylon, and had restored their temple and city, in a solemn assembly of the whole people Nehemiah recounts, in an address to the Most High, all the great events of God’s providence in their past history, testifying respecting the Sabbath as follows:—

“Thou camest down also upon Mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgments, and true laws, good statutes and commandments: and madest known unto them thy holy Sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant.”⁴¹

³⁷ Ezekiel 40-48.

³⁸ Eze. 43: 7-11.

³⁹ Eze. 44: 24; 45: 17; 46: 1, 3, 4, 12.

⁴⁰ Eze. 46: 1.

⁴¹ Neh. 9: 13, 14.

Thus were all the people reminded of the great events of Mount Sinai,— the giving of the ten words of the law of God, and the making known of his holy Sabbath. So deeply impressed was the whole congregation, with the effect of their former disobedience, that they entered into a solemn covenant to obey God.⁴² They pledged themselves to one another in these words:—

“And if the people of the land bring ware or any victuals on the Sabbath day to sell, that we would not buy it of them on the Sabbath, or on the holy day: and that we would leave the seventh year, and the exaction of every debt.”⁴³

In the absence of Nehemiah at the Persian court, this covenant was in part, at least, forgotten. Eleven years having elapsed, Nehemiah thus testifies concerning things when he returned, about B. C. 434:—

“In those days saw I in Judah some treading wine-presses on the Sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading asses; as also wine, grapes, and figs, and all manner of burdens, which they brought into Jerusalem on the Sabbath day: and I testified against them in the day wherein they sold victuals. There dwelt men of Tyre also therein, which brought fish, and all manner of ware, and sold on the Sabbath unto the children of Judah, and in Jerusalem. Then I contended with the nobles of Judah, and said unto them, What evil thing is this that ye do, and profane the Sabbath day? Did not your fathers thus, and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon this city? yet ye bring more wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath. And it came to pass, that when the gates of Jerusalem began to be dark before the Sab-

⁴² Neh. 9: 38; 10: 1-31.

⁴³ Neh. 10: 31.

bath," I commanded that the gates should be shut, and charged that they should not be opened till after the Sabbath: and some of my servants set I at the gates, that there should no burden be brought in on the Sabbath day. So the merchants and sellers of all kind of ware lodged without Jerusalem once or twice. Then I testified against them, and said unto them, Why lodge ye about the wall? if ye do so again, I will lay hands on you. From that time forth came they no more on the Sabbath. And I commanded the Levites that they should cleanse themselves, and that they should come and keep the gates, to sanctify the Sabbath day. Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy."⁴⁵

"A few words relative to the time of beginning the Sabbath will not be out of place here: 1. The reckoning of the first week of time necessarily determines that of all succeeding weeks. The first division of the first day was night; and each day of the first week began with evening; the evening and the morning, an expression equivalent to the night and the day, constituted the day of twenty-four hours. Genesis 1. Hence the first Sabbath began and ended with evening. 2. That the night in the Scriptures is reckoned a part of the day of twenty-four hours, is proved by many texts. Ex. 12: 41, 42; 1 Sam. 26: 7, 8; Luke 2: 8-11; Mark 14: 30; Luke 22: 34, etc. 3. The 2300 days, symbolizing 2300 years, are each constituted like the days of the first week of time. Dan. 8: 14. The margin, which gives the literal Hebrew, calls each of these days an "evening morning." 4. The statute defining the great day of atonement is absolutely decisive that the day begins with evening, and that the night is a part of the day. Lev. 23: 32: "It shall be unto you a sabbath of rest, and ye shall afflict your souls: in the ninth day of the month at even, from even unto even shall ye celebrate your sabbath." 5. That evening is at sunset is abundantly proved by the following scriptures: Deut. 16: 6; Lev. 22: 6, 7; Deut. 23: 11; 24: 13, 15; Joshua 8: 29; 10: 26, 27; Judges 14: 18; 2 Sam. 3: 35; 2 Chron. 18: 34; Matt. 8: 16; Mark 1: 32; Luke 4: 40. But does not Neh. 13: 10 conflict with this testimony, and indicate that the Sabbath did not begin until after dark?—I think not. The text does not say, "When it began to be dark at Jerusalem before the Sabbath," but it says, "When the gates of Jerusalem began to be dark." If it be remembered that the gates of Jerusalem were placed in wide and high walls, it will not be found difficult to harmonize this text with the many here adduced, which prove that the day begins at sunset.

Calmet, in his Bible Dictionary, article, "Sabbath," thus states the ancient Jewish method of beginning the Sabbath: "About half an hour before sunset all work is quitted, and the Sabbath is supposed to be begun:" and of the close of the Sabbath he says: "When night comes, and they can discern in the heaven three stars of moderate magnitude, then the Sabbath is ended, and they may return to their ordinary employments."

⁴⁵ Neh. 13: 15-22.

This scripture is an explicit testimony that the destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity of the Jews at Babylon were in consequence of their profanation of the Sabbath. It is a striking confirmation of the language of Jeremiah, already noticed, in which he testified to the Jews that if they would hallow the Sabbath, their city should stand forever; but that it should be utterly destroyed if they persisted in its profanation. Nehemiah bears testimony to the accomplishment of Jeremiah's prediction concerning the violation of the Sabbath; and with his solemn appeal in its behalf ends the history of the Sabbath in the Old Testament.



CHAPTER IX

THE SABBATH FROM NEHEMIAH TO CHRIST

Great change in the Jewish people respecting idolatry and Sabbath-breaking after their return from Babylon—Decree of Antiochus Epiphanes against the Sabbath—Massacre of a thousand Sabbath-keepers in the wilderness—Similar massacre at Jerusalem—Decree of the Jewish elders relative to resisting attacks upon the Sabbath—Other martyrdoms—Victories of Judas Maccabeus—How Pompey captured Jerusalem—Teaching of the Jewish doctors respecting the Sabbath—State of the Sabbatic institution at the first advent of the Saviour.

A PERIOD of almost five centuries intervenes between the time of Nehemiah and the commencement of the ministry of Christ. During this time an extraordinary change came over the Jewish people. Previously, they had been to an alarming extent idolaters, and outbreking violators of the Sabbath. But after their return from Babylon they were never guilty of open idolatry, the chastisement of that captivity effecting a cure of this evil.¹ In like manner did they change their conduct relative to the Sabbath; and during this period they loaded the Sabbatic institution with the most burdensome and rigorous ordinances. A brief survey of this period must suffice. Under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, the king of Syria, B. C. 170, the Jews were greatly oppressed:—

“King Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and every one should leave his laws:

¹ Speaking of the Babylonish captivity, in his note on Eze. 23:48, Dr. Clarke says: “From that time to the present day the Jews never relapsed into idolatry.”

so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king. Yea, many also of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols, and profaned the Sabbath.”²

The greater part of the Hebrews, however, remained faithful to God, and as a consequence, were obliged to flee for their lives. The historian continues:—

“Then many that sought after justice and judgment went down into the wilderness, to dwell there, both they, and their children, and their wives, and their cattle; because afflictions increased sore upon them. Now when it was told the king’s servants, and the host that was at Jerusalem, in the city of David, that certain men, who had broken the king’s commandment, were gone down into the secret places in the wilderness, they pursued after them a great number, and having overtaken them, they camped against them, and made war against them on the Sabbath day. And they said unto them, Let that which ye have done hitherto suffice; come forth, and do according to the commandment of the king, and ye shall live. But they said, We will not come forth, neither will we do the king’s commandment, to profane the Sabbath day. So then they gave them the battle with all speed. Howbeit, they answered them not, neither cast they a stone at them, nor stopped the places where they lay hid; but said, Let us die all in our innocency: heaven and earth shall testify for us, that ye put us to death wrongfully. So they rose up against them in battle on the Sabbath, and they slew them, with their wives and children, and their cattle, to the number of a thousand people.”³

In Jerusalem itself a like massacre took place. King Antiochus sent Apollonius with an army of twenty-two thousand,—

“who, coming to Jerusalem and pretending peace, did

² 1 Mac. 1: 41-43.

³ 1 Mac. 2: 29-38; compare Josephus’s “Antiquities,” b. 12, chap. 6.

forbear till the holy day of the Sabbath, when, taking the Jews keeping holy day, he commanded his men to arm themselves. And so he slew all them that were gone to the celebrating of the Sabbath, and running through the city with weapons, slew great multitudes." ⁴

In view of these dreadful acts of slaughter, Mattathias, "an honorable and great man," the father of Judas Maccabeus, with his friends decreed thus:—

"Whosoever shall come to make battle with us on the Sabbath day, we will fight against him; neither will we die all as our brethren that were murdered in the secret places."

Yet some were martyred after this for observing the Sabbath, as this quotation shows:—

"And others that had run together into caves near by, to keep the Sabbath day secretly, being discovered to Philip were all burnt together, because they made a conscience to help themselves for the honor of the most sacred day." ⁵

After this, Judas Maccabeus did great exploit in defense of the Hebrews, and in resisting the dreadful oppression of the Syrian government. Of one of these battles the record says:—

"When he had given them this watchword, *The Help of God*, himself leading the first band, he joined battle with Nicanor. And by the help of the Almighty they slew above nine thousand of their enemies, and wounded and maimed the most part of Nicanor's host, and so put all to flight; and took their money that came to buy them, and pursued them far; but lacking time, they returned: for it was the day before the Sabbath, and therefore they would no longer pursue them. So when they had gathered their armor together, and spoiled

⁴ 2 Mac. 5: 25, 26.

⁵ 1 Mac. 2: 41.

⁶ 2 Mac. 6: 11.

their enemies, they occupied themselves about the Sabbath, yielding exceeding praise and thanks to the Lord, who had preserved them unto that day, which was the beginning of mercy distilling upon them. And after the Sabbath, when they had given part of the spoils to the maimed, and the widows, and orphans, the residue they divided among themselves and their servants."⁷

After this the Hebrews, being attacked upon the Sabbath by their enemies, defeated them with much slaughter.⁸

About B. C. 63 Jerusalem was besieged and taken by Pompey, the general of the Romans. To do this it was necessary to fill an immense ditch, and to raise against the city a bank on which to place the engines of assault. Josephus relates the event as follows:—

"And had it not been our practise, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our law gives us leave then to defend our selves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us, yet it does not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do anything else. Which thing, when the Romans understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths, they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them, but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness, that they might do execution the following days."⁹

⁷ 2 Mac. 8: 23-28.

⁸ 1 Mac. 9: 43-49; Josephus's "Antiquities," b. 13, chap. 1; 2 Mac. 15.

⁹ "Antiquities of the Jews," b. 14, chap. 4. Here we call attention to one of those historical frauds by which Sunday is shown to be the Sabbath. Dr. Justin Edwards states this case thus: "Pompey, the Roman general, knowing this, when besieging Jerusalem, would not attack them on the Sabbath, but spent the day in constructing his works, and preparing to attack them on Monday, and in a manner that they could not withstand, and so he took the city" ("Sabbath Manual," p. 216); that is to say, the

From this it is seen that Pompey carefully refrained from any attack upon the Jews on each Sabbath during the siege, but spent that day in filling the ditch and raising the bank, that he might attack them on the days following each Sabbath; that is, upon Sunday, Monday, etc. Josephus further relates that the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred ministrations by the stones thrown among them from the engines of Pompey, even "if any melancholy accident happened;" and that when the city was taken, and the enemy fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet the priests did not run away, or desist from offering the accustomed sacrifices.

These quotations from Jewish history are sufficient to indicate the extraordinary change that came over that people concerning the Sabbath after the Babylonish captivity. A brief view of the teaching of the Jewish doctors respecting the Sabbath at the time when our Lord began his ministry, will conclude this chapter:—

"They enumerated about forty primary works, which they said were forbidden to be done on the Sabbath. Under each of these were numerous secondary works, which they said were also forbidden. . . . Among the primary works which were forbidden, were plowing, sowing, reaping, winnowing, cleaning, grinding, etc. Under the head of grinding was included the breaking or dividing of things which were before united. . . . Another of their traditions was that,

next day after the Sabbath was Monday, and of course Sunday was the Sabbath! Yet Dr. Edwards certainly ought to have known that in Pompey's time, sixty-three years before Christ, Saturday was the only weekly Sabbath, and that Sunday, not Monday, was the day of attack.

as thrashing on the Sabbath was forbidden, the bruising of things, which was a species of thrashing, was also forbidden. Of course, it was a violation of the Sabbath to walk on green grass, for that would bruise or thrash it. So, as a man might not hunt on the Sabbath, he might not catch a flea; for that was a species of hunting. As a man might not carry a burden on the Sabbath, he might not carry water to a thirsty animal, for that was a species of burden; but he might pour water into a trough, and lead the animal to it. . . . Yet should a sheep fall into a pit, they would readily lift him out, and bear him to a place of safety. . . . They said a man might minister to the sick for the purpose of relieving their distress, but not for the purpose of healing their diseases. He might put a covering on a diseased eye, or anoint it with eye-salve, for the purpose of easing the pain, but not to cure the eye." ¹⁰

Such was the remarkable change in the conduct of the Jewish people toward the Sabbath; and such was the teaching of their doctors respecting it. From utter disregard and open desecration of the Sabbath, they had gone to the other extreme of making it a day of the most rigorous exactions; the most merciful institution of God for mankind had become a source of distress; that which God ordained as a delight and a source of refreshment had become a yoke of bondage; the Sabbath, made for man in paradise, was now a most oppressive and burdensome institution. It was time that God should interfere. Next upon the scene of action appears the Lord of the Sabbath.

¹⁰ "Sabbath Manual of the American Tract Society," pp. 214, 215.

CHAPTER X

THE SABBATH IN THE TIME OF CHRIST

Mission of the Saviour — His qualifications as a judge of Sabbatic observance — State of the institution at his advent — The Saviour at Nazareth — At Capernaum — His discourse in the corn field — Case of the man with a withered arm — The Saviour among his relatives — Case of the impotent man — Of the man born blind — Of the woman bound by Satan — Of the man who had the dropsy — Object of our Lord's teaching and miracles relative to the Sabbath — Unfairness of many antisabbatarians — Examination of Matt. 24: 20 — The Sabbath not abrogated at the crucifixion — Fourth commandment after that event — Sabbath not changed at the resurrection of Christ — Examination of John 20: 26 — Of Acts 2: 1, 2 — Redemption furnishes no argument for the change of the Sabbath — Examination of Ps. 118: 22-24 — The Sabbath neither abolished nor changed as late as the close of the seventy weeks.

IN the fulness of time, God sent forth his Son to be the Saviour of the world. He who fulfilled this mission of infinite benevolence was both the Son of God and the Son of man. He was with the Father before the world was, and by him God created all things.¹ "All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made."² The Sabbath being one of the things that was made,³ Christ must have made it, and, in a pre-eminent sense, must be Lord of it. The Sabbath being ordained at the close of the great work of creation, as a memorial to keep it in lasting remembrance, the Son of God, by whom all things were created, could not be otherwise than a perfect judge of its true design and of its proper observance.

¹ Gal. 4: 4, 5; John 1: 1-10; 17: 5, 24; Hebrews 1

² John 1: 3. ³ Mark 2: 27.

The sixty-nine weeks of Daniel's prophecy relating to the coming of the Messiah being accomplished, the Redeemer began to preach, saying, "The time is fulfilled." ⁴ The ministry of the Saviour was at a time when by the teaching of the Jewish doctors the Sabbath of the Lord had become utterly perverted from its gracious design. As we have seen in the previous chapter, it was to the people no longer a source of refreshment and delight, but a cause of suffering and distress. It had been loaded down with traditions by the doctors of the law, until its merciful and beneficent purpose was utterly hidden beneath the rubbish of men's inventions. It being impossible for Satan, after the Babylonish captivity, to cause the Jewish people, even by bloody edicts and bitter persecutions, to relinquish the Sabbath and openly profane it, as they had done before that time, he caused their doctors so to pervert it that its real character should be utterly changed, and its observance entirely unlike that which would please God. In his ministry, therefore, we find that the Saviour never missed an opportunity to correct their false notions respecting the Sabbath, and that he purposely selected the Sabbath as the day on which to perform many of his miracles and merciful works. It will be found that no small share of his teaching through his whole ministry was devoted to a determination of what was lawful on the Sabbath,—a singular fact for those to explain who think

⁴ Dan. 9: 25; Mark 1: 14, 15.

that he designed its abrogation. At the opening of our Lord's ministry, we read:—

“And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit to Galilee: and there went out a fame of him through all the region round about. And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all. And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up for to read.”^b

Such was the manner of the Saviour relative to the Sabbath. It is evident that in this he intended to show his regard for that day; for it was not necessary to do so in order to gain a congregation, as vast multitudes were ever ready to throng his steps. His testimony being rejected, our Lord left Nazareth for Capernaum. The sacred historian says of this visit:—

“But he passing through the midst of them went his way, and came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught them on the Sabbath days. And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power. And in the synagogue there was a man, which had a spirit of an unclean devil, and cried out with a loud voice, saying, Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art; the Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not. And they were all amazed, and spake among themselves, saying, What a word is this! for with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out. And the fame of him went out into every place of the country round about. And he arose out of the synagogue, and entered into Simon's house. And Simon's wife's mother was taken

^b Luke 4: 14-16.

with a great fever; and they besought him for her. And he stood over her, and rebuked the fever; and it left her: and immediately she arose and ministered unto them.”⁶

According to the record, these are the first miracles performed by the Saviour on the Sabbath. But the strictness of Jewish views relative to the Sabbath is seen in that they waited till sunset, that is, till the Sabbath was passed,⁷ before they brought the sick to be healed, as the following account shows:—

“And at even, when the sun did set, they brought unto him all that were diseased, and them that were possessed with devils. And all the city was gathered together at the door. And he healed many that were sick of divers diseases, and cast out many devils; and suffered not the devils to speak, because they knew him.”⁸

The next mention of the Sabbath is of peculiar interest:—

“At that time Jesus went on the Sabbath day through the corn; and his disciples were an hungered, and began to pluck the ears of corn, and to eat. But when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do upon the Sabbath day. But he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungered, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did eat the showbread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests? Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the Sabbath days the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath, and are blameless? But I say unto you, That in this place is one greater than the temple. But if ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy, and not

⁶ Luke 4: 30-39; compare Mark 1: 21-31; Matt. 8: 5-15.

⁷ On this point, see conclusion of chapter 8.

⁸ Mark 1: 32-34; Luke 4: 40.

sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of man is Lord even of the Sabbath day.”⁹

The parallel text in Mark has an important addition to the conclusion as stated by Matthew:—

“And he said unto them, The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath: therefore the Son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath.”¹⁰

The following points should be noted in examining this text:—

1. That the question at issue did not relate to the act of passing through the corn on the Sabbath; for the Pharisees themselves were in the company; and hence it may be concluded that the Saviour and those with him were either going to or returning from the synagogue.

2. That the question raised by the Pharisees was this: Whether the disciples, in satisfying their hunger by plucking the corn through which they passed, were not violating the law of the Sabbath.

3. That he to whom this question was proposed was in the highest degree competent to answer it; for he was with the Father when the Sabbath was made.¹¹

4. That the Saviour was pleased to appeal to Scriptural precedents for the decision of this question, rather than to assert his own independent judgment.

5. That the first case cited by the Saviour was

⁹ Matt. 12: 1-8; compare Mark 2: 23-28: Luke 6: 1-5.

¹⁰ Mark 2: 27, 28.

¹¹ Compare John 1: 1-3 and Gen. 1: 1, 26; 2: 1-3.

peculiarly appropriate. David, fleeing for his life, entered the house of God upon the Sabbath,¹² and ate the showbread to satisfy his hunger. The disciples, to relieve their hunger, simply ate of the corn through which they were passing upon the Sabbath. If David did right, though eating in his necessity of that which belonged only to the priests, how little blame could be attached to the disciples, who had not even violated a precept of the ceremonial law!

6. Our Lord's next example is designed to show what labor upon the Sabbath is not a violation of its sacredness; and hence the case of the priests is referred to. The same God who had said in the fourth commandment, "Six days shalt thou labor, and do all *thy* work," had commanded that the priests should offer certain sacrifices in his temple on the Sabbath.¹³ Herein was no contradiction; for the labor performed by the priests upon the Sabbath was simply that necessary for the maintenance of the appointed worship of God in his temple, and was not doing what the commandment calls "*thy work*." Labor of this kind, therefore, the Saviour being judge, was not, and never had been, a violation of the Sabbath.

7. It is highly probable that the Saviour, in this reference to the priests, had his mind not merely upon the sacrifices which they offered upon the Sabbath, but also upon the fact that they were required to place new showbread every Sabbath upon the table before the Lord, when the old was to be re-

¹² See chapter 8.

¹³ Num. 28 : 9, 10.

moved and eaten by them.¹⁴ This view of the matter connects the case of the priests with that of David, and both bear with wonderful distinctness upon the act of the disciples. With this view our Lord's argument can better be appreciated, when he adds: "But I say unto you, That in this place is one greater than the temple;" so that if the showbread, prepared for the use of those who ministered in the temple, was thus looked after on each Sabbath, and those who did this were guiltless, how free from guilt, also, must be the disciples, who, in following *him* who was greater than the temple, but who had not where to lay his head, had eaten of the standing corn upon the Sabbath to relieve their hunger.

8. Our Lord next lays down a principle worthy of the most serious attention, when he adds: "But if ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless." The Most High had ordained certain labor to be performed upon the Sabbath, in order that sacrifices might be offered to himself. But Christ affirms, upon the authority of the Scriptures,¹⁵ that there is something far more acceptable to God than sacrifices, and that is, acts of mercy. If God held those guiltless who offered sacrifices upon the Sabbath, how much less would he condemn those who extend mercy and relief to the distressed and suffering upon that day.

9. Nor does the Saviour leave the subject even here; for he adds: "The Sabbath was made for

¹⁴ Lev. 24: 5-9; 1 Chron. 9: 32.

¹⁵ Hosea 6: 6.

man; and not man for the Sabbath: therefore the Son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath." If the Sabbath was *made*, certain acts were necessary in order to give existence to it. What were those acts? — (1) God rested upon the seventh day, and thus made it the rest day, or Sabbath, of the Lord; (2) he blessed the day, by which it became his holy day; (3) he sanctified it, or set it apart to a holy use, making its observance a part of man's duty toward God. There must have been a time when these acts were performed; and on this point there is really no room for controversy. They were not performed at Sinai, nor in the wilderness of Sin, but in paradise.

In relation to the Sabbath, the Saviour's argument is this: God made the Sabbath for the man that he made of the dust of the ground; and being thus made for an unfallen race, it can only be a merciful and beneficent institution. He who made the Sabbath for man before the fall, saw what man needed, and knew how to supply that want. It was given to him for rest, refreshment, and delight,—a character that is sustained after the fall,¹⁶ but which the Jews had already lost sight of.¹⁷ Our Lord here lays open his whole heart concerning the Sabbath. He carefully determines what works are not a violation of the Sabbath; and this he does by Old Testament examples, that it may be evident that he is introducing no change in the institution; he sets aside

¹⁶ Ex. 16: 23; 23: 12; Isa. 58: 13, 14.

¹⁷ See conclusion of chapter 9.

their rigorous and burdensome traditions concerning the Sabbath, by tracing it back to its merciful origin in paradise; and having thus disencumbered the Sabbath of pharisaic rigor, he leaves it upon its paradisiacal foundation, enforced by all the authority and sacredness of that law which he came not to destroy, but to magnify and make honorable.¹⁸

10. Having divested the Sabbath of all pharisaic additions, our Lord concludes with this remarkable declaration: "Therefore the Son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath." 1. It was not a disparagement to the Sabbath, but an honor, that God's only Son should claim to be its Lord. 2. Nor was it derogatory to the character of the Redeemer to be the Lord of the Sabbath; with all the high honors pertaining to his Messiahship, he is *also* Lord of the Sabbath. Or, if we take the expression in Matthew, he is "Lord *even* of the Sabbath day," it shows that it is not a small honor to possess such a title. 3. This title implies that the Messiah should be the *protector*, and not the *destroyer*, of the Sabbath; and hence that he was the rightful one to decide the proper nature of Sabbatic observance. With such memorable words ends our Lord's first discourse concerning the Sabbath.

From this time the Pharisees watched the Saviour to find an accusation against him for violating the Sabbath. The next example will show the malignity of their hearts, their utter perversion of the Sabbath, the urgent need of an authoritative correc-

¹⁸ Matt. 5: 17-19; Isa. 42: 21.

tion of their false teachings respecting it, and the Saviour's unanswerable defense:—

“And when he was departed thence, he went into their synagogue: and, behold, there was a man which had his hand withered. And they asked him, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath days? that they might accuse him. And he said unto them, What man shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the Sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out? How much then is a man better than a sheep? Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath days. Then saith he to the man, Stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched it forth; and it was restored whole, like as the other. Then the Pharisees went out, and held a council against him, how they might destroy him.”¹⁹

What was the act that caused this madness of the Pharisees?—On the part of the Saviour, it was a word; on the part of the man, it was the act of stretching out his arm. Did the law of the Sabbath forbid either of these things?—No one can affirm such a thing. But the Saviour had publicly transgressed that tradition of the Pharisees that forbade the doing of anything whatever toward the healing of the sick upon the Sabbath. And how necessary that such a wicked tradition should be swept away, if the Sabbath itself was to be preserved for man! But the Pharisees were filled with such madness that they went out of the synagogue, and consulted how they might destroy Jesus; yet he only acted in behalf of the Sabbath in setting aside those traditions by which they had perverted it.

¹⁹ Matt. 12:9-14; compare Mark 3:1-6; Luke 6:6-11.

After this, our Lord returned into his own country, and thus we read of him:—

“And when the Sabbath day was come, he began to teach in the synagogue: and many hearing him were astonished, saying, From whence hath this man these things? and what wisdom is this which is given unto him, that even such mighty works are wrought by his hands?”²⁰

Not far from this time, we find the Saviour at Jerusalem, and the following miracle was performed upon the Sabbath:—

“And a certain man was there, which had an infirmity thirty and eight years. When Jesus saw him lie, and knew that he had been now a long time in that case, he saith unto him, Wilt thou be made whole? The impotent man answered him, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool: but while I am coming, another steppeth down before me. Jesus saith unto him, Rise, take up thy bed, and walk. And immediately the man was made whole, and took up his bed, and walked: and on the same day was the Sabbath. The Jews therefore said unto him that was cured, It is the Sabbath day: it is not lawful for thee to carry thy bed. He answered them, He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take up thy bed, and walk. Then asked they him, What man is that which said unto thee, Take up thy bed, and walk? . . . The man departed, and told the Jews that it was Jesus, which had made him whole. And therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the Sabbath day. But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God.”²¹

Our Lord here stands charged with two crimes: First, he had broken the Sabbath; and secondly, he

²⁰ Mark 6: 1-6.

²¹ John 5: 1-18.

had made himself equal with God. The first accusation is based on these particulars: 1. By his word he had healed the impotent man. But this violated no law of God; it only set at naught that tradition which forbade anything to be done for curing diseases upon the Sabbath. 2. He had directed the man to carry his bed. But this, as a burden, was a mere trifle,²² like a cloak or mat, and was designed to show the reality of his cure, and thus to honor the Lord of the Sabbath, who had healed him. Moreover, it was not such a burden as the Scriptures forbid upon the Sabbath.²³ 3. Jesus justified what he had done by comparing his present act of healing to that work which his Father had done *hitherto*; i. e., from the beginning of creation. Ever since the Sabbath was sanctified in paradise, the Father, by his providence, had continued to mankind, even upon the Sabbath, all the merciful acts by which the human race has been preserved. This work of the Father's was of precisely the same nature as that which Jesus had now done. These acts did not argue that the Father had *hitherto* lightly esteemed the Sabbath, for he had most solemnly enjoined its observance in the law and in the prophets;²⁴ and as our Lord had most expressly recognized their authority,²⁵ there was no ground to accuse him of disregarding the Sabbath, when he had only followed the example

²² See Dr. Bloomfield's Greek Testament on this text; "Family Testament of the American Tract Society;" and Nevins's "Biblical Antiquities," pp. 62, 63.

²³ Compare Jer. 17: 21-27 with Neh. 13: 15-20.

²⁴ Gen. 2: 1-3; Ex. 20: 8-11; Isa. 56; 58: 13, 14; Ezekiel 20.

²⁵ Gal. 4: 4; Matt. 5: 17-19; 7: 12; 19: 17; Luke 16: 17.

of the Father from the beginning. The Saviour's answer to these two charges will remove all difficulty:—

"Then answered Jesus and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise." ²⁶

This answer involves two points: (1) That he was following his Father's perfect example, who had ever laid open to him all his works, and hence, as he was doing only that which had ever been the pleasure of the Father to do, he was not engaged in the overthrow of the Sabbath; (2) that by the meek humility of his answer,—“The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do,”—he showed the groundlessness of their charge of self exaltation, and left them no chance to answer him again.

Several months after this, the same case of healing was again under discussion:—

"Jesus answered and said unto them, I have done one work, and ye all marvel. Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision (not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers); and ye on the Sabbath day circumcise a man. If a man on the Sabbath day receive circumcision, that the law of Moses should not be broken; are ye angry at me, because I have made a man every whit whole on the Sabbath day?" ²⁷

This scripture contains our Lord's second answer relative to healing the impotent man upon the Sabbath. In his first answer he rested his defense upon

²⁶ John 5: 19.

²⁷ John 7: 21-23.

the fact that what he had done was precisely the same as that which his Father had done *hitherto*, that is, from the beginning of the world, which implies that the Sabbath had existed from the same point, else the example of the Father during this time would not be relevant. In this, his second answer, a similar point is involved relative to the origin of the Sabbath. His defense this time rests upon the fact that his act of healing no more violated the Sabbath than did the act of circumcising upon the Sabbath. But if circumcision, which was ordained in the time of Abraham, was older than the Sabbath, as it certainly was if the Sabbath originated in the wilderness of Sin, there would be an impropriety in the allusion; for circumcision would be entitled to the priority as the more ancient institution. It would be strictly proper to speak of a more recent institution as involving no violation of an older one; but it would not be proper to speak of an ancient institution as involving no violation of one more recent. The language therefore implies that the Sabbath was older than circumcision; in other words, more ancient than the days of Abraham. These two answers of the Saviour are certainly in harmony with the unanimous testimony of the sacred writers, that the Sabbath originated with the sanctification of the rest day of the Lord in Eden.

What had the Saviour done to justify the hatred of the Jewish people toward him? — Upon the Sabbath he had healed with one word a man who had been helpless thirty-eight years. Was not this act

in strict accordance with the Sabbatic institution? Our Lord has settled this point in the affirmative by weighty and unanswerable arguments,²⁸ not in this case alone, but in others already noticed, and also in those which remain to be noticed. Had he left the man in his wretchedness because it was the Sabbath, when a word would have healed him, he would have dishonored the Sabbath, and thrown reproach upon its Author. We shall find the Lord of the Sabbath still further at work in its behalf in rescuing it from the hands of those who had so utterly perverted its design,— a work quite unnecessary, had he designed to nail the institution to his cross.

The next incident to be noticed is the case of the man that was born blind. Jesus, seeing him, said: —

“ I must work the works of him that sent me while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work. As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world. When he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and he anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay, and said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam (which is by interpretation, Sent). He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing. . . . And it was the Sabbath day when Jesus made the clay, and opened his eyes.”²⁹

Here is the record of another of our Lord's merciful acts upon the Sabbath day. He saw a man blind from his birth; moved with compassion toward him, he moistened clay, and anointed his eyes,

²⁸ Grotius well says: “ If he healed any on the Sabbath, he made it appear, not only from the law, but also from their received opinions, that such works were not forbidden on the Sabbath.”—“ *The Truth of the Christian Religion*,” b. 5, sec. 7.

²⁹ John 9: 1-16.

and sent him to the pool to wash; and when he had washed, he received sight. The act was alike worthy of the Sabbath and of its Lord; and it pertains only to the opponents of the Sabbath *now*, as it pertained only to the enemies of its Lord *then*, to see in this even the slightest violation of the Sabbath.

After this we read as follows:—

“And he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the Sabbath. And, behold, there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself. And when Jesus saw her, he called her to him, and said unto her, Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands on her: and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God. And the ruler of the synagogue answered with indignation, because that Jesus had healed on the Sabbath day, and said unto the people, There are six days in which men ought to work: in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the Sabbath day. The Lord then answered him, and said, Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the Sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years; be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day? And when he had said these things, all his adversaries were ashamed: and all the people rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by him.”³⁰

This time a daughter of Abraham, that is, a pious woman,³¹ who had been bound by Satan eighteen years, was loosed from that bond upon the Sabbath day. Jesus silenced the clamor of his enemies by an appeal to their own course of action in loosing the ox and leading him to water upon the Sabbath.

³⁰ Luke 13: 10-17.

³¹ 1 Peter 3: 6.

With this answer our Lord made all his adversaries ashamed, and all the people rejoiced for the glorious things that were done by him. The last of these glorious acts by which Jesus honored the Sabbath is thus narrated:—

“And it came to pass, as he went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the Sabbath day, that they watched him. And, behold, there was a certain man before him which had the dropsy. And Jesus answering spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day? And they held their peace. And he took him, and healed him, and let him go; and answered them, saying, Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the Sabbath day? And they could not answer him again to these things.”³²

It is evident that the Pharisees and lawyers durst not answer the question, “Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day?” If they said, “Yes,” they condemned their own tradition; if they said, “No,” they were unable to sustain their answer by fair argument; hence they remained silent. And when Jesus had healed the man, he asked a second question equally embarrassing: “Which of you shall have an ox fall into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the Sabbath?” And again they could not answer him. It is apparent that our Lord’s arguments with the Pharisees from time to time in relation to the Sabbath had satisfied them at last that silence relative to their traditions was wiser than speech.

In his public teaching, the Saviour declared that

³² Luke 14: 1-6.

the weightier matters of the law were judgment, *mercy*, and faith; and his long-continued and powerful effort in behalf of the Sabbath was to vindicate it as a *merciful* institution, and to rid it of pharisaic traditions, by which it was perverted from its original purpose. Those who oppose the Sabbath are here guilty of unfairness in two particulars: (1) They represent these pharisaic rigors as actually belonging to the Sabbath institution, and by this means turn the minds of men against the Sabbath; (2) having done this, they represent the effort of the Saviour to set aside those traditions as an effort directed to the overthrow of the Sabbath itself.

The whole history of Christ's life on earth, therefore, sets him forth as a great Sabbath reformer. But, as with all efforts to correct long-established errors in religious matters, Christ, in this work, met with the most bitter opposition. This fact appears most clearly from Mark's account of the healing of the man with the withered hand. He says:—

"And they watched him, whether he would heal him on the Sabbath day; that they might accuse him. . . . And he said unto them, Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath days, or to do evil? to save life, or to kill?"

As soon as the miracle had been performed, "the Pharisees went forth, and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him, *how they might destroy him.*"³³ It appears again from a statement in John's account of the healing of the impotent man: "Therefore did the Jews *persecute*

³³ Mark 3: 1-6.

Jesus, and *sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the Sabbath.*"³⁴

There was a deep significance in Christ's question whether it was lawful on the Sabbath days "to *save* life, or to *kill*." His was a mission of restoration, of salvation, and of life-giving. But because of his refusal to conform to the false standard of Sabbath-keeping that had been set forth by men, his enemies *persecuted* him, and sought to *slay* him.

And the means by which they sought to do this is also worthy of note. "Straightway," the record says, they went out and "took counsel with the Herodians," their political enemies, "how they might destroy him." And they are not alone. Some to-day are cherishing this same spirit. Because others do not agree with their views regarding the Sabbath, and conform to their ideas of Sabbath observance, they persecute them, and, through legislation and alliances with political powers, seek to compel respect for their ideas, and conformity to their views.

From open disregard and wanton desecration of the Sabbath in the time of the prophets, Israel, the professed and chosen people of God, had swung to the other extreme, that of a rigorous, burdensome, and unreasonable observance of it, in the time of Christ. Because of the former, and of their refusal to heed the messages of reproof, warning, and reform sent by God through the prophets, their city and temple were destroyed, and they were carried away into the seventy years' captivity.³⁵ Because of

³⁴ John 5: 16. ³⁵ Jer. 17: 24-27; 25: 8-11; 2 Chron. 36: 5-21; Eze. 20: 10-20; 22: 23-31; Dan. 9: 1, 2.

the latter, and their refusal to accept Christ, the great Prophet, Teacher, and Sabbath Reformer sent of God, and his messages of reproof, warning, and reform, their city and temple were again to be destroyed, and they led away captive into every nation under heaven, there to remain till the gospel of the kingdom should be preached as a witness unto all nations. So wedded were they to their traditions, and so tenacious were they for their views respecting the Sabbath and its observance, that they would crucify the Lord of the Sabbath himself before they would yield their false views and accept Christ and his teachings, even though indorsed of God by the most wonderful miracles performed among them.

Though loved and borne with to the last, there was no remedy for such a people. Foretelling the terrible judgment that was coming, Christ, in his memorable discourse upon the mount of Olives, once again and for the last time in his ministry, mentions the Sabbath:—

“When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand), then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains: let him which is on the housetop not come down to take anything out of his house: neither let him which is in the field return back to take his clothes. And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days! But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath day: for then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be.”²⁶

²⁶ Matt. 24: 15-21.

In this language our Lord brings to view the dreadful calamities of the Jewish people foretold by Daniel the prophet;³⁷ and his watchful care over his people leads him to point out the means of escape.

1. He gives them a token by which they should know when this terrible overthrow was immediately impending. It was "the abomination of desolation" standing "in the holy place;" or, as expressed by Luke, "When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies."³⁸ The fulfilment of this sign is recorded by the historian Josephus. After stating that Cestius, the Roman commander at the commencement of this war with the Jews in 66 A. D., had come against Jerusalem with an army, he adds:—

"Who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, had certainly taken the city; but it was, I suppose, owing to the aversion God had already at the city and the sanctuary, that he was hindered from putting an end to the war that very day. It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged despaired of success, or how courageous the people were for him; and so he recalled his soldiers from the place, and by despairing of any expectation of taking it, without having received any disgrace, he retired from the city, without any reason in the world."³⁹

2. This sign being seen, the disciples were to know that the desolation of Jerusalem was nigh. "Then," says Christ, "let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains." Josephus likewise bears testimony to the flight of many from the city at this time:—

"After this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink."⁴⁰

³⁷ Dan. 9 : 26, 27.

³⁸ Luke 21 : 20.

³⁹ "Jewish Wars," b. 2, chap. 19.

⁴⁰ Id., b. 2, chap. 20.

Eusebius bears very definite testimony regarding this flight:—

“The whole body, however, of the church at Jerusalem, having been commanded by a divine revelation, given to men of approved piety there before the war, removed from the city, and dwelt at a certain town beyond the Jordan, called Pella. Here, those that believed in Christ having removed from Jerusalem, as if holy men had entirely abandoned the royal city itself, and the whole land of Judea, the divine justice, for their crimes against Christ and his apostles, finally overtook them, totally destroying the whole generation of these evil-doers from the earth.”⁴¹

3. So imminent was the danger when this sign should be seen, and so imperatively essential was immediate flight, that not a moment was to be lost. He that was upon the housetop could not even come down to take a single article from his house. The man that was in the field was forbidden to return to the house for his clothes. They must flee as they were, and flee for life.

4. In view of the fact that the disciples must flee the moment the promised token should appear, our Lord directed them to pray for two things; namely, that their flight should not be in the winter, and that it should not be upon the Sabbath day. Their pitiable situation, should they be compelled to flee to the mountains in the depth of winter, without time to take even their clothes, sufficiently attests the importance of the first of these petitions; and the difficulties that must necessarily attend an attempt to flee upon the Sabbath from among a people whose erroneous views concerning the Sabbath and Sabbath

⁴¹ “Eccl. Hist.,” b. 3, chap. 5.

observance had led them to watch, accuse, persecute, and finally put to death the Lord of the Sabbath himself, likewise emphasizes the importance of the second petition. Both show the tender care Jesus had for his people. The precipitate flight, the woes concerning those burdened with maternal cares,⁴² and the prayer concerning the time of flight were all designed as merciful warnings to his followers, with a view to sparing them unnecessary hardship.

5. The reason they were to heed these warnings, pray this prayer, and flee thus suddenly, is plainly stated: "For then shall be great tribulation;" or, as recorded by Luke, "For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled."⁴³ In the terrible five months' siege in 70 A. D., with which this conflict was to close, was to be fulfilled the prophecy given through Moses more than fifteen hundred years before:—

"Thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee."⁴⁴

Christ likewise foresaw the same terrible scene, when he said to the women who, weeping and lamenting, followed him to the cross:—

"Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck."⁴⁵

⁴² Compare the instruction in 1 Cor. 7: 25-29, given a few years before this crisis. ⁴³ Matt. 24: 21; Luke 21: 22. ⁴⁴ Deut. 28: 53. ⁴⁵ Luke 23: 28, 29.

6. The Saviour did not tell the disciples not to flee in the winter or on the Sabbath day should circumstances make flight then necessary; but, in view of the hindrances which they might encounter at either of these times, he instructed them to pray that it would not be necessary for them to flee either in the winter or on the Sabbath day. The object of the prayer was doubtless threefold: first, and primarily, to spare them unnecessary hardship and difficulty in flight; second, to enjoin a duty, which, if performed, would keep the great event constantly in mind, and thus cause them to be prepared for it; and third, to teach them faith and trust in divine Providence. God only could so order events that it would not be necessary for them to flee in the winter or on the Sabbath day. Indirectly, but in a very practical and emphatic way, it would cause them to remember the Sabbath during all these years between the cross and the destruction of Jerusalem, and teach them a lesson upon true Sabbath-keeping; for Christ's instruction here, so far from setting aside the Sabbath, plainly recognized its existence down to that time.

Thus the Saviour, who had taken unwearied pains during his whole ministry to show that the Sabbath is a merciful institution, and to set aside those traditions and commandments of men by which it had been subverted and turned from its true design, did, in this his last discourse, once again emphasize his teaching and position respecting the Sabbath, in his final reference to it previous to his crucifixion.

in strict accordance with the Sabbatic institution? Our Lord has settled this point in the affirmative by weighty and unanswerable arguments,²⁸ not in this case alone, but in others already noticed, and also in those which remain to be noticed. Had he left the man in his wretchedness because it was the Sabbath, when a word would have healed him, he would have dishonored the Sabbath, and thrown reproach upon its Author. We shall find the Lord of the Sabbath still further at work in its behalf in rescuing it from the hands of those who had so utterly perverted its design,—a work quite unnecessary, had he designed to nail the institution to his cross.

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This time a daughter of Abraham, that is, a pious woman,³¹ who had been bound by Satan eighteen years, was loosed from that bond upon the Sabbath day. Jesus silenced the clamor of his enemies by an appeal to their own course of action in loosing the ox and leading him to water upon the Sabbath.

³⁰ Luke 13: 10-17.

³¹ 1 Peter 3: 6.

his eye on the great number of days which were observed by the Hebrews as festivals, as a part of their ceremonial and typical law, and not on the moral law, or the ten commandments. No part of the moral law — no one of the ten commandments — could be spoken of as 'a shadow of good things to come.' These commandments are, from the nature of the moral law, of perpetual and universal obligation."⁵²

Though all the early believers in Christ did not at once see how the death of Christ had fulfilled and terminated all these rites, ceremonies, and observances pointing forward to Christ, no one was to be judged or condemned concerning them. Every one was to be left free to follow the light as it came to him. Therefore Paul laid down the rule of Christian charity respecting these things, as recorded in Rom. 14: 1-6, in which he says: —

"One believeth that he may eat all things: another, who is weak [in the faith], eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth. . . . Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. . . . One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."⁵³

This does not say that every day is alike, but that some esteem every day alike, and that in religious observances every one is to be fully persuaded in his own mind. Not even in the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath itself is there to be coercion. The evils resulting from such a course are sufficiently attested by the conduct of the Pharisees toward Christ respecting it, as already noted.

⁵² Notes on Col. 2: 16, 17.

⁵³ Rom. 14: 2-5.

When the Saviour died upon the cross, the whole typical system, which had pointed forward to that event as the commencement of its antitype, expired with him. The Saviour being dead, Joseph of Arimathea went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus, and with the assistance of Nicodemus, buried it in his own new tomb.⁶⁰

“And that day was the preparation, and the Sabbath drew on. And the women also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulcher, and how his body was laid. And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the Sabbath day according to the commandment. Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulcher, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them.”⁶¹

This text is worthy of special attention: (1) Because it is an express recognition of the fourth commandment after the crucifixion of the Lord Jesus; (2) because it is the most remarkable case of Sabbath observance in the whole Bible,—the Lord of the Sabbath was dead, and preparation was being made for embalming him; but when the Sabbath drew on, it was suspended, and they rested, says the sacred historian, according to the commandment; (3) because it shows that the Sabbath day, according to the commandment, is the day before the first day of the week, thus identifying the seventh day in the commandment with the seventh day of the New Testament week; (4) because it is a direct testimony that the knowledge of the true seventh day was preserved

⁶⁰ Hebrews 9 and 10; Luke 23:46-53; John 19:38-42.

⁶¹ Luke 23:54-56; 24:1.

as late as the crucifixion; for they observed the day enjoined in the commandment, and that was the day on which the Most High had rested from the work of creation.

In the course of the day following this Sabbath, that is, upon the first day of the week, it was ascertained that Jesus was risen from the dead. It appears that this event must have taken place upon that day, though it is not thus stated in express terms. At this point of time it is supposed by many that the Sabbath was changed from the seventh to the first day of the week, and that the sacredness of the seventh day was then transferred to the first day of the week, which thenceforth was the Christian Sabbath, enforced by all the authority of the fourth commandment. To judge of the correctness of these positions, let us read with care each mention of the first day found in the four evangelists. Matthew writes:—

“In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulcher.”

Mark says:—

“And when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him. And very early in the morning the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulcher at the rising of the sun. . . . Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene.”

Luke uses the following language:—

“And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments, and

rested the Sabbath day according to the commandment. Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulcher, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them."

John bears this testimony:—

"The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulcher, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulcher. . . . Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you."⁶²

In these texts the foundation of the "Christian Sabbath" must be sought, if, indeed, such an institution actually exists; for there are no other records of the first day which relate to the time when it is supposed to have become sacred. These texts are claimed to prove that at the resurrection of the Saviour, the first day absorbed the sacredness of the seventh, elevating itself from the rank of a secular to that of a sacred day, and abasing the Sabbath of the Lord to the rank of "the six working-days."⁶³ Yet the following facts must be regarded as very extraordinary indeed if this supposed change of the Sabbath here took place: (1) That these texts should contain no mention of this change of the Sabbath; (2) that they should carefully discriminate between the Sabbath of the fourth commandment and the first day of the week; (3) that they should apply no sacred title to that day, particularly that they should

⁶² Matt. 28:1; Mark 16:1, 2, 9; Luke 23:56; 24:1; John 20:1, 19.

⁶³ Eze. 46:1.

omit the title of Christian Sabbath; (4) that they should not mention the fact that Christ rested upon that day, an act essential to its becoming his "Sabbath;"⁶⁴ (5) that they do not relate the act of taking the blessing of God from the seventh day, and placing it upon the first; and, indeed, that they do not mention any act whatever of blessing and hallowing the day; (6) that they omit to mention anything that Christ did *to* the first day; and that they even neglect to inform us that Christ so much as took the first day of the week upon his lips; (7) that they give no precept in support of first-day observance, nor do they contain a hint of the manner in which the first day of the week can be enforced by the authority of the fourth commandment.

Should it be asserted, however, from the words of John, that the disciples were on this occasion convened for the purpose of honoring the day of the resurrection, and that Jesus sanctioned this act by meeting with them, thus accomplishing the change of the Sabbath, it is sufficient to cite in reply the words of Mark, in which he narrates the interview:—

"Afterward he appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen."⁶⁵

This testimony from Mark shows that the inference often drawn from the words of John is utterly

⁶⁴ See the origin of the ancient Sabbath in Gen. 2:1-3.

⁶⁵ Mark 16:14. That this interview was certainly the same as that in John 20:19, will be seen from a careful examination of Luke 24.

unfounded. The disciples were assembled for the purpose of eating supper. Jesus came into their midst, and upbraided them with their unbelief respecting his resurrection.

The Scriptures declare that "with God all things are possible;" yet this statement is limited by the declaration that God can not lie.⁶⁶ Does the change of the Sabbath pertain to those things that are possible with God, or is it excluded by that important limitation, *God can not lie*? The Lawgiver is the God of truth, and his law is the truth.⁶⁷ Whether it would still remain the truth if changed to something else, and whether the Lawgiver would still continue to be the God of truth after he had thus changed it, remains to be seen. The fourth commandment, which is affirmed to have been changed, is thus expressed:—

"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. . . . The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. . . . For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."

Now if we insert "first day" in place of "seventh day," we shall bring the matter to a test:—

Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. . . . The first day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. . . . For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the first day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.

This changes the truth of God into a lie;⁶⁸ for it

⁶⁶ Matt. 19: 26; Titus 1: 2.

⁶⁷ Isa. 65: 16; Ps. 119: 142, 151.

⁶⁸ Rom. 1: 25.

is false that God rested upon the first day of the week, and blessed and hallowed it. Nor is it possible to change the rest day of the Creator from that day on which he did rest to one of the six days on which he did not rest.⁶⁹ To change a part of the commandment, and leave the rest unchanged, will not, therefore, answer, as the truth which is left is still sufficient to expose the falsehood which is inserted. A more radical change is needed, like the following:—

Remember the Christian Sabbath, to keep it holy. The first day is the Sabbath of the Lord Jesus Christ. For on that day he arose from the dead; wherefore he blessed the first day of the week, and hallowed it.

After such a change, no part of the original Sabbath institution remains. Not only is the rest day of the Lord left out, but even the reasons on which the fourth commandment is based are of necessity omitted also. But does such an edition of the fourth commandment exist?—Not in the Bible, certainly. Is it true that such titles as these are applied to the first day?—Never, in the Holy Scriptures. Did the Lawgiver bless and hallow that day?—Most assuredly not. He did not even take the name of it upon his lips. Such a change of the fourth commandment on the part of the God of truth is impossible; for it does not merely affirm that which is false, and deny that which is true, but it turns the

⁶⁹ It is just as easy to change the crucifixion day from that day of the week on which Christ was crucified to one of the six days on which he was not, as to change the rest day of the Creator from that day of the week on which he rested to one of the six days on which he wrought in the work of creation.

truth of God itself into a lie. It is simply the act of setting up a rival to the Sabbath of the Lord, which, having neither sacredness nor authority of its own, has contrived to absorb that of the Bible Sabbath itself. Such is the *foundation* of the first-day sabbath. The texts which are employed in rearing the institution upon this foundation will be noticed in their proper order and place. Several of these texts properly pertain to this chapter:—

“And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them: then came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you.”⁷⁰

It is not asserted that on this occasion our Lord hallowed the first day of the week; for that act is affirmed to date from the resurrection itself, on the authority of the texts already quoted. But the sacredness of the first day being assumed as the foundation, this text furnishes the first stone for the superstructure—the first pillar in the first-day temple. The argument drawn from it may be stated thus: Jesus selected this day as the one in which to manifest himself to his disciples, and by this act strongly attested his regard for the day. But it is no small defect in this argument that his next meeting with them was on a fishing occasion;⁷¹ and his last and most important manifestation, when he ascended into heaven, was upon Thursday.⁷² The act of the Saviour in meeting with his disciples, it must therefore

⁷⁰ John 20: 26.

⁷¹ John 21.

⁷² Acts 1: 3. Forty days from the day of the resurrection would end on Thursday.

be conceded, was insufficient of itself to show that any day is sacred; for it would otherwise prove the sacredness of several of the working-days.

But a still more serious defect in this argument is found in the fact that this meeting of Jesus with his disciples does not appear to have been upon the first day of the week. It was "after eight days" from the previous meeting of Jesus and his disciples, which, coming at the very close of the resurrection day, must have extended into the second day of the week.⁷³ "After eight days" from this meeting, if made to signify only one week, necessarily carries us to the second day of the week. But a different expression is used by the Spirit of inspiration when simply one week is intended. "After seven days" is the chosen term of the Holy Spirit when designating just one week.⁷⁴ "After eight days" most naturally implies the ninth or tenth day;⁷⁵ but allowing it to mean the eighth day, it fails to prove that this appearance of the Saviour was upon the first day of

⁷³ When the resurrection day was "far spent," the Saviour and two of the disciples drew near to Emmaus, a village seven and a half miles from Jerusalem. They constrained him to go in with them to tarry for the night. While they were eating supper, they discovered that it was Jesus, when he vanished from their sight. Then they arose and returned to Jerusalem; and after their arrival, the first meeting of Jesus with the eleven took place. It could, therefore, have lacked but little of sunset, which closed the day, if it was not actually upon the second day, when Jesus came into their midst. Luke 24. In the latter case, the expression, "the same day at evening, being the first day of the week," would find an exact parallel in meaning in the expression, "in the ninth day of the month at even," which actually signifies the evening with which the tenth day of the month commences. Lev. 23:32.

⁷⁴ Those who were to come, before God from Sabbath to Sabbath to minister in his temple, were said to come "after seven days." 1 Chron. 9:25; 2 Kings 11:5.

⁷⁵ "After six days," instead of being the sixth day, was about eight days after. Compare Matt. 17:1; Mark 9:2; Luke 9:28.

the week. To sum up the argument: The first meeting of Jesus with his disciples in the evening at the close of the first day of the week was mainly if not wholly upon the second day of the week;⁷⁶ the second meeting could not have been earlier in the week than the second or third day, and the day seems to have been selected simply because Thomas was present; the third meeting was upon a fishing occasion; and the fourth was upon Thursday, when he ascended into heaven. The argument for first-day sacredness drawn from this text is eminently fitted to the foundation of that sacredness already examined; and the institution of the first-day sabbath itself, unless formed of more substantial framework than enters into its foundation, is at best only a castle in the air.

The text which next enters into the fabric of first-day sacredness is the following:—

“And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.”⁷⁷

This text is supposed to contribute an important pillar for the first-day temple, which is furnished as follows: The disciples were convened on this occasion to celebrate the first-day sabbath, and the Holy Spirit was poured out at that time in honor of that day. To this deduction there are, however, the most serious objections: (1) There is no evidence that a first-day sabbath was then in existence; (2) there is

⁷⁶ That sunset marks the end of the day, see the close of chapter 8.

⁷⁷ Acts 2: 1, 2.

no intimation that the disciples came together on this occasion for its celebration; (3) nor that the Holy Spirit was then poured out in honor of the first day of the week; (4) from the ascension of Jesus until the day of the Spirit's outpouring, the disciples had continued in prayer and supplication, so that their being convened on this day was nothing materially different from what had been the case for the past ten days or more;⁷⁸ (5) had the sacred writer designed to show that a certain day of the week was honored by the events narrated, he would doubtless have stated that fact, and named the day; (6) Luke was so far from naming the day of the week that it is even now a disputed point, some eminent first-day authors asserting that the day of Pentecost that year came upon the *seventh* day;⁷⁹ (7) the one great event which the Holy Spirit designed to mark was the anti-type of the feast of Pentecost, the day of the week on which that should occur being wholly immaterial, the feast coming on different days of the week in different years. How widely, therefore, do those err who reverse this order, making the day of the week,

⁷⁸ Luke 24: 49-53; Acts 1.

⁷⁹ Horatio B. Hackett, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution, thus remarks: "It is generally supposed that this Pentecost, signalized by the outpouring of the Spirit, fell on the Jewish Sabbath, our Saturday."—*Commentary on the Original Text of the Acts*, pp. 50, 51.

Pastor Dächsel, in his comments on Acts 2: 1, says: "We simply have to acknowledge that the day on which the first Christian Pentecost came, was a Saturday. . . . And we must therefore consider as erroneous in its second part, the opinion so often expressed in catechisms and hymns, that Sunday has become the rest day of the Christian in the place of Saturday, not only because Christ rose from the dead on Sunday, but also because the Holy Spirit fell upon the apostles on Sunday, and thus the Christian church was founded."

which the Holy Spirit has not even named, but which they assume to be the first day, the thing of importance, and passing over in silence that fact which the Holy Spirit has so carefully noted, that this event took place upon the day of Pentecost.

The conclusion to which these facts lead is inevitable; viz., that the pillar furnished from this text for the first-day temple, like the foundation of that edifice itself, is simply a thing of the imagination, and quite worthy of a place beside the pillar furnished from the record of our Lord's second appearance to his disciples.

A third pillar for the first-day edifice is the following: Redemption is greater than creation; therefore the day of Christ's resurrection should be observed instead of the day of the Creator's rest. But this proposition is open to the fatal objection that the Bible says nothing of the kind.⁸⁰ Who, then, knows that it is true? When the Creator gave existence to our world, did he not foresee the fall of man? and, foreseeing that fall, did he not entertain the purpose of redeeming him? Does it not follow from this that the purpose of redemption was entertained

⁸⁰ In 1633 William Prynne, a prisoner in the Tower of London, composed a work in defense of first-day observance, entitled, "Dissertation on the Lord's Day Sabbath." He thus acknowledges the futility of the argument under consideration: "No scripture . . . prefers or advanceth the work of redemption . . . before the work of creation; both these works being very great and glorious in themselves; wherefore I can not believe the work of redemption, or Christ's resurrection alone, to be more excellent and glorious than the work of creation, without sufficient texts and Scripture grounds to prove it; but may deny it as a presumptuous fancy or unsound assertion, till satisfactorily proved as well as peremptorily averred without proof."—Page 59. This is the judgment of a candid advocate of the first day as a Christian festival.

in that of creation? Who, then, can affirm that redemption is greater than creation?

But as the Scriptures do not decide this point, let it be assumed that redemption is the greater. Who knows that a day should be set apart for its commemoration? The Bible says nothing about this. But granting that a day should be set apart for this purpose, what day should have the preference? It is said, That day on which redemption was finished. It is not true that redemption is finished; the resurrection of the saints and the redemption of our earth from the curse are included in that work.²¹ But granting that redemption should be commemorated before it is finished, by setting apart a day in its honor, the question again arises, What day shall it be? The Bible is silent in reply. If the most memorable day in the history of redemption should be selected, undoubtedly the day of the crucifixion, on which the price of human redemption was paid, must have the preference. Which is the more memorable day, that on which the infinite Lawgiver gave up his only and well-beloved Son to die an ignominious death for a race of rebels who had broken his law, or that day on which he restored that beloved Son to life? The latter event, though of thrilling interest, is the most natural thing in the world; the crucifixion of the Son of God for sinful men may be safely pronounced the most wonderful event in the annals of eternity. The crucifixion day is, therefore, beyond all comparison, the more memorable day. And that

²¹ Luke 21: 28; Rom. 8: 23; Eph. 1: 13, 14; 4: 30.

redemption itself is asserted of the crucifixion, rather than of the resurrection, is an undoubted fact. Thus it is written:—

“In whom we have redemption through his blood.” “Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.” “Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood.”⁸²

If, therefore, any day should be observed in memory of redemption, unquestionably the day of the crucifixion should have the preference. But it is needless to pursue this subject further. Whether the day of the crucifixion or the day of the resurrection should be preferred, is quite immaterial. The Holy Spirit has said nothing in behalf of either of these days, but it has taken care that the *event* in each case should have its own appropriate memorial. Would you commemorate the crucifixion of the Redeemer? You need not change the Sabbath to the crucifixion day. It would be a presumptuous sin in you to do this. Here is the divinely appointed memorial of the crucifixion:—

“The Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death till he come.”⁸³

It is the death of the Redeemer, therefore, and

⁸² Eph. 1:7; Gal. 3:13; Rev. 5:9. ⁸³ 1 Cor. 11:23-26.

not the day of his death, that the Holy Spirit has thought worthy of commemoration. Would you also commemorate the resurrection of the Redeemer? You need not change the Sabbath of the Bible for that purpose. The great Lawgiver has never authorized such an act. But an appropriate memorial of that event has been ordained:—

“Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.”⁶⁴

To be buried in the watery grave as our Lord was buried in the tomb, and to be raised from the water to walk in newness of life as our Lord was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, is the divinely authorized memorial of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And let it be observed, it is not the day of the resurrection, but the resurrection itself, that was thought worthy of commemoration. The events which lie at the foundation of redemption are the death, burial, and resurrection of the Redeemer. Each of these has its appropriate memorial; while the days on which they severally occurred have no importance attached to them. It was the death of the Redeemer, and not the day of his death, that was worthy of commemoration; and hence the Lord's supper was appointed for that purpose. It was the resurrection of the Saviour, and not the day of the

⁶⁴ Rom. 6: 3-5; Col. 2: 12.

resurrection, that was worthy of commemoration; and hence burial in baptism was ordained as its memorial. It is the change of this memorial to sprinkling that has furnished so plausible a plea for first-day observance in memory of the resurrection.

To celebrate the work of redemption by resting from labor on the first day of the week after six days of toil, it should be true that our Lord accomplished the work of human redemption in the six days prior to that of his resurrection, and that he rested on that day from the work, blessing it, and setting it apart for that reason. Yet not one of these particulars is true. Our Lord's whole life was devoted to this work. He rested temporarily from it, indeed, over the Sabbath following his crucifixion, but resumed the work on the morning of the first day of the week, which he has never since relinquished, and never will, until its perfect accomplishment in the resurrection of the saints and the redemption of the purchased possession. Redemption, therefore, furnishes no plea for a change of the Sabbath, its own memorials being quite sufficient, without destroying the memorial of the great Creator. And thus the third pillar in the temple of first-day sacredness, like the other parts of that structure which have been already examined, is found to be the product of the imagination.

A fourth pillar in this temple is taken from an ancient prophecy, in which it is claimed that the Christian Sabbath was foretold:—

“The stone which the builders refused is become the head

~~stone~~ of the corner. This is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes. This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it."⁸⁵

This text is considered one of the strongest testimonies in support of the so-called Christian Sabbath; yet it is necessary to assume the very points it is supposed to prove, which are, (1) That the Saviour became the head of the corner by his resurrection; (2) that the day of his resurrection was made the Christian Sabbath in commemoration of that event; and (3) that this day, thus ordained, should be celebrated by abstinence from labor, and attendance upon divine worship.

To these extraordinary assumptions it is proper to reply that there is no proof that Jesus became the head of the corner on the day of his resurrection. The Scriptures do not mark the day when this event took place. His being made head of the corner has reference to his becoming the chief corner-stone of that spiritual temple composed of his people; in other words, it has reference to his becoming the head of that living body, the saints of the Most High. It does not appear that he assumed this position until his ascension on high, where he became the chief corner-stone in Zion above, elect and precious.⁸⁶ Hence there is no evidence that the first day of the week is even referred to in this text; nor is there the slightest evidence that that day or any other day was set apart as the Christian Sabbath in memory of Christ's resurrection; nor can there well be

⁸⁵ Ps 118: 22-24.

⁸⁶ Eph. 1: 20-23; 2: 20, 21; 1 Peter 2: 4-7.

found a more extraordinary assumption than that this text enjoins the Sabbath observance of the first day of the week!

This scripture has manifest reference to the Saviour's act of becoming the head of the New Testament church; and consequently it pertains to the opening of the gospel dispensation. The day in which the people of God rejoice, in view of this relation to the Redeemer, can therefore be understood of no one day of the week,—for they are commanded to “rejoice *evermore*,”⁸⁷—but of the whole period of the gospel dispensation. Our Lord uses the word *day* in the same manner when he says:—

“Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day: and he saw it, and was glad.”⁸⁸

To assert the existence of what is termed the Christian Sabbath on the ground that this text is the prediction of such an institution, is to furnish a fourth pillar for the first-day temple quite as unsubstantial as those already tested.

The seventieth week of Daniel's prophecy extends three or four years beyond the death of the Redeemer, to the commencement of the great work for the Gentiles. This period of seven years through which we have been passing is the most eventful period in the history of the Sabbath. It embraces the whole history of the Lord of the Sabbath as connected with that institution,—his miracles and teaching by which it is affirmed that he weakened its

⁸⁷ 1 Thess. 5: 16.

⁸⁸ John 8: 56.

authority; his death, at which many affirm that he abrogated it; and his resurrection, at which a still larger number declare that he changed it to the first day of the week. We have had the most ample evidence, however, that each of these positions is false, and that the opening of the great work for the Gentiles witnessed the Sabbath of the fourth commandment neither weakened, abrogated, nor changed.

CHAPTER XI

THE SABBATH DURING THE MINISTRY OF THE APOSTLES.

The knowledge of God preserved in the family of Abraham — The call of the Gentiles — The new covenant puts the law of God into the heart of each Christian — The new covenant has a temple in heaven; and an ark containing the great original of that law which was in the ark upon earth; and before that ark, a priest, whose offering can take away sin — The Old and New Testaments compared — The human family in all ages amenable to the law of God — The good olive tree shows the intimate relation between the church of the New Testament and the Hebrew church — The apostolic church observed the Sabbath — Examination of Acts 13 — The assembly of the apostles at Jerusalem — Sabbatarian origin of the church at Philippi — Of the church of the Thessalonians — Of the church of Corinth — The churches in Judea and in many cases among the Gentiles began with Sabbath-keepers — Examination of 1 Cor. 16: 1, 2 — Self-contradiction of Dr. Edwards — Paul at Troas — Examination of Rom. 14: 1-6 — Flight of the disciples from Judea — The Sabbath of the Bible at the close of the first century.

WE have now traced the Sabbath through the period of its special connection with the family of Abraham. The termination of the seventy weeks brings us to the call of the Gentiles, and to their admission to equal privileges with the Hebrew race. We have seen that with God there was no injustice in conferring special blessings upon the Hebrews, and at the same time leaving the Gentiles to their own chosen ways.¹ Twice had he given the human family, as a whole, the most ample means of grace that their age of the world admitted, and each time did it result in the almost total apostasy of

¹ See chapter 3.

That God selected as his heritage the race of Abraham, his friend, and by means of that race preserved in the earth the knowledge of his law, his Sabbath, and himself, until the coming of the great Messiah. During his ministry the Messiah solemnly affirmed the perpetuity of the Father's law, enjoining obedience even to its least commandment;² at his death he broke down that middle wall of partition³ by which the Hebrews had been so long preserved as a separate people in the earth; and when about to ascend into heaven, he commanded his disciples to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature, teaching them to observe all things which he had commanded them.⁴ With the expiration of the seventieth week, the apostles entered upon the execution of this great commission to the Gentiles.⁵ Several facts of deep interest should be here noticed:—

1. The promises of the new covenant embrace two points of great interest: That God will put his law into the hearts of his people, and that he will forgive their sins. These promises being made six hundred years before the birth of Christ, there can be no question relative to what was meant by the law of God. It was the law of God then in existence that should be put into the heart of each new-covenant saint. The new covenant, then, is based upon the perpetuity of the law of God; it does not

² Matt. 5: 17-19. ³ Eph. 2: 13-16; Col. 2: 14-17.

⁴ Matt. 28: 19, 20; Mark 16: 15.

⁵ Dan. 9: 24-27; Acts 9; 10; 11; 26: 12-17; Rom. 11: 13.

abrogate that law, but takes away sin, the transgression of the law, from the heart, and puts the law of God in its place.⁶ The perpetuity of each precept of the moral law lies, therefore, at the very foundation of the new covenant.

2. As the first covenant had a sanctuary, and within that sanctuary an ark containing the law of God in ten commandments,⁷ and had also a priesthood to minister before that ark, to make atonement for the sins of men,⁸ even thus it is with the new covenant. Instead of the tabernacle erected by Moses as the pattern of the true, the new covenant has the greater and more perfect tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man — the temple of God in heaven.⁹ As the great central point in the earthly sanctuary was the ark containing that law which man had broken, even thus it is with the heavenly sanctuary. "The temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament."¹⁰ Our Lord Jesus Christ, as a great high priest, presents his own blood before the ark of God's testament in the temple in heaven. Respecting this object before which he ministers, let the following points be noted: —

(a) The ark in the heavenly temple is not empty; it contains the testament of God; and hence it is the great center of the sanctuary above, as the ark of

⁶ Matt. 5: 17-19; 1 John 3: 4, 5; Rom. 4: 15.

⁷ Heb. 9: 1-7; Ex. 25: 1-21; Deut. 10: 4, 5; 1 Kings 8: 9.

⁸ Hebrews 7 to 10; Leviticus 16.

⁹ Heb. 8: 1-5; 9: 23, 24. ¹⁰ Rev. 11: 19.

God's testament was the center of the sanctuary on earth.¹¹

(b) The death of the Redeemer for the sins of men, and his work as high priest before the ark in heaven, have direct reference to the fact that within that ark is the law which mankind has broken.

(c) As the atonement and priesthood of Christ have reference to the law within that ark before which he ministers, it follows that this law existed and was transgressed before the Saviour came down to die for men.

(d) And hence, the law contained in the ark above is not a law which originated in the New Testament; for it necessarily existed long anterior to it.

(e) If, therefore, God has revealed this law to mankind, that revelation must be sought in the Old Testament; for while the New Testament makes many references to that law which caused the Saviour to lay down his life for sinful men, and even quotes from it, it never publishes a second edition, but cites us to the Old Testament for the original code.¹²

(f) It follows, therefore, that this law is revealed and that this revelation is to be found in the Old Testament.

(g) In that volume will be found an account of (1) The descent of the Holy One upon Mount Sinai; (2) the proclamation of his law in ten commandments; (3) the ten commandments written by the fin-

¹¹ Ex. 25: 21, 22.

¹² Rom. 3: 19-31; 5: 8-21; 8: 3, 4; 13: 8-10; Gal. 3: 13, 14; Eph. 6: 2, 3; James 2: 8-12; 1 John 3: 4, 5.

ger of God upon the two tables of stone; (4) these tables placed beneath the mercy-seat in the ark of the earthly sanctuary.¹³

(h) That this remarkable Old Testament law which was shut up in the ark of the earthly sanctuary was identical with that in the ark in heaven, may be thus shown: (1) The mercy-seat, which was placed over the ten commandments, was the place from which pardon was expected, the great central point in the work of atonement;¹⁴ (2) the law beneath the mercy-seat was that which made the work of atonement necessary; (3) there was no atonement that could take away sins, this being only a shadowy, or typical, atonement; (4) but there was actual sin, and hence a real law which man had broken; (5) there must, therefore, be an atonement that can take away sins; and that real atonement must pertain to that law which was broken, and respecting which an atonement had been shadowed forth;¹⁵ (6) the ten commandments are thus set forth in the Old Testament as that law which demanded an atonement; while the fact is ever kept in view that those sacrifices there provided could not avail to take away sins;¹⁶ (7) but the death of Jesus, as the antitype of those sacrifices, was designed to accomplish precisely what they shadowed forth, but which they could not effect; viz., to make atonement for the transgression of that law which was placed in the ark beneath the mercy-seat.¹⁷

¹³ Ex. 10: 20; 24: 12; 31: 18; Deuteronomy 10.

¹⁴ Leviticus 16.

¹⁵ Rom. 3: 19-31; 1 John 3: 4, 5.

¹⁶ Ps. 40: 6-8; Hebrews 10.

¹⁷ Hebrews 9 and 10.

We are thus brought to the conclusion that the law of God contained in the ark in heaven is identical with that law which was contained in the ark upon earth, and that both are identical with that law which the new covenant puts in the heart of each believer.¹⁸

(i) We have seen that the new covenant places the law of God in the heart of each believer, and that the original of that law is preserved in the temple in heaven. That all mankind are amenable to the law of God, and that they ever have been, is clearly shown by Paul's epistle to the Romans. In the first chapter he traces the origin of idolatry to the wilful apostasy of the Gentiles, which took place soon after the flood. In the second chapter he shows that although God gave them up to their own ways, and as a consequence left them without his written law, yet they were not left in utter darkness; for they had by nature the work of the law written in their hearts; and dim as was this light, their salvation would be secured by living up to it, or their ruin accomplished by sinning against it. In the third chapter he shows what advantage the family of Abraham had in being taken as the heritage of God, while all other nations were left to their own ways. It was that the oracles of God, the written law, was given them in addition to that work of the law written in the heart, which they had by nature in common with the Gentiles. He then shows that they were no better than the Gentiles, because both classes

¹⁸ Jer. 31 : 33; Rom. 8 : 3, 4; 2 Cor. 3 : 3.

were transgressors of the law. This he proves by quotations from the Old Testament. Then he shows that the law of God has jurisdiction over all mankind:—

“Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law: that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God.”¹⁹

He then shows that the law can not save the guilty, but must condemn them, and that justly. Next, he reveals the great fact that redemption through the death of Jesus is the only means by which God can justify those who seek pardon, and at the same time remain just himself. And finally he exclaims:—

“Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law.”²⁰

It follows, therefore, that the law of God has not been abolished; that the sentence of condemnation which it pronounces upon the guilty is as extensive as is the offer of pardon through the gospel; that its work exists in the hearts of men by nature, from which we may conclude that man in his uprightness possessed it in perfection, as is further proved by the fact that the new covenant, after delivering men from the condemnation of the law of God, puts that law perfectly into their hearts. From all this it follows that the law of God is the great standard by which sin is shown,²¹ and hence the rule of life, by which all mankind, both Jews and Gentiles, should walk.

¹⁹ Rom. 3: 19.

²⁰ Rom. 3: 21.

²¹ Rom. 3: 20; 1 John 3: 4, 5; 2: 1, 2.

That the church in the present dispensation is really a continuation of the ancient Hebrew church, is shown by the illustration of the good olive tree. That ancient church was God's olive tree, and it has never been destroyed.²² Because of unbelief *some* of its branches were broken off; but the proclamation of the gospel to the Gentiles does not create a new olive tree; it only grafts into the good tree such of the Gentiles as believe, giving them a place among the original branches, that with them they may partake of its root and fatness. This olive tree must date from the call of Abraham after the apostasy of the Gentiles, its trunk representing the patriarchs, beginning with the father of the faithful;²³ its branches, the Hebrew people. The ingrafting of the wild olive branches into the place of those branches which were broken off, represents the admission of the Gentiles to equal privileges with the Hebrews. The Old Testament church, the original olive tree, was a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation; the New Testament church, the olive tree after the ingrafting of the Gentiles, is described in the same terms.²⁴

When God gave up the Gentiles to apostasy, before the call of Abraham, he confounded their language, that they should not understand one another, and thus scattered them abroad upon the face of the earth. Standing over against this is the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost, preparatory to the

²² Jer. 11: 16; Rom. 11: 17-24.

²³ Rom. 4: 16-18; Gal. 3: 7-9.

²⁴ Ex. 19: 5, 6; 1 Peter 2: 9, 10.

call of the Gentiles, and their ingrafting into the good olive tree.²⁵

We have followed the Sabbath to the call of the Gentiles, and the opening events of the gospel dispensation. We find the law of God, of which the Sabbath commandment is a part, to be that which made our Lord's death as an atoning sacrifice necessary; and the great original of that law to be in the ark above, before which our Lord ministers as high priest; while a copy of that law is by the new covenant written within the heart of each believer.

That the apostolic church did sacredly regard the Sabbath, as well as all the other precepts of the moral law, admits of no doubt. The fact is proved by several considerations: (1) The early Christians were not accused of its violation by their most inveterate enemies; (2) they held sin to be the transgression of the law, and that the law was the great standard by which sin is shown, and that by which sin becomes exceeding sinful,²⁶—facts which are certainly very decisive evidence that the apostolic church did keep the fourth commandment; (3) the testimony of James relative to the ten commandments, that he who violates one of them becomes guilty of all, is another strong evidence that the primitive church did sacredly regard the whole law of God;²⁷ but (4) besides these facts, we have a peculiar guaranty that the Sabbath of the Lord was not forgotten by the apostolic church. The prayer which our Lord taught his disciples, that their flight from Ju-

²⁵ Gen. 11:1-9; Acts 2:1-11.

²⁶ Rom. 7:12, 13.

²⁷ James 2:8-12.

dea should not be upon the Sabbath, was, as we have seen, designed to impress its sacredness deeply upon their minds, and must have secured that result.²⁸ In the history of the primitive church we have several important references to the Sabbath. The first of these is as follows:—

"But when they departed from Perga, they came to Antioch in Pisidia, and went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and sat down."²⁹

By invitation of the rulers of the synagogue, Paul delivered an extended address, proving that Jesus was the Christ. He used the following language:—

"For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every Sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him."³⁰

When Paul's discourse was concluded, we read:—

"And when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached to them the next Sabbath.³¹ Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews and religious proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas: who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God. And the next Sabbath day came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God."³²

These texts show, (1) That by the term *Sabbath* in the book of Acts is meant that day on which the

²⁸ See chapter 10.

²⁹ Acts 13: 14.

³⁰ Verse 27.

³¹ Dr. Bloomfield has the following note on this text: "The words, *ἐν τῷ μετὰ τὸ σαββᾶ*, are by many commentators supposed to mean 'on some intermediate week-day.' But that is refuted by verse 44, and the sense expressed in our common version is, no doubt, the true one. It is adopted by the best recent commentators, and confirmed by the ancient versions."—*Greek Testament with English Notes*, vol. 1, p. 521. Professor Hackett has a similar note.—"Commentary on Acts," p. 233.

³² Acts 13: 42-44.

Jewish people assembled in the synagogue to listen to the voice of the prophets; (2) that as this discourse was fourteen years after the resurrection of Christ, and the record of it by Luke was some thirty years after that event, it follows that the alleged change of the Sabbath at the resurrection of Christ had not, even after many years, come to the knowledge of either Paul or Luke; (3) that here was a remarkable opportunity to mention the change of the Sabbath, were it true that the Sabbath had been changed in honor of Christ's resurrection; for when Paul was asked to preach the same words the next Sabbath, he might have answered that the following day was now the proper day for divine worship; and Luke, in placing this incident upon record, could not well avoid the mention of this new day, had it been true that another day had become the Sabbath of the Lord; (4) that as this second meeting pertained almost wholly to Gentiles, it can not be said in this case that Paul preached upon the Sabbath out of regard to the Jews; on the contrary, the narrative strongly indicates Paul's regard for the Sabbath as the proper day for divine worship; (5) nor can it be denied that the Sabbath was well understood by the Gentiles in this city, and that they had some degree of regard for it, a fact which will be corroborated by other texts.

Several years after these things, the apostles assembled at Jerusalem to consider the question of circumcision.³⁸ "Certain men which came down

³⁸ Acts 15.

from Judea," finding the Gentiles uncircumcised, had "taught the brethren, and said, Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye can not be saved." Had they found the Gentiles neglecting the Sabbath, unquestionably this would have first called out their rebuke. It is indeed worthy of notice that no dispute at this time existed in the church relative to the observance of the Sabbath; for none was brought before this apostolic assembly. Yet had it been true that the change of the Sabbath was then advocated, or that Paul had taught the Gentiles to neglect the Sabbath, without doubt those who brought up the question of circumcision would have urged that of the Sabbath with even greater earnestness.

That the law of Moses, the observance of which was under discussion in this assembly, is not the ten commandments is evident from several decisive facts: (1) Because Peter calls the code under consideration a *yoke* which neither their fathers nor themselves were able to bear; whereas James expressly calls the royal law, which, on his own showing, embodies the ten commandments, a law of liberty; (2) James, who was a member of this body, some years afterward solemnly enjoined obedience to the ten commandments, affirming that he who violated one is guilty of all;³⁴ (3) because the chief feature in the law of Moses, as here presented, was circumcision;³⁵ but circumcision was not in the ten commandments; and were it true that the law of

³⁴ Acts 15: 10, 28, 29; James 2: 8-12. ³⁵ Acts 15: 1, 5.

Moses included these commandments, circumcision would not in that case have been a chief feature of that law. Hence it is plain that the authority or binding obligation of the ten commandments was not under consideration in this assembly, and that their decision had no relation to those precepts. If this be not the case, then it follows that the apostles released the Gentiles from all obligation to eight of the ten commandments, and from the greater prohibitions contained in the other two.

It is evident, therefore, that those greatly err who represent the Gentiles as released from the obligation of the Sabbath by this assembly. The question did not come before the apostles on this occasion, — a strong proof that the Gentiles had not been taught to neglect the Sabbath, as they had to omit circumcision, which was the occasion of its being brought before the apostles at Jerusalem. Yet the Sabbath was referred to in this very assembly as an existing institution, and that, too, in connection with the Gentile Christians. When James pronounced sentence upon the question, he used the following language: —

“Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them, which from among the Gentiles are turned to God: but that we write unto them, that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood. For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath day.”⁸⁶

This last fact is given by James as a reason for

⁸⁶ Acts 15: 10-21.

the course proposed toward the brethren among the Gentiles. "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath day." From this it is apparent that the ancient custom of divine worship upon the Sabbath was not only preserved by the Jewish people, and carried with them into every city of the Gentiles, but that the Gentile Christians attended these meetings; for if they did not, the reason assigned by James would lose all its force, as having no application to this case. That they did attend them proves that the Sabbath was the day of divine worship with the Gentile churches.

That the ancient Sabbath of the Lord had neither been abrogated nor changed prior to this meeting of the apostles, is strongly attested by the nature of the question here adjusted. And the close of their assembly beheld the Bible Sabbath still sacredly enthroned within the citadel of the fourth commandment. After this, in a vision of the night, Paul was called to visit Macedonia. In obedience to this call, he came to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia. Thus Luke records the visit:—

"And we were in that city abiding certain days. And on the Sabbath we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which resorted thither. And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which worshiped God, heard us: whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul."³⁷

This does not appear to have been a gathering of

³⁷ Acts 16: 12-14.

Jews, but of Gentiles, who, like Cornelius, were worshippers of the true God.³⁸ Thus it is seen that the church of the Philippians originated with a pious assembly of the Sabbath-keeping Gentiles. And it is likely that Lydia and those employed by her in business, who were evidently observers of the Sabbath, were the means of introducing the gospel into their own city of Thyatira.

"Now when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews: and Paul, as his manner was,³⁹ went in unto them, and three Sabbath days reasoned with them out of the Scriptures. . . . And some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few."⁴⁰

Such was the origin of the Thessalonian church. That it was an assembly of Sabbath-keepers at its beginning admits of no doubt; for besides the few Jews who received the gospel through the labors of

³⁸ The celebration of the seventh day as a memorial of the work of creation completed in seven days, was known not only to the Greeks, but to the ancient world generally, as we learn from Josephus (*"Adversus Apionem,"* lib. 2, cap. 40), who says: "Perhaps no city and no people can be found either in or outside of Greece, where our custom of observing the seventh day as a rest day, is unknown." From Philo (*"De Creat. Mundi,"* XXX), we have the following: "This day is the rest day, not only of one city, or of one country, but of the whole earth,—a day which, alone, is properly called the holiday of all people, and the birthday of the world." See also Tibull; Clement of Alexandria; Lucian; Grotius, *"De Veritate Religionis Christianæ,"* p. 16.

Says Theophilus (*"Ad Antolycum"* II, chap. 12): "They also speak concerning the day which all men call the seventh day, but whose origin is unknown to all men; what the Hebrews call the Sabbath is the seventh day, and it is known as the seventh day among all peoples; but they do not know why."

³⁹ Paul's manner is exemplified by the following texts, in all of which it would appear that the meetings in question were upon the Sabbath: Acts 13:5; 14:1; 17:10, 17; 18:19; 19:8.

⁴⁰ Acts 17:1-4.

Paul, there was a great multitude of devout Greeks; that is, of Gentiles, who had united themselves with the Jews in the worship of God upon the Sabbath. In the following words of Paul, addressed to them as a church of Christ, we have a strong proof of the fact that they continued to observe the Sabbath after their reception of the gospel:—

“For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God which in Judea are in Christ Jesus.”⁴¹

The churches in Judea, as we have seen, were observers of the Sabbath of the Lord. The first Thessalonian converts, before they received the gospel, were Sabbath-keepers; and when they became a Christian church, they took the churches in Judea as their proper examples. And this church was taken as a pattern by the churches of Macedonia and Achaia. In this number were included the churches of Philippi and Corinth. Paul writes to them:—

“And ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost: so that ye were ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia. For from you sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith to Godward is spread abroad.”⁴²

After these things, Paul came to Corinth. Here he first found Aquila and Priscilla:—

“And because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought: for by their occupation they were tent-makers. And he reasoned in the synagogue every Sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks.”⁴³

⁴¹ 1 Thess. 2:14.

⁴² 1 Thess. 1:6-8.

⁴³ Acts 18:3, 4.

At this place, also, Paul found Gentiles as well as Jews in attendance upon the worship of God on the Sabbath. The first members of the church at Corinth were therefore observers of the Sabbath at the time they received the gospel; and, as we have seen, they followed the example of the Sabbath-keeping church of Thessalonica, which in turn patterned after the churches in Judea.

The first churches were founded in the land of Judea. All their members had from childhood been familiar with the law of God, and well understood the precept, "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." Besides this precept all these churches had a peculiar reminder of the Sabbath. They knew from our Lord himself, that the time was coming when they must all suddenly flee from that land; and in view of this fact they were to pray that the moment of their sudden flight might not be on the Sabbath,—a prayer which was designed, as we have seen, to preserve the sacredness of the Sabbath.⁴⁴ That the churches in Judea were composed of Sabbath-keeping members is, therefore, established beyond controversy.

Of the churches founded outside the land of Judea, whose origin is given in the book of Acts, nearly all began with Jewish converts, who were Sabbath-keepers when they received the gospel. Among these

⁴⁴ " 'Pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath day,' Christ said. He who made the Sabbath did not abolish it, nailing it to his cross. The Sabbath was not rendered null and void by his death. Forty years after his crucifixion it was still to be held sacred. For forty years the disciples were to pray that their flight might not be on the Sabbath day."—*Desire of Ages*, chap. 69, par. 10.

the Gentile converts were ingrafted. And it is worthy of notice that in a large number of cases, those Gentiles are termed "devout Greeks," "religious proselytes," persons that "worshiped God," that "feared God," and that "prayed to God alway." ⁴⁶ These Gentiles, at the time of their conversion to the gospel, were, as we have seen, worshipers of God upon the Sabbath with the Jewish people. When James had proposed the kind of letter that should be addressed by the apostles to the Gentile converts, he assigned a reason for its adoption, the force of which can now be appreciated: "For Moses," said he, "of old time hath in *every city* them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath day." The Sabbatarian character of the apostolic churches is thus clearly shown.

In a letter addressed to the Corinthians, about five years after they had received the gospel, Paul is supposed to contribute a fifth pillar to the first-day temple, as follows: —

"Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." ⁴⁶

From this text it is argued in behalf of the first-day sabbath, (1) That this was a public collection; (2) that hence the first day of the week was the day of public worship in the churches of Corinth and

⁴⁶ Acts 10: 2, 4, 7, 8, 30-35; 13: 43; 14: 1; 16: 13-15; 17: 4, 10-12.

⁴⁶ 1 Cor. 16: 1, 2.

But what do these words ordain? Only one answer can be returned: They ordain precisely the *reverse* of a public collection. Each one should lay by himself on each first day of the week, according as God had prospered him, that when Paul should arrive, they might have their bounty ready. Mr. J. W. Morton, a Presbyterian missionary to Haiti, bears the following testimony:—

“The whole question turns upon the meaning of the expression, ‘by him;’ and I marvel greatly how you can imagine that it means ‘in the collection box of the congregation.’ Greenfield, in his Lexicon, translates the Greek term, ‘*with one’s self, i. e., at home.*’ Two Latin versions, the Vulgate and that of Castellio, render it ‘*apud se,*’ with one’s self; at home. Three French translations, those of Martin, Osterwald, and De Sacy, ‘*chez soi,*’ at his own house; at home. The German of Luther, ‘*bei sich selbst,*’ by himself; at home. The Dutch, ‘*by hemzelven,*’ same as the German. The Italian of Diodati, ‘*appresso di se,*’ in his own presence; at home. The Spanish of Felipe Scio, ‘*en su casa,*’ in his own house. The Portuguese of Ferreira, ‘*para isso,*’ with himself. The Swedish, ‘*när sig self,*’ near himself.”⁴⁷

Dr. Bloomfield thus comments on the original: "Παρ' αὐτῷ, 'by him.' French, *chez lui*, 'at home.'" ⁴⁸

^a "Vindication of the True Sabbath," third edition, pp. 51, 52. The Portuguese of Figueiredo renders it, "*em sua casa*," in his home.

¹⁰ Greek Testament with English Notes, vol. 2, p. 173.

The Douay Bible reads: "Let every one of you put apart with himself." Mr. Sawyer translates it: "Let each one of you lay aside by himself." Theodore Beza's Latin version gives it: "*Apud se,*" i. e., at home. The Syriac reads: "Let every one of you lay aside and preserve at home."⁵⁰

It is true that an eminent first-day writer, Justin Edwards, D. D., in a labored effort to prove the change of the Sabbath, brings forward this text to show that Sunday was the day of religious worship with the early church. He says:—

"This laying by in store was *not* laying by *at home*; for that would not prevent gatherings when he should come."⁵⁰

Such is his language as a theologian upon whom has fallen the difficult task of proving the change of the Sabbath by the authority of the Scriptures. But in his "Notes on the New Testament," in which he feels at liberty to speak the truth, he squarely contradicts his own language already quoted. Hear him:—

"Lay by him in store; *at home*. That there be no gatherings; that their gifts might be ready when the apostle should come."⁵¹

Thus even Dr. Edwards confesses that the idea of

* Olshausen, in his comments on 1 Cor. 16:2, says: "From this passage it can by no means be concluded that there were collections in church assemblies on Sunday; for the intent is that every one lay that amount aside, at home." Dr. A. Neander, in his Church History, vol. 1, p. 339, says concerning this: "Still less can be proved from 1 Cor. 16:2, for all mentioned here is easily explained, if one simply thinks of the ordinary beginning of the week in secular life."

⁵⁰ "Sabbath Manual of the American Tract Society," p. 116.

⁵¹ Family Testament of the American Tract Society.

a public collection is not found in this scripture. On the contrary, it appears that each individual, in obedience to this precept, would, at the opening of each new week, be found *at home* laying aside something for the cause of God, according as his worldly affairs would warrant. The change of the Sabbath, as proved by this text, rests wholly upon an idea which Dr. Edwards confesses is not found in it. We have seen that the church at Corinth was a Sabbath-keeping church. It is evident that the change of the Sabbath could never have been suggested to them by this text.

This is the only scripture in which Paul even mentions the first day of the week. It was written nearly thirty years after the alleged change of the Sabbath. Yet Paul omits any titles of sacredness, simply designating it as the first day of the week,—a name to which it was entitled as one of “the six working-days.”⁵² It is also worthy of notice that this is the only precept in the Bible in which the first day is even named; and that this precept says nothing relative to the sacredness of the day to which it pertains, even the duty which it enjoins being more appropriate to a secular than to a sacred day.

Soon after writing his first epistle to the Corinthians, Paul visited Troas. In the record of this visit is found the last mention of the first day of the week in the New Testament:—

“And we sailed away from Philippi after the days of un-

⁵² Eze. 46 : 1.

leavened bread, and came unto them at Troas in five days;⁵³ where we abode seven days. And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight. And there were many lights in the upper chamber, where they were gathered together. And there sat in a window a certain young man named Eutychus, being fallen into a deep sleep: and as Paul was long preaching, he sunk down with sleep, and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up dead. And Paul went down, and fell on him, and embracing him said, Trouble not yourselves; for his life is in him. When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread, and eaten, and talked a long while, even till break of day, so he departed. And they brought the young man alive, and were not a little comforted. And we went before to ship, and sailed unto Assos, there intending to take in Paul: for so had he appointed, minding himself to go afoot."⁵⁴

This scripture is supposed to furnish a sixth pillar for the first-day temple. The argument may be concisely stated thus: This testimony shows that the first day of the week was appropriated by the apostolic church to meetings for the breaking of bread in honor of Christ's resurrection upon that day; from which it is reasonable to conclude that this day had become the Christian Sabbath.

If this proposition could be established as an undoubted truth, the change of the Sabbath would not follow as a necessary conclusion; it would even then

⁵³ Professor Hackett remarks on the length of this voyage: "The passage on the apostle's first journey to Europe occupied two days only. See Acts 16: 11. Adverse winds or calms would be liable, at any season of the year, to occasion this variation."—*Commentary on Acts*, p. 329. This shows how little ground there is to claim that Paul broke the Sabbath on this voyage. There was ample time to reach Troas before the Sabbath when he started from Philippi, had not providential causes hindered.

⁵⁴ Acts 20: 6-13.

amount only to a plausible conjecture. The following facts will aid us in judging of the truthfulness of this argument for the change of the Sabbath:—

1. This is the only instance of a religious meeting upon the first day of the week recorded in the New Testament.

2. No stress can be laid upon the expression, “*when* the disciples came together,” as proving that meetings for the purpose of breaking bread were held on each first day of the week, the whole phrase being translated from three words, the perfect passive participle *συνηγμένων*, “being assembled,” and *τῶν μαθητῶν*, “the disciples,” the writer simply referring to this specific gathering of the disciples.⁵⁵

3. The ordinance of breaking bread was not appointed to commemorate the resurrection of Christ, but to keep in memory his death upon the cross;⁵⁶ therefore the act of breaking bread upon the first day of the week is not a commemoration of Christ’s resurrection.

4. As the breaking of bread commemorates our Lord’s crucifixion, and was instituted on the evening with which the crucifixion day began, when Jesus himself and all the apostles were present,⁵⁷ it is evident that the day of the crucifixion presents greater claims to the celebration of this ordinance than does the day of the resurrection.

5. As our Lord designated no day for this ordi-

⁵⁵ Professor Whiting renders the phrase: “The disciples being assembled.” And Sawyer has it: “We being assembled.”

⁵⁶ 1 Cor. 11: 23-26.

⁵⁷ Matthew 26.

nance, and as the apostolic church at Jerusalem is recorded as celebrating it daily,⁵⁸ it evidently is presumption to argue the change of the Sabbath from a single instance of its celebration upon the first day of the week.

6. This instance of breaking bread upon the first day was with evident reference to the immediate and final departure of Paul; for —

7. It is a remarkable fact that this, the only instance of a religious meeting on the first day recorded in the New Testament, was a night meeting, which is proved by the statement that many lights were burning in the assembly, and that Paul preached till midnight.

8. From this follows the important consequence that this first-day meeting was upon Saturday night;⁵⁹ because the days of the week being

⁵⁸ Acts 2:42-46.

⁵⁹ This fact has been acknowledged by many first-day commentators. Professor Hackett gives the following on this text: "The Jews reckoned the day from evening to evening, and on that principle the evening of the first day of the week would be our Saturday evening. If Luke reckoned so here, as many commentators suppose, the apostle then waited for the expiration of the Jewish Sabbath, and held his last religious service with the brethren at Troas at the beginning of the Christian Sabbath, *i. e.* on Saturday evening, and consequently resumed his journey on Sunday morning."—"Commentary on Acts," pp. 329, 330. But he endeavors to shield the first-day Sabbath from this fatal admission by suggesting that Luke probably reckoned time according to the pagan method, rather than by that which is ordained in the Scriptures!

Kitto, in noting the fact that this was an evening meeting, speaks thus: "It has from this last circumstance been inferred that the assembly commenced after sunset on the Sabbath, at which hour the first day of the week had commenced, according to the Jewish reckoning [Jahn's "Bibl. Antiq.," sec. 398], which would hardly agree with the idea of a commemoration of the resurrection."—"Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," article, "Lord's Day."

Prynne, whose testimony relative to redemption as an argument for the change of the Sabbath has already been quoted, thus states this point: "Because the text saith there were many lights in the upper room where

reckoned from evening to evening, and evening being at sunset,⁹⁹ it is seen that the first day of the week begins Saturday night at sunset, and ends at sunset on Sunday; a night meeting, therefore, upon the first day of the week could be only upon Saturday night.

9. Paul, therefore, preached until midnight on Saturday night; for the disciples held a night meeting at the close of the Sabbath, because he was to leave in the morning; then, being interrupted by the fall of the young man, he went down and healed him, then went up and attended to the breaking of bread; and at dawn of day, on Sunday morning, he departed.

10. Thus are we furnished with conclusive evidence that Paul and his companions resumed their journey toward Jerusalem on the morning of the first day of the week; they taking ship at Assos, and he going on foot. This fact is an incidental proof of

they were gathered together, and that Paul preached from the time of their coming together till midnight. . . . this meeting of the disciples at Troas, and Paul's preaching to them, began at evening. The sole doubt will be what evening this was. . . . For my own part I conceive clearly that it was upon Saturday night, as we falsely call it, and not the coming Sunday night. . . . Because St. Luke records that it was upon the first day of the week when this meeting was: . . . therefore it must needs be on the Saturday, not on our Sunday evening, since the Sunday evening in St. Luke's and the Scripture account was no part of the first, but of the second day: the day ever beginning and ending at evening."

Prynne notices the objection drawn from the phrase, "ready to depart on the morrow," as indicating that this departure was not on the same day of the week with his night meeting. The substance of his answer is this: If the fact be kept in mind that the days of the week are reckoned from evening to evening, the following texts, in which, in the night, the morning is spoken of as the morrow, will show at once that another day of the week is not necessarily intended by the phrase in question. 1 Sam. 19:11; Esther 2:14; Zeph. 3:3; Acts 23:31, 32.—*"Dissertation on Lord's Day Sabbath," pp. 36-41, 1633.*

⁹⁹ See conclusion of chapter 8.

Paul's regard for the Sabbath, in that he waited till it was past before resuming his journey; and it is a positive proof that he knew nothing of what in modern times is called the Christian Sabbath.

11. This narrative was written by Luke at least thirty years after the alleged change of the Sabbath. It is worthy of note that Luke omits all titles of sacredness, simply designating the day in question as the first day of the week. This is in admirable keeping with the fact that in his Gospel, when recording the very event which is said to have changed the Sabbath, he not only omits the slightest hint of that fact, but designates the day itself by its secular title of "first day of the week," and at the same time calls the previous day the Sabbath according to the commandment.⁶¹

The same year that Paul visited Troas, he wrote as follows to the church at Rome: —

"Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations. For one believeth that he may eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him which eateth: for God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand. One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks."⁶²

⁶¹ Luke 23: 56; 24: 1. ⁶² Rom. 14: 1-6.

These words have often been quoted to show that the observance of the fourth commandment is now a matter of indifference, each individual being at liberty to act his pleasure in the matter. So extraordinary a doctrine should be thoroughly tested before being adopted. For as it pleased God to ordain the Sabbath before the fall of man, and to give it a place in his code of ten commandments, thus making it a part of that law to which the great atonement relates; and as the Lord Jesus during his ministry spent much time in explaining its merciful design, and very definitely recognized its existence at the flight of his people from the land of Judea, which was still six years in the future when these words were written by Paul; and as the fourth commandment itself is expressly recognized after the crucifixion of Christ,— if, under these circumstances, we could suppose it to be consistent with truth that the Most High should abrogate the Sabbath, we certainly should expect that abrogation to be stated in explicit language. Yet neither the Sabbath nor the fourth commandment are here named. That they are not referred to in this language of Paul, the following reasons will show:—

1. Such a view would make the observance of one of the ten commandments a matter of indifference; whereas James shows that to violate one of them is to transgress the whole.⁶³

2. It directly contradicts what Paul had previously written in this epistle; for in treating of the law of

⁶³ James 2: 8-12.

ten commandments, he styles it holy, spiritual, just, and good, and states that sin — the transgression of the law — by the commandment becomes "*exceeding sinful*."⁶⁴

3. Paul in the same epistle affirms the perpetuity of that law which caused our Lord to lay down his life for sinful men,⁶⁵ which we have before seen was the ten commandments.

4. Paul in this case not only did not name the Sabbath and the fourth commandment, but certainly was not treating of the moral law.

5. The topic under consideration, which leads him to speak as he does of the days in question, was that of eating all kinds of food, or of refraining from certain things.

6. The fourth commandment did not stand associated with precepts of such a kind, but with moral laws exclusively.⁶⁶

7. In the ceremonial law, associated with the precepts concerning meats, was a large number of festivals, entirely distinct from the Sabbath of the Lord.⁶⁷

8. The church of Rome, which began probably with those Jews that were present from Rome on the day of Pentecost, had many Jewish members in its communion, as may be gathered from the epistle itself,⁶⁸ and would therefore be deeply interested in

⁶⁴ Rom. 7: 12, 13; compare 1 John 3: 4, 5.

⁶⁵ Romans 3. ⁶⁶ Exodus 20.

⁶⁷ Leviticus 23. These are particularly referred to in Colossians 2, as we have already noticed in chapter 7, and in the concluding part of chapter 10.

⁶⁸ Acts 2: 1-11; Rom. 2: 17; 4: 1; 7: 1.

the decision of this question relative to the ceremonial law, as the Jewish members would naturally feel conscientious in observing its distinctions, while the Gentile members would have no such scruples; hence the admirable counsel of Paul exactly met the case of both classes.

9. Nor can the expression "every day" be claimed as decisive proof that the Sabbath of the Lord is included. At the very time when the Sabbath was formally committed to the Hebrews, just such expressions were used, although only the six working-days were intended. Thus respecting the manna it was said: "The people shall go out and gather a certain rate *every* day;" and the narrative says, "They gathered it *every* morning." Yet when some of them went out to gather on the Sabbath, God said, "How long refuse ye to keep my commandments and my laws?"⁶⁹ The Sabbath being a great truth, plainly stated, and many times repeated, it is manifest that Paul, in the expression "every day," speaks of the six working-days, among which a distinction had existed precisely coeval with that respecting meats; and that he manifestly excepts that day which from the beginning God had reserved unto himself. Just as when Paul quotes and applies to Jesus the words of David, "All things are put under him," he adds, "It is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him."⁷⁰

10. And lastly, in the words of John, "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day,"⁷¹ written many years

⁶⁹ Ex. 16: 4, 21, 27, 28.

⁷⁰ 1 Cor. 15: 27; Psalms 8.

⁷¹ Rev. 1: 10.

after this epistle by Paul, we have an absolute proof that in the gospel dispensation one day is still claimed by the Most High as his own.⁷²

About six years after this epistle was written, occurred the memorable flight of all the people of God that were in the land of Judea. It was not in the winter; for it occurred just after the Feast of Tabernacles, late in October, 66 A. D. And it was not upon the Sabbath; for Josephus, in speaking of the sudden withdrawal of the Roman army after it had, by coming against the city, given the very signal for flight which our Lord promised his people, tells us that the Jews rushed out of the city in pursuit of the retreating Romans, which was at the very time when our Lord's injunction of instant flight became imperative upon the disciples. The historian does not intimate that the Jews thus pursued the Romans upon the Sabbath, although he carefully notes the fact that a few days previous to this event they did, in their rage, utterly forget the Sabbath, and rush out to fight the Romans upon that day.

From these providential circumstances in connection with the flight of the disciples from Jerusalem

⁷² To show that Paul regarded Sabbath observance as *dangerous*, Gal. 4: 10 is often quoted, notwithstanding the same individuals claim that Rom. 14: 5-7 proves that it is a matter of *perfect indifference*, not seeing that this is to make Paul contradict himself. But if the connection be noted in Gal. 4: 8-11, it will be seen that the Galatians before their conversion were not Jews, but heathen; and that these days, months, times, and years were not those of the Levitical law, but those which they had regarded with superstitious reverence while they were heathen. Observe the stress which Paul lays upon the word "again" in verse 9. And how many who profess the religion of Christ at the present day superstitiously regard certain days as lucky or unlucky, though such notions are derived only from heathen distinctions!

and Judea, it is evident that they did not forget to pray as the Saviour had instructed them to do, and that, as a consequence, the Sabbath was not forgotten by them during all these years.⁷³ The final destruction of Jerusalem did not occur until the five months' siege under Titus in the spring and summer of 70 A. D., or from the time of the Passover in March until late in August. While 1,100,000 Jews are said to have perished in this memorable siege, not one Christian is known to have lost his life in it.

Twenty-six years after the destruction of Jerusalem, the book of Revelation was written. As to place and time of writing, its author says:—

"I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in *the isle* that is called *Patmos*, for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. I was in the Spirit *on the Lord's day*, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book."⁷⁴

This book is dated on Patmos, and upon the Lord's day. The place, the day, and the individual have each a real existence, and not merely a symbolical or mystical one. Thus John, almost at the close of the first century, and long after those texts were written which are now adduced to prove that no distinction in days exists, shows that the Lord's day has as real an existence as Patmos, or as had he himself.

What day, then, is intended by this designation? Several answers have been returned to this question: (1) It is the gospel dispensation; (2) it is the day

⁷³ See chapter 10.

⁷⁴ Rev. 1:9-11.

of Judgment; (3) it is the first day of the week; (4) it is the Sabbath of the Lord.

The first answer can not be the true one; for it not only renders the day a mystical term, but it involves the absurdity of representing John as writing to Christians sixty-five years after the death of Christ, that the vision which he had just had was seen by him in the gospel dispensation; as though it were possible for them to be ignorant of the fact that if he had had a vision at all, he must have had it in the existing dispensation.

Nor can the second answer be admitted as the truth; for while it is true that John might have a vision *concerning* the day of Judgment, it is impossible that he should have a vision *on* that day, when it was yet future. If it be no more than an absurdity to represent John as dating his vision on the isle of Patmos, in the gospel dispensation, it becomes a positive untruth if he is made to say that he was in vision on Patmos on the day of Judgment.

The third answer, that the Lord's day is the first day of the week, is now almost universally received as the truth. The text under examination is brought forward with an air of triumph, as completing the temple of first-day sacredness, and proving beyond all doubt that that day is indeed the Christian Sabbath. Yet, as we have examined this temple with peculiar carefulness, we have discovered that the foundation on which it rests is a thing of imagination only, and that the pillars by which it is supported exist only in the minds of those who worship at its

shrine. It remains to be seen whether the dome which is supposed to be furnished by this text is more real than the pillars on which it rests.

That the first day of the week has no claim to the title of "Lord's day," the following facts will show: 1. As this text does not define the term "Lord's day," we must look elsewhere in the Bible for the evidence that shows the first day to be entitled to such a designation. 2. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul—the other writers who mention the day—use no other designation for it than "first day of the week," a name to which it was entitled as one of the six working-days; yet three of these writers mention it at the very time when it is said to have become the Lord's day, and two of them some thirty years after that event. 3. While it is claimed that the Spirit of inspiration, by simply leading John to use the term "Lord's day,"—though he in no way connected the first day of the week therewith,—did design to fix this as the proper title of the first day of the week, it is a remarkable fact that after John returned from the isle of Patmos, he wrote his Gospel;⁷⁵ and in that Gospel he twice men-

⁷⁵ Dr. Bloomfield, though himself of a different opinion, speaks thus of the views of others concerning the date of John's Gospel: "It has been the general sentiment, both of ancient and modern inquirers, that it was published about the close of the first century."—*Greek Testament with English Notes*, vol. 1, p. 328.

Morer says that John "penned his Gospel two years later than the Apocalypse, and after his return from Patmos, as St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and Eusebius affirm."—*Dialogues on the Lord's Day*, pp. 53, 54.

The Paragraph Bible of the London Religious Tract Society, in its preface to the book of John, speaks thus: "According to the general testimony of ancient writers, John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus, about the year 97."

In support of the same view, see also "Religious Encyclopedia,"

tioned the first day of the week; yet in each of these instances where it is certain that the first day is intended, no other designation is used than plain "first day of the week,"—a most convincing proof that John did not regard the first day of the week as entitled to this name, or any other expressive of sacredness. 4. What still further decides the point against the first day of the week, is the fact that neither the Father nor the Son has ever claimed the first day in any higher sense than they have any other of the six days which were given to man for labor. 5. And what completes the chain of evidence against the claim of the first day to this title, is the fact that the testimony adduced by first-day advocates to prove that it has been adopted by the Most High in place of that day which he once claimed as his, is found upon examination to have no such meaning or intent. In setting aside the third answer, also, as not being in accordance with truth, the first day of the week may be properly dismissed with it, as having no claim to our regard as a Scriptural institution.⁷⁶

"Barnes's Notes" (Gospels), Bible Dictionary, Cottage Bible, Domestic Bible, "Mine Explored," Union Bible Dictionary, Comprehensive Bible, Dr. Hales, Horne, Nevins, Olshausen, etc.

⁷⁶ The Encyclopedia Britannica (8th ed.), in its article concerning the Sabbath, undertakes to prove that the "religious observation of the first day of the week is of apostolical appointment." After citing and commenting upon all the passages that could be urged in proof of the point, it makes the following candid acknowledgment: "Still, however, it must be owned that these passages, although the plainest that occur, are not sufficient to prove the apostolical institution of the Lord's day, or even the actual observation of it."

The absence of all Scriptural testimony relative to the change of the Sabbath, is accounted for by certain advocates of that theory, not by the frank admission that it never was changed by the Lord, but by quoting John 21:25, assuming the change of the Sabbath as an undoubted truth, but that it was left out of the Bible lest it should make that book too

That the Lord's day is the Bible Sabbath admits of clear and certain proof. The argument stands thus: When God gave to man six days of the week for labor, he expressly reserved for himself the seventh, on which he placed his blessing in memory of his own act of resting upon that day, and thenceforward, through the Bible, has ever claimed it as his holy day. As he has never put away this sacred day and chosen another, the Sabbath of the Lord is still his holy day. These facts may be traced in the following scriptures. At the close of the Creator's rest, it is said:—

"And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made."⁷⁷

After the children of Israel had reached the wilderness of Sin, Moses said to them on the sixth day:—

"To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord."⁷⁸

In giving the ten commandments, the Lawgiver thus stated his claim to this day:—

"The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: . . . for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."⁷⁹

large! They think, therefore, that we should go to ecclesiastical history to learn this part of our duty, not seeing that, as the fourth commandment still stands in the Bible unrepealed and unchanged, to acknowledge that that change must be sustained wholly outside of the Bible is to acknowledge that first-day observance is a tradition which makes void the commandment of God.

⁷⁷ Gen. 2:3.

⁷⁸ Ex. 16:23.

⁷⁹ Ex. 20:8-11.

He gave to man the six days on which he himself had labored, and reserved as his own that day upon which he had rested from all his work. About eight hundred years after this, God spoke by Isaiah as follows:—

“If thou turn away thy foot from *the Sabbath*, from doing thy pleasure on *my holy day*, . . . then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth.”⁸⁰

This testimony is perfectly explicit; the Lord's day is the ancient Sabbath of the Bible. The Lord Jesus puts forth the following claim:—

“The Son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath.”⁸¹

Hence, whether it be the Father or the Son whose title is involved, the only day that can be called “the Lord's day” is the Sabbath of the great Creator.⁸² And here, at the close of the Bible history of the Sabbath, two facts of deep interest are presented: (1) That John expressly recognizes the existence of the Lord's day at the very close of the first century of the Christian era; (2) that it pleased the Lord of the Sabbath to place a signal honor upon his own day, in that he selected it as the one on which to give that revelation to John which he himself alone had been worthy to receive from the Father.

⁸⁰ Isa. 58: 13, 14.

⁸¹ Mark 2: 27, 28.

⁸² An able opponent of Sabbatic observance speaks as follows relative to the term “Lord's day” of Rev. 1: 10: “If a current day was intended, the only day bearing this definition, in either the Old or New Testaments, is Saturday, the seventh day of the week.”—*W. B. Taylor, in the “Obligation of the Sabbath,”* p. 296.

Part II — Secular History of the Sabbath

CHAPTER XII

EARLY APOSTASY IN THE CHURCH

The simple, pure doctrines of the early church — The Bible their only standard — Paul's prophecy of the mystery of lawlessness — Gnosticism one of the factors — Greek philosophy another — Greater apostasy after the death of the apostles — The influence of philosophy on the church — Gnosticism becomes a doctrine of the church — A striking prophetic fulfilment — The doubtful character of the early writings of the church Fathers — Introduction of evil practises under pleasing pretenses — Age does not change wrong into right — Nature of tradition illustrated — The two rules of faith dividing Christendom — The Bible as a sufficient guide challenged — The open book with the Lamb of God.

THE book of Acts and the apostolic epistles present to us the only inspired history of the early church. From their pages we learn that the apostles and their fellow laborers raised up church after church, in many regions, by simple preaching, "not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power."¹ After the example of their divine Teacher, they persuaded people concerning Jesus, from "the law and the prophets."² The gospel was unto them "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek."³ Faith was the great requirement, which imparteth cleansing power from every sin through the blood of Christ, and the power to righteous living by the Holy Spirit. Abraham, the "father of all them that believe," saw

¹ 1 Cor. 2 : 4.

² Luke 24 : 44, 45; Acts 28 : 23.

³ Rom. 1 : 16.

the day of Christ, and, believing, was made righteous and obeyed God's requirements and law.⁴ In him, as the "father of many nations," "a great nation" was chosen, born not of the flesh, but of the Spirit; not of Hagar, but of Sarah.⁵ In fulfilment of this promise, Paul could say of his kinsmen: "Who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came."⁶ Whatever blessings should come in Abraham to the Gentiles, were to come through Israel; both the old and the new covenant pertain unto them; and in order to be partakers of these blessings the Gentiles must be grafted into this olive tree. And though Israel as a nation rejected the promised Messiah, yet their unbelief did not make the faith of God without effect. God did not cast away his people, whom he foreknew. To this fact the very apostles, being of Israel and carrying the gospel to all the world, were the living witnesses.⁷

Thus the intimate historical connections existing between the old and the new Israel were plainly set forth: both were one, built on the same "foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone."⁸ The canon of the Israel of God was fixed; the writings of the prophets and the apostles their all-sufficient guide,

⁴ Rom. 4:9-12; John 8:56; Gen. 26:5. ⁵ Gen. 12:2; Galatians 4.

⁶ Rom. 9:4, 5. ⁷ Romans 11. ⁸ Eph. 2:19-22.

to the full knowledge of which the Holy Spirit would lead them. Their power of salvation was also defined to be the blessed gospel. The rule of life in this new covenant written in the heart was to be the same law that God inscribed in the heart of man in the beginning, which later was engraved on tables of stone, and which finally Christ set forth as the law of love and righteousness in his life and teachings. As a rest day they had the Sabbath, set apart as God's own rest day in the beginning, blessed and sanctified for the good of man, kept by Christ, the apostles, and the prophets, and pointing forward to that eternal rest when the heavens and the earth are made new. As a fitting memorial of the death of Christ, they had the Lord's supper; as a reminder of his humiliation in behalf of man, the ordinance of feet washing; and as a significant sign of his resurrection, the burial in the watery grave, and the rising up to a new life.

Jew and Gentile, hearing these blessed truths, turned alike unto God, uniting as the true Israel all their efforts in giving this gospel in its purity and simplicity to a dying world, cheered by the bright hope that Jesus would soon come again, to give life everlasting to every believer on the bright morning of the resurrection. Yet as the apostles went forth, they met bitter opposition not only from the blindness of the Jews, but also from the wisdom of the Greeks.⁹ The dangers threatening the little flock were not unknown to the apostles.

⁹ 1 Cor. 1 : 22, 23.

Prophets of old, like Daniel, had spoken of them, and the minds of the apostles themselves were enlightened by the spirit of prophecy. They accordingly felt it their duty to point out these dangers to their converts from the very beginning, as will be seen from the following:—

“That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshiped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way.”¹⁰

“To wait for his Son from heaven,” was the blessed hope taught by Paul to the Thessalonians. But in 2 Thess. 2:3 we find that he plainly told them: first, that this event would not take place until “there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed;” second, that this man of sin could not be revealed until the hindering power that was restraining his manifestation should “be taken out of the way.” But in spite of the apostle’s clear teachings as to just when, and when not, to expect the second advent, there were some who were trying to deceive the Thessalonians, by teaching them that that day was at hand.

¹⁰ 2 Thess. 2 : 2-7.

The methods of deception employed were, "by spirit," "by word," and "by letter as from us."

Some of these deceivers professed to have the spirit of prophecy, and to make their false statements under divine inspiration — "by spirit." Others based their assertions on some "word" or saying alleged to have been orally communicated to them by the apostle Paul. A third class even went so far as to forge letters purporting to have been written by the hand of Paul himself — "by letter as from us."

The deceptions already then in vogue foreshadowed the future great deception; and these false teachers, by declaring that Christ's advent was at hand, set aside the coming of the mystery of iniquity, although they themselves were the very first evidences of its development. Paul declares that "the mystery of iniquity," or, as it is in the Revised Version, "the mystery of lawlessness," "doth already work." Thus the lawless methods employed to counteract the influence of his inspired utterances and sayings, and the forged statements alleged to have been written by one of the apostles, were really laying the foundation upon which the man of sin established himself. We should therefore consider each of these topics more closely.

1. "By spirit." To this same church Paul wrote as follows: "Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings. Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."¹¹

¹¹ 1 Thess. 5:19-21.

While it was the special privilege of the New Testament church to be filled with the Spirit, and the spiritual gifts were for its unity and perfection,¹² yet those manifestations should be carefully tested by the Word of God, and the church should hold fast only to that which is in accordance with the Scriptures. On this basis the inspired Word of God still remains the infallible rule — and not any person who claims to be led of the Spirit, but who sets himself above that authority.

2. "By word.." When Paul raised up the Thessalonian church, the New Testament was yet to be written, and the very epistles to the believers in Thessalonica were to form a part of the canon. As he was both apostle and prophet, the words of his mouth ought to have had special weight with the churches for whom he labored so untiringly. Having so carefully instructed them in all lines while he was presenting the gospel to them, he charges them: "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle."¹³ This text, instead of proving the reliability of tradition, shows how liable oral traditions were to perversion, even in apostolic days; and if the spirit of lawlessness used that method to practise deceit at the very time when the apostles were still living, how much more successfully it must have practised and prospered after the apostles passed off the stage of action, and the man of sin was fully revealed.

¹² Eph. 4:8-14.

¹³ 2 Thess. 2:15.

3. "By letter as from us." One would scarcely think it possible that, at the very time when the apostles were still alive, men would arise who would dare to produce writings and claim for them apostolic authorship, although they knew them to be only a forgery: but how much more possible has it been since then! In order to protect himself, Paul gives this as a test by which his genuine letters are to be known: "The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write."¹⁴

But this mystery of lawlessness, which was finally to develop into the man of sin, was directly pointed out in the following admonition of Paul to Timothy: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called."¹⁵ A more literal rendering of the Greek is: "Avoid the antitheses of gnosis, falsely so called." The American Standard edition renders the Greek term *gnosis* by "knowledge." There is a true and false *gnosis*, or knowledge of divine things. The true "knowledge" is a special gift of the Spirit. False teachers soon counterfeited this gift, claiming to be the sole possessors of it. True knowledge of divine things is the result of a full surrender to God, receiving the revealed Word of God in childlike faith, conscious that we of ourselves know nothing, and taking the Word as it is written. But if any one thinks himself wise and tries to put into the simple divine

¹⁴ 2 Thess. 3 : 17; 1 Cor. 16 : 21; Col. 4 : 18.

¹⁵ 1 Tim. 6 : 20.

With a higher spiritual meaning of his own, a false ~~process~~ will be the inevitable result. A humble, simple person becomes wise through the true gnosis, while the false gnosis makes the puffed-up wise man a fool.¹⁶

The true nature of this false gnosis and its strong influence on the early church is best seen from the additional counsel of Paul to Timothy:—

"But shun profane and vain babblings: for they will increase unto more ungodliness. And their word will eat as doth a canker: of whom is Hymenæus and Philetus; who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some."¹⁷

The Bible teaches, in simple, plain words, that the resurrection of the body is a future event, which takes place in close connection with the second coming of Christ. But some members, prominent among whom were Hymenæus and Philetus, taught that the resurrection was then past. This could be only on the supposition that the resurrection was merely a spiritual process, which occurs at regeneration, and thus had already taken place. The "Portable Commentary" comments on this passage thus: "The beginnings of the subsequent Gnostic heresy already existed. They 'wrested' (2 Peter 3:16) Paul's own words (Rom. 6:4; Eph. 2:6; Col. 2:12) 'to their own destruction,' as though the resurrection was merely the spiritual raising of souls from the death of sin."¹⁸

¹⁶ 1 Cor. 8:1; 12:8; 14:6.

¹⁷ 2 Tim. 2:16-18. ¹⁸ Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown.

The beginning of the Gnostic heresy being thus clearly pointed out in the Scriptures, we will consider its nature, and see if it meets the specifications given by Paul. Gnosticism, being in substance chiefly of heathen descent, rooted in Orientalism, antedated Christianity, took shape and form with it, and matured into a complete system at the beginning of the second century. Gnosticism overvalued knowledge to the depreciation of faith, its chief adherents constituting the intellectual aristocracy of the ancient church. From Philip Schaff we quote the following:—

"Gnosticism is, therefore, the grandest and most comprehensive form of speculative religious syncretism known to history. It consists of Oriental mysticism, Greek philosophy, Alexandrian, Philonic, and cabalistic Judaism, and Christian ideas of salvation, not merely mechanically compiled, but, as it were, chemically combined." "The flourishing period of the Gnostic schools was the second century." "It deals with the great antitheses of God and the world, spirit and matter, idea and phenomenon; and endeavors to unlock the mystery of creation; the question of the rise, development, and end of the world; and of the origin of evil." "The highest source of knowledge, with these heretics, was a secret tradition." "In interpretation they adopted, even with far less moderation than Philo, the most arbitrary and extravagant allegorical principles; despising the letter as sensuous, and the laws of language and exegesis as fetters of the mind."¹⁹

The church historian Milman adds:—

"The later Gnostics were bolder, but more consistent innovators on the simple scheme of Christianity. . . .

¹⁹ "History of the Church," Edinburgh, second period, par. 116, pp. 448-452.

In all the great cities of the East in which Christianity had established its most flourishing communities, sprang up this rival, which aspired to a still higher degree of knowledge than was revealed in the gospel, and boasted that it soared almost as much above the vulgar Christianity as the vulgar paganism. . . . Gnosticism . . . was of a sublime and imposing character as an imaginative creed. . . . It was pollution, it was degradation to the pure and elementary spirit to mingle with, to approximate, to exercise even the remotest influence over the material world. . . . The whole of the Old Testament was abandoned to the inspiration of an inferior and evil demon; the Jews were left in exclusive possession of their national Deity, whom the Gnostic Christians disdained to acknowledge as bearing any resemblance to the abstract, remote, and impassive Spirit. To them the mission of Christ revealed a Deity altogether unknown in the dark ages of a world which was the creation and the domain of an inferior being." ²⁰

Now it is among the Gnostics that we find the false prophecies, secret oral traditions, and epistles forged in the name of the apostles. The striking fulfilment of the three specifications given in 2 Thessalonians 2, is seen from the fact that Harnack gives just these three characteristics of the Gnostics:—

"(1) By faith in the continuance of prophecy, in which new things are always revealed by the Holy Spirit (the Basilidian and Marcionite prophets); (2) by the assumption of an esoteric secret tradition of the apostles (see Clem. Strom. vii, 17, 106, 108; Hipp. Philos., vii, 20; Iren. i, 25, 5; iii, 2, 1; Tertull. de Praescr. 25. Cf. the Gnostic book, *πίστις Σοφίας*, which in great part is based on doctrines said to be imparted by Jesus to his disciples after his resurrection); (3) by the inability to oppose the continuous production of evangelic writings; in other words, by the continuance of this kind

²⁰ "History of Christianity," vol. 1, p. 208.

of literature and the addition of Acts of the Apostles (Gospel of the Egyptians (?), other Gospels, Acts of John, Thomas, Philip, etc.)."²¹

On this basis of apostolic tradition manufactured by themselves, the Gnostics built up their faith, rejecting the Old Testament, and consequently the decalogue and the Sabbath, and declaring that ancient Israel and all its institutions were of the devil. They utterly destroyed the historical connections between the Old and the New Testament, and linked the new faith with Oriental mysticism and Greek philosophy. A new faith without historic connections with the Old Testament demanded a new spiritual law, and a spiritual sabbath.

Paul, who had to meet the wisdom of the Greek philosophers (Acts 17:18), even in learned Athens itself, gives this definite warning, in Col. 2:8:—

"Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ."

What influence Greek philosophy had already on the Jewish scribes is thus set forth by Harnack:—

"This spiritualizing was the result of a philosophic view of religion, and this philosophic view was the outcome of a lasting influence of Greek philosophy and of the Greek spirit generally on Judaism. In consequence of this view, all facts and sayings of the Old Testament in which one could not find his way were allegorized. 'Nothing was what it seemed, but was only the symbol of something invisible.'"²²

²¹ "History of Dogma," London, 1905, vol. I, chap. 4, p. 256.

²² Id., vol. I, chap. 4, p. 224.

That Greek philosophy had the same influence on the early Christian interpretation, is thus plainly attested by the same writer:—

"Greek philosophy exercised the greatest influence not only on the Christian mode of thought, but also through that, on the institutions of the church. The church never indeed became a philosophic school: but yet in her was realized, in a peculiar way, that which the Stoics and the Cynics had aimed at."²³

We have now before us the dangers which beset the tender plant of Christianity, as it emerged from the overthrow of Jewish tradition, legalism, and spiritual interpretation: on the one hand, Gnosticism, with its forged secret tradition, oral or written; on the other hand, philosophy, with its vain deceit after the traditions of men, and after the rudiments of the world. Thus the spirit of iniquity was already on the stage of action, but as yet held in check by the presence of the apostles.

And if some of these dangerous influences made themselves felt "as doth a canker," while the apostles themselves were yet alive, we need not wonder at Paul's statement of what should take place after their death: "For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them."²⁴

As soon as we leave the apostolic record, which

²³ Id., vol. I, p. 128.

²⁴ Acts 20 : 29, 30.

bears in itself the divine imprint, we find ourselves in a mire that becomes more and more bottomless, and surrounded by ever-increasing darkness. There is, unfortunately, great truth in the severe language of the historian Gibbon: —

“The theologian may indulge the pleasing task of describing religion as she descended from heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed on the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption, which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings.”²⁵

In the earliest church history extant, though by no means altogether reliable, the realization of Paul’s fears are thus attested: —

“But when the sacred college of the apostles had suffered death in various forms, and the generation of those that had been deemed worthy to hear the inspired wisdom with their own ears, had passed away, then the league of godless error took its rise as a result of the folly of heretical teachers, who, because none of the apostles was still living, attempted henceforth, with a bold face, to proclaim, in opposition to the preaching of the truth, the knowledge (gnosis) which is falsely so called.”²⁶

The earliest Protestant church history, “The Magdeburg Centuries,” corroborates this statement: —

“The apostles had hardly died ere the spirit of deception thought it could easily break into the churches as into an empty house left without a guard, as Hegesippus fitly states it.” “It may be conceived that in this second century

²⁵ “Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,” chap. 15, par. 2.

²⁶ Eusebius, “Ecclesiastical History,” vol. 3, chap. 33.

originated nearly all the heresies which afterward raged in the church." ²⁷

Robinson, author of the "History of Baptism," speaks as follows:—

"Toward the latter end of the second century, most of the churches assumed a new form, the first simplicity disappeared; and insensibly, as the old disciples retired to their graves, their children, along with new converts, both Jews and Gentiles, came forward and new-modeled the cause." ²⁸

As the heathen maxim, "A lie is better than a hurtful truth," so soon found entrance through Greek philosophy into the Christian teachings, it can easily be explained on what basis this new modeling was done. Speaking of the second century, Killen says:—

"The code of heathen morality supplied a ready apology for falsehood, and its accommodating principle soon found too much encouragement within the pale of the church. Hence the pious frauds which were now perpetrated. Various works made their appearance, with some apostolic name appended to them, their fabricators thus hoping to give currency to opinions or to practises which might otherwise have encountered much opposition. At the same time many evinced a disposition to supplement the silence of the written word by the aid of tradition. . . . During this period the uncertainty of any other guide than the Inspired Record was repeatedly demonstrated; for, though Christians were removed at so short a distance from apostolic times, the traditions of one church sometimes diametrically contradicted those of another." ²⁹

Gnosticism and philosophy being the influences

²⁷ Magdeburg Centurien, Jena, 1560, chap. 1, p. 2.

²⁸ "Ecclesiastical Researches," chap. 5, p. 51, edition 1792.

²⁹ "Ancient Church," second period, sec. 2, chap. 5, par. 7.

already at work in Paul's days, when admitted into the church and fostered by it, developed fully the mystery of iniquity within the church. But Paul, after naming the very elements producing it, thus specified the exact time when this mystery would become fully manifest, and take form in the church. In our quotation from 2 Thessalonians 2, we found that this revelation would not occur until the restraining power be removed. Further, he states that the Thessalonians well knew what restrained it. In confirmation of the apostle's statement that the early Christians knew what this hindrance was, we have the consenting testimony of the early church Fathers, from Irenæus down to Chrysostom, that it was the persecuting imperial pagan power ruling and residing at Rome. Tertullian³⁰ comments on this passage: "Who else but the Roman state can be meant — after the partition of which among the ten kings we are brought to the Antichrist?" And when this very partition had taken place, and the barbarians were overrunning the Roman empire, Jerome wrote (A. D. 409): "The hindrance is being removed (*i. e.* the Roman empire is being dissolved), and should we not recognize in this the approach of the Antichrist?"³¹

The prophet Daniel foretold that out of the ten horns of the divided fourth, or Roman, empire, a little horn would arise, waxing great above all the ten others. Paul saw the beginnings of this mystery of lawlessness in his day, although apparently

³⁰ De Resur. Carnis, cap. 24.

³¹ Ad Ageruchiam, epist. 123, 16.

hidden; and, in perfect harmony with Daniel's prophecy, he was fully aware that it would not be manifest ere the hindering persecuting power — pagan imperial Rome — was removed. John the revelator foresees the seat and power of pagan Rome, then existing, transferred to this second power, so much worse in its persecuting nature. The early Christian believers and commentators were all persuaded that, after the dissolution of the Roman empire, there would arise an even worse power, with its seat in Rome.

And how Rome, with the aid of Greek philosophy, conquered the Christian world, and set itself up in the church of God, is thus set forth by Harnack: —

"We have to show how, by the power of her constitution and the earnestness and consistency of her policy, Rome, a second time, step by step, conquered the world, but this time the Christian world." "That the old bearers of the Spirit — apostles, prophets, teachers — have been changed into a class of professional moralists and preachers, who bridle the people by counsel and reproof, that this class considers itself and desires to be considered as a mediating kingly divine class, that its representatives became 'lords' and let themselves be called 'lords,' all this was prefigured in the Stoic wise man and in the Cynic missionary. But so far as these several 'kings and lords' are united in the idea and reality of the church, and are subject to it, the Platonic idea of the republic goes beyond the Stoic and Cynic ideals, and subordinates them to it. But this Platonic ideal has again obtained its political realization in the church through the very concrete laws of the Roman empire, which were more and more adopted, or taken possession of. Consequently, in the completed church we find again the philosophic schools and the Roman empire."²²

²² "History of Dogma," vol. 1, chap. 2, pp. 127, 128.

The next factor is Gnosticism, which one writer fitly calls a strange imagery "generated by the rising sun of Christianity in the fogs of declining paganism." In the vain hope of fortifying the tender organism against this infection, unsanctified teachers inoculated the church with this very poison, with this result: "the old Catholic Church plainly shows in her belief, customs, and rites, the influence which conquered paganism had over the lucky victor."³³

The proof is thus set forth by Harnack: —

"The assumption of a secret apostolic tradition . . . first appeared among the Gnostics, *i. e.*, among the first theologians, who had to legitimatize as apostolic a world of notions alien to primitive Christianity. It then was found quite logically among the Alexandrians, and from them passed to Eusebius, who not only accepted it (H. E. ii, 1, 4), but also vindicated it against Marcellus (lib. i, c. 1)."³⁴

"The Catholic Church afterward claimed as her own those writers of the first century (60-160) who were content with turning speculation to account only as a means of spiritualizing the Old Testament, without, however, attempting a systematic reconstruction of tradition. . . . The great distinction here consists essentially in the fact that the Gnostic systems represent the acute secularizing or Hellenizing of Christianity, with the rejection of the Old Testament; while the Catholic system, on the other hand, represents a gradual process of the same kind with the conservation of the Old Testament. . . . It is therefore no paradox to say that Gnosticism, which is just Hellenism, has in Catholicism obtained half a victory."³⁵

"'Gnosticism,' which the church had repudiated in the second century, became part of her own system in the third."³⁶

³³ Hauck Herzog, Realencyclopedia, article, "Gnosticism," vol. 6, p. 737.

³⁴ "History of Dogma," vol. 3, chap. 3, p. 213.

³⁵ *Id.*, vol. 1, chap. 4, pp. 227, 228. ³⁶ *Id.*, vol. 2, chap. 3, p. 131.

According to Daniel and Paul this hierarchy would not arise in Rome and within the church until the Roman empire had been divided into ten parts. The striking fulfilment of this third part of our evidence, we will let the great Catholic historian tell: —

"There it (at Rome) silently grew in secret as a tree in course of time; and in the oldest time it only showed itself forth on peculiar occasions; but the outlines of the power and the ecclesiastical authority of the Roman bishops were ever constantly becoming more evident, and more prominent. . . . Out of the chaos of the great Northern migrations, and the ruins of the Roman empire, there gradually arose a new order of states, whose central point was the Papal See. Therefrom inevitably resulted a position not only new, but very different from the former. The new Christian empire of the West was created and upheld by the Pope. The Pope became constantly more and more (by the state of affairs, with the will of the princes and of the people, and through the power of public opinion) the chief moderator at the head of the European commonwealth — and, as such, he had to proclaim and defend the Christian law of nations, to settle international disputes, to mediate between princes and people, and to make peace between belligerent states. The curia became a great spiritual and temporal tribunal. In short, the whole of Western Christendom formed, in a certain sense, a kingdom, at whose head stood the Pope and the emperor — the former, however, with continually increasing and far preponderating authority."³⁷

When the prophecy and the recorded facts of human history so closely agree in every particular, we can plant our feet firmly on the more sure word of prophecy. This perfect harmony of historical testimony to its very fulfilment leaves no doubt

³⁷ Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," London, 1862, pp. 42, 43.

as to the correctness of the position taken. We now know positively where this mystery of lawlessness is to develop,— first in secret, then openly,— and where it is to take form and be fully revealed. We must and shall find it in the Roman Church. Bearing this information in mind, we must turn our attention to the writers of the early church — not to establish any Bible truths, for the Bible suffices for this, but to show by their testimony that such an apostasy has taken place in the exact manner described. But that we may understand the uncertainty of these early writings, and what has been done through the apostasy to corrupt them, we quote the following lengthy statements from Harnack:—

“As they did not hold themselves bound to stick to the truth in dealing with an opponent, and thus had forgotten the command of the gospel, so they went on in theology to impute untruthfulness to the apostles, citing the dispute between Paul and Peter, and to Christ (he concealed his omniscience, etc.). They even charged God with falsehood in dealing with his enemy, the devil, as is proved by the views held by Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and most of the later Fathers, of redemption from the power of the devil. But if God himself deceived his enemy by stratagem (*pia fraus*), then so also might men. Under such circumstances it can not be wondered at that forgeries were the order of the day. And this was the case. We read, even in the second century, of numerous falsifications and interpolations made under their very eyes on the works of still living authors. Think of the grievances of the church Fathers against the Gnostics, and the complaints of Dionysius of Corinth and Irenæus. But what did these often naïve and subjectively innocent falsifications signify compared with that spirit of lying which was powerfully at work even in official compositions in the third and fourth centuries? Read Rufinus’s

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. libr. Origenis,' and weigh Rufinus's principles; the works of Origen. And the same spirit the church in the fifth and sixth centuries; see of the means employed to deceive in my '*Alt-Gesch.*' I, p. 42 ff. In these centuries no one put any trust in a documentary authority, a proceedings, or protocol. The letters by bishops and through with complaints of forgeries; the debate at a synod almost regularly raises the charge of synod are falsified; Cyril and the great letter-lain that their letters are circulated in a corhe epistles of dead Fathers — *e. g.*, that of Epictetus were falsified, and foreign matter into them; the followers of Apollinaris and, *e. g.*, systematically corrupted the tradition. tifications of Caspari and Dräseke. Conversely, method of defending an ancient church Father and by the opposition or on whose orthodoxy cast, was to say that the heretics had corrected suit themselves, and had sown weeds among The official literature of the Nestorian and controversy is a swamp of mendacity and ve which only a few spots rise on which it is and a firm footing." ³⁸

first consider the so-called Apostolic Faeful reading of which suffices to convince tudent that the name is unsuited. "This its of Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Igycarp, and, in a broader sense, Hermas, d the unknown authors of the Epistle us, and of the Didache." All their wriined form but a small volume, and much ttle is spurious. There is "a sudden tween the writings of the apostles and

of Dogma," vol. 3, chap. 11, pp. 184, 185.

theirs. "Their very mistakes enable us to attach a higher value to the superiority of inspired writers. They were not wiser than the naturalists of their day who taught them the history of the Phenix and other fables." Neander remarks of them: —

"The writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers are, alas! come down to us, for the most part, in a very uncertain condition; partly because in early times writings were counterfeited under the name of those venerable men of the church, in order to propagate certain opinions of principles; partly because those writings which they had really published were adulterated." ³⁹

After the Apostolic Fathers and before the council of Nicæa A. D. 325, we have the ante-Nicene Fathers,— Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, etc. How much all the Fathers were influenced in their writings by philosophy and Gnosticism, Mosheim testifies:—

"They all believed the language of Scripture to contain two meanings, the one obvious and corresponding with the direct import of the words, the other recondite and concealed under the words, like a nut by the shell; and neglecting the former as being of little value, they bestowed their chief attention on the latter; that is, they were more intent on throwing obscurity over the Sacred Writings by the fictions of their own imaginations than on searching out their true meaning." ⁴⁰

As to their contents Archdeacon Farrar says:—

"There are but few of them whose pages are not ripe with errors — errors of method, errors of fact, errors of history,

³⁹ "Church History," Rose's translation, vol. i, p. 407.

⁴⁰ "Ecclesiastical History," b. i, c. 2, pt. 2, chap. 3, sec. 5.

of grammar, and even of doctrine." "Their acquaintance with the Old Testament is incorrect, popular, and full of mistakes; their Scriptural arguments are often baseless; their exegesis — novel in application only — is a chaos of elements unconsciously borrowed on the one hand from Philo, and on the other from rabbis and cabalists. They claim a 'grace' of exposition, which is not justified by the results they offer, and they suppose themselves to be in possession of a Christian gnosis, of which the specimens offered are for the most part untenable."⁴¹

As to their teachings and how even the Catholic Church regards some, Philip Schaff makes the following statement: —

"Their dogmatic conceptions were often very indefinite and uncertain. In fact, the Roman Church excludes a Tertullian for his Montanism, an Origen for his Platonic and idealistic views, an Eusebius for his semi-Arianism, also Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, Theodoret, and other distinguished divines, from the list of Fathers, and designates them merely ecclesiastical writers. . . . We seek in vain among them for the evangelical doctrines of the exclusive authority of the Scriptures, justification by faith alone, the universal priesthood of the laity; and we find instead as early as the second century a high estimate of ecclesiastical traditions, meritorious and overmeritorious works, and strong sacerdotal, sacramentarian, ritualistic, and ascetic tendencies, which gradually matured in the Greek and Roman types of Catholicity."⁴²

After these critical statements, we can the better indorse the following from Martin Luther: —

"When God's Word is expounded, construed, and glossed by the Fathers, then, in my judgment, it is even like unto one

⁴¹ "History of Interpretation," pp. 162, 163.

⁴² "Ante-Nicene Christianity," vol. 2, sec. 160, pp. 627, 628.

that straineth milk through a coal-sack; which must needs spoil the milk and make it black: even so likewise, God's Word of itself is sufficiently pure, clean, bright, and clear, but through the doctrines, books, and writings of the Fathers it is very surely darkened, falsified, and spoiled." ⁴³

Also the severe words of Dr. Adam Clarke: —

"But of these we may safely state that there is not a truth in the most orthodox creed that can not be proved by their authority; nor a heresy that has disgraced the Romish church that may not challenge them as its abettors. In points of doctrine, their authority is, with me, nothing. The Word of God alone contains my creed. On a number of points I can go to the Greek and Latin Fathers of the church to know what they believed, and what the people of their respective communions believed; but after all this, I must return to God's Word to know what he would have me to believe." ⁴⁴

In his autobiography, he uses the following strong language: —

"We should take heed how we quote the Fathers in proof of the doctrines of the gospel; because he who knows them best, knows that on many of those subjects they blow hot and cold." ⁴⁵

After such testimonies concerning the writings of the so-called Fathers, we are better prepared to understand how, at so early a date, the mystery of iniquity could sow seeds of error of almost every variety. Within fifty years of the apostolic age Justin Martyr bears witness that the cup was mixed with water, and that a portion of the elements was

⁴³ "Table Talk," p. 228.

⁴⁴ Commentary on Proverbs 8.

⁴⁵ "Autobiography of Adam Clarke," p. 134.

sent to the absent.⁴⁶ Within a century Tertullian writes about works of penance, such as fasting, and that thereby one could atone for his transgressions, give satisfaction to God, and merit forgiveness; yea, even offer a sacrifice of atonement.⁴⁷ He sets forth the efficacy of prayer for the dead, to relieve their sufferings. He advocates the sign of the cross "at every forward step and movement."⁴⁸ By the end of the third century we find all the material to erect a complete hierarchy; also the invocation of the saints, the superstitious use of images and relics and pretended miracles were confidently ad-duced in proof of their supposed efficacy.

The leading motives prompting the early introduction of these errors are thus enumerated by Mosheim:—

"1. There is good reason to suppose that the Christian bishops purposely multiplied sacred rites for the sake of rendering the Jews and the pagans more friendly to them. For both had been accustomed to numerous and splendid ceremonies from their infancy. 2. The Christians were pronounced *Atheists*, because they were destitute of temples, altars, victims, priests, and all that pomp in which the vulgar suppose the essence of religion to consist. 3. In the books of the New Testament, various parts of the Christian religion are expressed in terms borrowed from the Jewish laws, or are in some measure compared with the Mosaic rites. In time, either from inconsideration, or from ignorance, or from policy, the greater part maintained that such phraseology was not figurative, but proper, and according with the nature of the things. The bishops were at first inno-

⁴⁶ "First Apology," chap. 65.

⁴⁷ *De Jejunio* 3; *De Penitentia* 12; *Scorpiae* 7; *De Resurrectione* 6.

⁴⁸ "De Corona," chap. 3.

cently called *high priests*, and the presbyters, *priests*, and the deacons, *Levites*. In like manner, the comparison of the Christian *oblations* with the Jewish *victims* and *sacrifices*, produced many unnecessary rites, and by degrees corrupted the very doctrine of the holy supper, which was converted, sooner, in fact, than one would think, into a *sacrifice*. 4. Among the Greeks and the people of the East, nothing was held more sacred than what were called the *mysteries*. This circumstance led the Christians, in order to impart dignity to their religion, to say that *they* also had similar *mysteries*, or certain holy rites concealed from the vulgar; and they not only applied the *terms* used in the pagan mysteries to Christian institutions, particularly baptism and the Lord's supper, but they gradually introduced also the *rites* which were designated by those terms. A large part, therefore, of the Christian observances and institutions, even in this (second) century, had the aspect of the pagan mysteries. 5. Many ceremonies took their rise from the custom of the Egyptians, and of almost all the Eastern nations, of conveying instruction by images, actions, and sensible signs. The Christian doctors, therefore, thought it likely to help their cause, if things which men must know in order to salvation, were placed, as it were, before the eyes of the unreflecting multitude, who with difficulty contemplate abstract truths. The new converts were to be taught that those are *born again* who are initiated by baptism into the Christian worship, and that they ought to exhibit in their conduct the innocence of infants; therefore milk and honey were given to them."⁴⁹

This statement concerning the second century, taken from Mosheim, contains the explanation of the fact that in this same period annual festivals and a weekly holy day were introduced, for which we find no Bible evidence. Both Jews and pagans had their memorial festivals, be they annual or weekly,

⁴⁹ "Ecclesiastical History," b. i, c. 2, pt. 2, chap. 4.

in superabundance; why should not the very same motives as stated above prompt the introduction of such mingling of Jewish and pagan festivals, converting their former meaning and changing them into memorials of important events of the gospel, such as the resurrection, the crucifixion, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the birth of Christ, etc. And when once the flood-gates were opened, memorial days of saints and of the Virgin Mary rushed in after them, completely covering the weekly memorial of God's rest, given to man for his welfare at the beginning.

Under what innocent garb the mystery of iniquity hid itself while these very errors were introduced, Dowling, in his "History of Romanism," tells us: —

"There is scarcely anything which strikes the mind of the careful student of ancient ecclesiastical history with greater surprise than the comparatively early period at which many of the corruptions of Christianity, which are embodied in the Romish system, took their rise; yet it is not to be supposed that when the first originators of many of these unscriptural notions and practises planted those germs of corruption, they anticipated or even imagined they would ever grow into such a vast and hideous system of superstition and error as that of popery. . . . Each of the great corruptions of the latter ages took its rise in a manner which it would be harsh to say was deserving of strong reprehension. . . . The worship of images, the invocation of saints, and the superstition of relics, were but expansions of the natural feelings of veneration and affection cherished toward the memory of those who had suffered and died for the truth."⁵⁰

⁵⁰ B. 2, chap. 1, sec. 1.

The early introduction of a certain practise into the Christian church is often adduced as an argument in favor of its genuineness. But every such argument is simply another prop for every sort of error. The Catholic Church prides itself upon its origin in apostolic time, but while the prophecy of 2 Thessalonians 2 fully bears them out in their claim as far as the genesis of the Romish Church is concerned, yet it most emphatically denies the apostolic character. To those who, forgetting that custom without truth is only time-honored error, love to worship at the shrine of venerable error, we commend the following saying of Luther: —

“He who has been wrong for one hundred years was not right for one hour. If the years should make wrong right, the devil would well deserve to be the most just one on earth, for he is now over five thousand years old.”⁵¹

For the benefit of some who regard the tradition of the early church quite as reliable as the Bible itself, we quote the following from Archibald Bower, the learned historian of the popes: —

“To avoid being imposed upon, we ought to treat tradition as we do a notorious and known liar, to whom we give no credit, unless what he says is confirmed to us by some person of undoubted veracity. . . . False and lying traditions are of an early date, and the greatest men have, out of a pious credulity, suffered themselves to be imposed upon by them.”⁵²

The following instance, taken from the Bible, will also show how unreliable tradition is: —

⁵¹ Walch, vol. 28, p. 358.

⁵² “History of the Popes,” vol. 1, p. 1, Phila. edition, 1847.

"Then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; which also leaned on his breast at supper, and said, Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee? Peter seeing him saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die: yet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" ⁵³

Two rules of faith really embrace the whole Christian world. One of these is the Word of God alone; the other is the Word of God and the traditions of the church. Here they are: —

I. THE RULE OF THE MAN OF GOD, THE BIBLE ALONE.

"All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." ⁵⁴

II. THE RULE OF THE ROMANIST, THE BIBLE AND TRADITION.

"The sacred and holy, ecumenical, and general synod at Trent . . . following the examples of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates with equal affection of piety and reverence, all the books both of the Old and of the New Testament — seeing that one God is the author of both — as also the said traditions, as well those appertaining to faith as to morals, as having been dictated either by Christ's own word of mouth or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved by a continuous succession in the Catholic Church." ⁵⁵

One of the strongest arguments of Catholicism, that the Bible alone does not suffice as the Christian

⁵³ John 21 : 20-23. ⁵⁴ 2 Tim. 3 : 16, 17.

⁵⁵ "Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent," T. A. Buckley, London, 1851, pp. 17, 18. Opening words of the decree at the fourth session, April 8, 1546.

rule of faith, is deduced from the fact that Christendom in general observes a day which is not commanded by the Bible, but rests solely on tradition. This is verified by the following statement from the pen of Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore: —

"A rule of faith, or a competent guide to heaven, must be able to instruct in all the truths necessary for salvation. Now the Scriptures alone do not contain all the truths which a Christian is bound to believe, nor do they explicitly enjoin all the duties which he is obliged to practise. Not to mention other examples, is not every Christian obliged to sanctify Sunday, and to abstain on that day from unnecessary servile work? Is not the observance of this law among the most prominent of our sacred duties? But you may read the Bible from Genesis to Revelation, and you will not find a single line authorizing the sanctification of Sunday. The Scriptures enforce the religious observance of Saturday, a day which we never sanctify." ⁵⁶

In this controversy before us, the honor of God's Word is at stake, and its ample sufficiency is questioned. As children of the Most High, we must hold aloft his standard of truth at any cost; as true Protestants, the Bible alone must be our constant watchword; as true followers of the lowly Christ, we must walk in his footsteps as marked in his written Word. Should we accept a single doctrine upon the mere authority of tradition, we would leave the narrow path, step down from the platform of Protestantism, and increase the doubt concerning the all-sufficiency of the Book of books, by disregarding its heavenly light.

After the careful investigation of the history of

⁵⁶ "Faith of Our Fathers," American edition, p. 111.

the early church, guided by prophecy, we have only been led to plant our feet the firmer upon the more sure Word. In its marvelous light we behold the Lamb of God opening a sealed book: a rider on a white horse goes forth to conquer; but, alas! the vision changes, the white horse, the symbol of purity, is followed by a red one, the symbol of strife, and then by a black one, the symbol of darkness and spiritual famine. And true to the letter, the mystery of lawlessness finds its way into the fold of the apostolic church, genders strife, and darkens the light of the gospel; while the man of sin, professing to shield the church against error, takes away the Word of life, replacing it by showy ceremonies; substitutes tradition for the Holy Writ, man's ordinances for God's commands, and then, when all this has been accomplished, it questions the all-sufficiency of God's Word, and challenges Christendom for its inconsistency!

As we behold the Lamb of God opening the book, and see the marvelous light streaming from its sacred page, even piercing the darkness of the mystery of lawlessness, we trust the final outcome of this controversy to the Lord, and join the heavenly chorus: "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing."⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Rev. 5 : 12.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FIRST WITNESSES FOR SUNDAY

Strange contrast between Sabbath and Sunday—Admissions of Protestant and Catholic authors concerning Sunday—Sunday observance a subject upon which church historians disagree—Neander's statement—An unsound basis for Mosheim's statement—His own witnesses testify against him—Still worse, Mosheim against Mosheim—His new Sunday theory exploded—Epistle of Barnabas a Gnostic production—Testimony of Pliny determines nothing in the case—Epistle of Ignatius misquoted—"The teaching of the twelve apostles"—The definition and application of *κυριακή* investigated—Questionable character of the contents—The Bible, and the Bible only, the Protestant rule.

PROPHETS and apostles, the foundation of the Christian church, yea, even Jesus Christ himself, its chief corner-stone, rested, as far as the inspired record shows, on no other day than the Sabbath, in harmony with the divine commandment. In strange contrast with this divine institution and these inspired examples, the observance of Sunday has for many centuries found general acceptance throughout Christendom, although Catholic and Protestant church historians and theologians freely admit that this custom rests only upon a human ordinance.

Dr. J. Eck, the great Catholic champion in the controversy with Luther, makes the following admission: "The church has changed the observance of the Sabbath to Sunday on its own authority, without Scripture, doubtless under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit."¹

¹ Enchiridion, 1533, p. 78.

One of the foremost Catholic historians, J. J. Döllinger, writes: —

"The church established her own weekly festival. . . . Nor is it true to say that the apostles changed the Sabbath into Sunday, the observance of the seventh day to the observance of the first. For, on the one hand, there is no trace of such a transference taking place, and, on the other, the Christian Sunday differs widely from the Sabbath of the law."¹

A very high Protestant authority, the Augsburg Confession, makes, in its twenty-eighth article, entitled "Power of the Bishops," the following admission: —

"What then is to be thought of the Lord's day and the like formalities of the public worship? To this it is replied, that bishops or ministers have liberty to appoint forms of proceeding, that everything may go on regularly in the church. . . . Of this nature is the observation of the Lord's day, of Easter, Whitsuntide, and the like holy days and ceremonies. . . . And yet because it was requisite to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when to assemble together, it appears that the church appointed for this purpose the Lord's day."²

Another standard work, "Apology of the Augsburg Confession," makes, in its fifteenth article, "Concerning Human Ordinances in the Churches," the following positive statement: —

"Furthermore, the three oldest ordinances in the churches, *i. e.*, the three high feast-days, etc., Sunday observance and the like, which have been invented for the sake of good order, unity, and peace, etc., such we observe gladly."³

¹ "The First Age of Christianity," London, 1877, vol. 2, pp. 206, 207.

² Quoted in Cox's "Literature of the Sabbath Question," vol. 1, pp. 130, 131. ³ "Evangelisches Concordienbuch," p. 125.

While eminent Protestant and Catholic authorities admit in the plainest terms that Sunday is only a church ordinance of human origin, we meet in some church histories, and still more in theological literature, positive statements that Sunday was instituted in the apostolic age as the Lord's day of the New Testament, and that the observance of the Sabbath as belonging to the ceremonies of the Old Testament was simply dropped. The important historical fact that the Sabbath was extensively observed in Christendom for centuries afterward, is passed by in silence, and the universal, eternal claims of the divine law are ignored. Therefore, it is of considerable interest to see how church historians arrive at so widely differing statements. Neander and Mosheim will serve us well by way of illustration. Neander, "father of modern church history," in perfect keeping with the above statements, says:—

"Sunday was distinguished as a day of joy by the circumstances that men did not fast upon it, and that they prayed standing up and not kneeling, as Christ had raised through his resurrection. The festival of Sunday, like all other festivals, was always only a human ordinance, and it was far from the intentions of the apostles to establish a divine command in this respect, far from them, and from the early apostolic church, to transfer the laws of the Sabbath to Sunday. Perhaps at the end of the second century a false application of this kind had begun to take place; for men appear by that time to have considered laboring on Sunday as a sin." (Tertullian de Orat., c. 23.)⁵

⁵ This quotation is taken from Rose's Neander, London, 1831, vol. 1, p. 33 F, and is the correct translation from Neander's first German edition, Hamburg, 1826, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 339. Neander has in his second edition, 1842, omitted the second sentence, in which he expressly stated that Sunday was only a human ordinance, but he has added nothing to the contrary.

On the other hand, Mosheim makes the following quite different statement:—

"The Christians in this century, assembled for the worship of God, and for their advancement in piety, on the first day of the week, the day on which Christ reassumed his life; for that this day was set apart for religious worship by the apostles themselves, and that, after the example of the church of Jerusalem, it was generally observed, we have unexceptionable testimony." (Ph. J. Hartmann, *de Rebus gestis Christianor. sub Apostolis*, cap. 15, p. 387. J. Hen. Boehmer, *Diss. 1, juris eccles., antiqui. de stato die Christianor.*, p. 20, etc.)⁶

Neander, as a careful writer, readily perceived that the leading motive for the very early⁷ introduction of the Sunday festival among the Gentile Christians was opposition to Judaism, rather than a divine command. But after reviewing Acts 20:7; Rev. 1:10; Ignatius to Magnes., sec. 9, and, in a foot-note, also 1 Cor. 16:1, 2, he arrives at the above conclusion that Sunday, "like all other festivals, was always only a human ordinance." Mosheim, on the other hand, bases his statement that the apostles themselves set apart Sunday, on the unexceptionable testimony of two other authors. Mosheim wrote his history in Latin (1726-1739). His German translator, J. R. Schlegel, added (1780) to the foot-note in brackets: "See also Acts 20:7; 2:1; 1 Cor. 16:1, 2; Rev. 1:10; Pliny, *epist. lib. 10, epist. 97, n. 7.*"

⁶ Murdock's Mosheim, c. 1, pt. 2, chap. 4, sec. 4.

⁷ In his history of the apostolic church Neander remarks: "A really reliable and positive mention of Sunday as a church festival among Gentile Christians we can not find in the time of the apostle Paul."—*Gesch. der Pflanzung und Leitung der christl. Kirche durch die Apostel.*, p. 209.

All depends now on the two authors Hartmann and Boehmer, both of whom wrote in Latin. The passage referred to in Hartmann's book reads thus: —

"The first church being composed of Jews, the established Sabbath observance remained with them for a time, and the apostles observed the Sabbath alone, visiting the synagogues on the Sabbath day, to explain the gospel. To the Gentiles they spoke concerning sacred things every other day. However, we do not deny that Sunday was introduced in the middle of the apostolic age; the Revelation mentions it plainly. The schools of the apostles and the older apologists mention it as having been introduced and kept for a long time, although its observance did not commence as long as Jerusalem stood."

Then in note 7 he remarks: —

"No statement can be produced concerning the weekly observance of Sunday excepting Rev. 1 : 10; for Acts 20 : 7 and 1 Cor. 16 : 2, on which Lightfoot bases his assertions, do not at all apply to Sunday. Lightfoot dares to assert, of 1 Cor. 16 : 2, that the apostles and disciples converted to the faith in Judea had not only observed Sunday, but had also kept it holy, it being a divine institution. In no law is the observance of any new day prescribed, either by the Saviour or by the apostles." *

Hartmann's "unexceptionable testimony," instead of supporting Mosheim's statement, on the contrary, brands any such declaration as that the apostles ever observed Sunday, it being a divine institution, as a daring assertion. Hartmann and Neander fully coincide. We now proceed to the next testimony of Boehmer. In his "Dissertation on the Ancient Canon Law About the Stated Day," referred to by

* *Historia Antiquitatum Eccl. Christ. Ph. J. Sclerando (Hartmann), pp. 386. 387.*

Pliny, wherein he declares this day to have been the seventh-day Sabbath, we read, page 20:—

"It remains to be investigated whether the day of Sunday was also a definite day to the Christians in Bithynia, in which they were accustomed to assemble, which, seemingly, is the more definitely asserted because this was already a Christian holy day in the time of the apostles."⁹

How positively Dr. Boehmer protests against the idea of any apostolic appointment, is seen from the following paragraphs. After considering 1 Cor. 16:2 and Acts 20:7, and the statements in Justin Martyr, he concludes:—

"In the original mother church (as Tertullian calls it), the early Christians in Jerusalem gathered together every day, pouring forth their united prayers, and thus by no means preferring any certain definite day to any other. It is well to observe that there is nowhere a statement that the apostles ever held any consultation or gave any command concerning the appointment of a definite day; should this have happened, Luke surely would not have omitted mentioning it, as he does not pass by institutions of minor importance. In fact, the very Acts of the Apostles most decidedly show that the Jewish believers had not departed from their custom, but most tenaciously adhered to the customs of their fathers. We must therefore conclude that they assembled on the Sabbath according to their wonted custom. The apostles desired no difference of days, decidedly insisting upon liberty, and would never prescribe any laws or holy days. . . . How can one therefore believe that they charged all the churches to keep the first day holy? From all this, therefore, how easily one can guess that it can not be ascribed either to the law or to apostolic command, but to *mere custom*, that Christians had held holy assemblies on that day."¹⁰

⁹ Dissertationes Juris, Eccl. Antiq. ad Plinium, sec. dis. 1, p. 20.

¹⁰ Id., pp. 23, 24.

Mosheim must have been surely hard pressed for proof, if it was necessary to refer to positive statements against his theories as "unexceptionable testimony" for them. However, we not only find the witnesses brought forward by Mosheim, against him, but we shall see that Mosheim may be quoted against himself. While in his *Church History* he based his assertion concerning Sunday on the testimony of others, he, in a large work on *Christian Ethics*, wrote quite a dissertation on the Sunday question. That his inconsistency may stand out clearer, we shall place his two statements side by side:—

MOSHEIM I.

"That this day (Sunday) was set apart for religious worship by the apostles themselves, and that, after the example of the church at Jerusalem, it was generally observed, we have unexceptionable testimony."

MOSHEIM II.

"The books of the New Testament do not state that the apostles appointed a certain day on which Christians should assemble for the worship of God."¹¹

The fact of the matter is that men may be ever so eminent, but if they deviate from the plain Word of truth and from historical facts, their wisdom will always turn into folly. Lacking Scriptural proof, Mosheim in his learned dissertation tries to argue upon the nature of the case. The following, from a review of his lengthy argument by Dr. Henke, a Lutheran college president, will best show how well he succeeded:—

¹¹ *Sittenlehre*, Helmstädt. 1752. Th. V. Hauptst. I. p. 464.

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Mosheim tried to discover a middle course between the old and the new doctrine. He says, 'The obligation of the Christian sabbath can not be proved from the Old Testament; and from the Sabbath laws given to the Jews (p. 448). Furthermore, Paul teaches that the Sabbath was done away. ~~But~~ that Sunday has taken the place of Sabbath, and thus ~~the~~ the Sabbath has been introduced in another way, is taught neither by Paul nor by any other apostle' (p. 449). Should the opponents claim that God gave the Sabbath as an eternal law immediately after creation, then they should be asked to retain the seventh day of the week as rest day. However, should they say that the apostles had power to change the Sabbath into Sunday, then they must first produce the proof, and this can not be furnished; for Mosheim truthfully and fittingly remarks: 'Things that occurred can be proved only by witnesses' (p. 454). However, in the Scriptures, we read nothing of such an appointment on the part of these men. Mosheim's opinion is this: The apostles had authority to found and to organize churches; therefore their appointments and institutions must be looked upon as coming from the Lord (p. 461). The laws of the apostles are either laws for a definite time only, or they are commandments that are binding forever (p. 463). Now, the question is, Did the apostles set apart a certain time to the service of God forever? The books of the New Testament contain no testimony concerning this. Mosheim continues: 'The nature of the thing stands for the lack of testimonies.' Right here we appeal to Mosheim's words against Mosheim: 'Things that occurred can be proved only by witnesses.' From the nature of the thing, we might perhaps admit that something not testified to might have happened; but that may be granted only for such periods concerning which the historical testimonies are altogether too incomplete — and never regarding a time so rich in literature as the New Testament age. The attempt to construct from a supposition a certainty on which we afterward build a doctrine binding our conscience, is not at all admissible.

"The question as to whether the apostles appointed Sunday as a day of worship, Mosheim also answers in the affirm-

ative. But we know from history that for nearly two hundred years after the apostolic age, the Sabbath enjoyed the same right and the same honor in Christendom as did Sunday. Mosheim declares Sunday to be an 'eternal institution, because the resurrection is of eternal significance' (pp. 484, 485). However, in the life of Christ everything has, finally, an eternal signification. Yet dare we, without any special Scriptural authority, which, according to Mosheim's own statements, is lacking in the case of Sunday, tie ceremonies to all the great events in the life of Christ, and declare them to be of the same eternal significance as those events? — By no means. Such would be only human ordinances, against which Christ himself protested" [Matthew 15].¹²

With what feelings Mosheim undertook to write his treatise, is seen from his own confession, which is as follows: —

"I must openly confess that for some time I questioned whether or not I should treat the doctrine concerning the Sabbath, or Sunday, as it is usually called. As often as I considered the intimate connection of this matter with the doctrine of public worship, so often did I decide that I could not leave it untouched. But as often as the multitude of treatises came to my mind, and the different ways in which it had been discussed, I was ready to change this conclusion."¹³

This confession fully explains the situation. When Mosheim wrote his church history, he got over the difficulty by simple assertions, referring to two other authorities. But when he was to substantiate his own statements, he searched in vain for any divine command or for an "express appointment of the apostles." Instead of the "united testimony of the

¹² Studien u. Kritiken, Jahrg. 1886, pp. 652, 653.

¹³ Sittenlehre, vol. 5, p. 443.

most credible writers," as Maclaine's translation twists Mosheim's words, he perceived that there was already a babel of theories, and deferred the task. Finally, he took courage and contrived a new course of reasoning. But, lo, he simply added another to the multitude of Sunday theories, to be exploded by the next writer. And Professor Henke, although himself writing in favor of Sunday, has done this successfully. Our investigation has clearly demonstrated that the historians, as well as the rest of fallible men, are at times biased in their statements, and that such are of weight only when backed up by reliable evidences.

Mosheim wrote in the eighteenth century, Neander in the nineteenth. Thus both writers lived far removed from the apostolic age, and have to depend upon the writings of that and later periods. Mosheim himself is forced to admit that the New Testament contains no apostolic appointment for Sunday. It is equally true that no record exists in the New Testament of any example of the church at Jerusalem, on which to found Sunday observance; but on the contrary, that they continued the observance of the Sabbath.

We have quoted statements from eminent Protestant and Catholic authorities, that Sunday is only an ordinance of the church, invented at an early date, and of human origin. When and how this happened in the postapostolic age, now needs to be set forth from the historical material of that period. But before we undertake this, the fol-

lowing testimony of the Lutheran bishop Grime-lund, of Norway, concerning the fixed time, is to the point:—

“The Christians in the ancient church very soon distinguished the first day of the week, Sunday; however, not as a Sabbath, but as an assembly day of the church, to study the Word of God together and to celebrate the ordinances one with another: without a shadow of doubt this took place as early as the first part of the second century.”¹⁴

After all that has been said concerning the second century, it is not to be wondered at if we should find in the meager, unreliable historical material of that century the first traces of the Sunday festival. Aside from the letter of Pliny, there has come down to us, from the second century, unreliable as much of it is, a small volume of the so-called Apostolic Fathers. The Fathers being the chief material in question, we by no means produce their testimonies to determine our faith,—for this purpose the Bible is all sufficient,—but rather to set forth how early the church deviated from the simple doctrines of the Bible, and how strikingly the apostolic predictions concerning the apostasy were fulfilled.

Dr. G. C. Mayer, the learned Catholic translator of the Apostolic Fathers into German, states that the “oldest express witness for the Christian Sunday observance is found in the epistle of Barnabas.”¹⁵ As this pretends to be an apostolic epistle, and yet is lacking in the New Testament canon, we must closely scrutinize it.

¹⁴ Geschichte des Sonntags, p. 60.

¹⁵ Kemptener Ausgabe, p. 108.

As to its authorship, neither the name nor the residence of the writer is mentioned. As the epistle of Barnabas it is, however, first cited by Clement of Alexandria, also by Origen, who even calls it a "Catholic" epistle. Under this name we find it in the Sinaitic Bible of the fourth century, immediately after the Apocalypse. Eusebius and Jerome likewise ascribe it to Barnabas, but number it among the "spurious," or "apocryphal," writings.¹⁶ So while one Father cites it as Catholic, another rejects it as spurious,—a striking illustration of the "unanimous consent of the Fathers," so often alluded to by the Roman Church.

The quickest solution, however, of its authorship is found in its own contents. A standard Catholic Church encyclopedia is forced to make the following admission:—

"By far the greater number of theologians deny that it was written by Barnabas; and really its contents are of such a nature that it would be very hard to reconcile them to his authorship. The author takes such a hostile position toward the Old Testament as could scarcely be conceived of by an apostle. He teaches that the Old Testament has never been of any force."¹⁷

Schaff remarks:—

"The Old Testament is, with him, rather a veiled Christianity, which he puts into it by a mystical allegorical interpretation, as Philo, by the same method, smuggled into it the Platonic philosophy. In this allegorical conception he goes so far that he actually seems to deny the literal his-

¹⁶ Schaff, second century, Chris., vol. 2, sec. 167, p. 675.

¹⁷ Wetzer & Welte, Kirchenlexikon, article, "Barnabas."

torical sense. He asserts, for example, that God never willed the sacrifice and fasting, the Sabbath observance and temple worship of the Jews, but a purely spiritual worship." "He has some profound glances and inklings of a Christian philosophy. He may be called an orthodox *Gnostic*." ¹⁸

In the Ante-Nicene Christian Library the following statement is found:—

"On perusing the epistle, the reader will be in circumstances to judge of this matter for himself. He will be led to consider whether the spirit and tone of the writing, as so decidedly opposed to all respect for Judaism—the numerous inaccuracies which it contains with respect to Mosaic enactments and observances, the absurd and trifling interpretations of Scripture which it suggests, and the many silly vaunts of superior knowledge in which its writer indulges—can possibly comport with its ascription to the fellow laborer of St. Paul." "The general opinion is that its date is not later than the middle of the second century, and that it can not be placed earlier than some twenty or thirty years before. In point of style, both as respects thought and expression, a very low place must be assigned to it." ¹⁹

As a specimen of the unreasonable and absurd things contained in this epistle, the following passage is quoted:—

"Neither shalt thou eat of the hyena: that is, again, be not an adulterer; nor a corrupter of others; neither be like to such. And wherefore so? Because that creature every year changes its kind, and is sometimes male, and sometimes female." ²⁰

How far-reaching in its influence was this mystical, allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, and,

¹⁸ "Ante-Nicene Christianity," vol. 2, sec. 167, pp. 673, 674.

¹⁹ Edinburgh, 1867, vol. 1, pp. 99, 100.

²⁰ Barnabas, chap. 9.

as a logical result, of the New Testament, is best seen from the comment which Professor Seeberg, in his "History of Dogma," makes on the passage quoted: —

"This method of exegesis, which *soon* became the *dominant* one, has cut off a historical understanding of the Old Testament for more than fifteen hundred years." ²¹

This Gnostic method of exegesis furnishes us the very key, not to a higher knowledge of Bible truths, but to unlock the mystery of lawlessness. It reveals to us by what subtle means it early gained a foothold in the church of God, was able to darken some of the plainest truths, and could set aside some of the most definite requirements of the gospel, as well as of the law of God itself: yea, how it became dominant there. And that the author of this document was a Gnostic is evident from the very contents. Neander calls him "a moderate Gnostic," ²² while Harnack testifies as follows: —

"Moreover, comparison is possible between writers such as Barnabas and Ignatius, and the so-called Gnostics, to the effect of making the latter appear in possession of a completed theory, to which fragmentary ideas in the former exhibit a striking affinity." ²³

From another source we read: —

"The author wants to give to his readers the perfect gnosis that the Christians are really the only people of the covenant, and that the Jewish people never stood in

²¹ Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, Erlangen, 1895, vol. 1, sec. 7, p. 36.

²² "Church History," vol. 2, p. 63, foot-note 1.

²³ "History of Dogma," vol. 1, chap. 4, p. 229.

covenant relationship with God." "The consequent development of the thought that the Jewish use of the Old Testament was only a misuse of it, inspired by the devil, is peculiar to the author. Circumcision and the Old Testament rites and ceremonies are to him the work of the devil."²⁴

We are now prepared to listen to his gnosis, especially with reference to Sabbath and Sunday. He first starts out to show that Christianity is the all-sufficient, divine institution for salvation, and an abrogation of Judaism, with all its laws and ceremonies. Christ has indeed given us a law; but it is a *new* law, without the yoke of constraint. Then he continues in chapter 15:—

"Consider, my children, what that signifies—he finished them in six days. The meaning of it is this, that in six thousand years the Lord will bring all things to an end, for with him one day is a thousand years, as himself testifieth, saying, Behold this day shall be as a thousand years. Therefore, children, in six days—that is, in six thousand years—shall all things be accomplished. And what is it, that he saith, And he rested the seventh day? He meaneth this, that when his Son shall come and abolish the season of the wicked one, and judge the ungodly, and shall change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then he shall gloriously rest in that seventh day. Moreover, he says, 'Thou shalt sanctify it with pure hands and a pure heart.' If, therefore, any one can now sanctify the day which God hath sanctified, except he is pure in heart in all things, we are deceived. Behold, therefore: certainly one properly resting sanctifies it, when we ourselves, having received the promise, wickedness no longer existing, and all things having been made new by the Lord, shall be able to work righteousness. Then we shall be able to sanctify it, having first

²⁴ Hauck-Herzog, Realencyclopedia, article, "Barnabas," vol. 2, p. 413.

sanctified ourselves. Lastly he saith unto them: Your new moons and your Sabbaths I can not bear them. Consider what he means by it. The Sabbaths, says he, which ye now keep are not acceptable unto me, but those which I have made when resting from all things, I shall begin the eighth day,—that is the beginning of the other world; for which cause we observe the eighth day with gladness, on which also Jesus rose from the dead, and, having been manifested openly, he ascended into heaven.”

The essence of this argument is: Answering to the six days of creation, God will finish the course of this world in six thousand years; answering to the Sabbath, a seventh thousand follows, when Jesus comes. Then the saints, being sanctified, will be able truly to rest on the seventh day, which they can not, while being unsanctified in this present wicked world. After thus giving rest to all things, the eighth day breaks on with the eighth thousand year, the beginning of a new creation. This is typified by keeping with joyfulness the eighth day, whereon Christ arose and ascended on high.²⁵ The conclusion is that the eighth day, which God never sanctified, is exactly suitable for observance in this present world.

The following comment from Cox, including also that of Domville, is to the point:—

“Very strong evidence would be required to convince any reasonable man that such fanciful matter as this proceeded from the associate of St. Paul. The passage, however, as Domville allows, ‘certainly is admissible evidence to show that in this time of the writer of the epistle the first day of

²⁵ Christ’s ascension took place on the fortieth day after the resurrection on the first day of the week — on a Thursday. See Acts 1 : 3.

the week was by some Christians — somewhere or other, and after some fashion or other — observed and distinguished from the other days of the week.' (Vol. I, page 218.) He adds: 'Let those who, after reading the foregoing extracts from the epistle, still cling to the belief that Barnabas was the writer of it, read in the epistle itself what almost immediately follows upon the passage just quoted. I can not copy it, its absurdity is so far exceeded by its grossness.' (Page 228.) The epistle, then, he holds, 'was not written by Barnabas; it is not merely unworthy of it,— it would be a disgrace to him, and, what is of much more consequence, a disgrace to the Christian religion, as being the production of one of the authorized teachers of that religion, in the time of the apostles, which circumstance would seriously damage the evidence of its divine origin.' " (Page 233.) ²⁸

That this epistle was directed against those who still thought it possible even in this wicked world to keep the true Sabbath according to the commandment, appears from chapter 3:—

"The long-suffering One, foreseeing that in simplicity the people would believe that which he in his beloved had prepared, therefore instructed us beforehand concerning everything, in order that we as proselytes might not become subject to their law."

The Catholic translator, Dr. Mayer, thus states the true standing of this anonymous epistle:—

"Though this Catholic epistle has gained access under the name of the apostle Barnabas among the books to be read by the church, outside, however, of the canon, yet the church has never guaranteed with this its genuineness, but rather left room to well-grounded doubts."

Then he puts this pointed question: "But how was it possible that it found respect, circulation, and

²⁸ Vol. I, p. 316.

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reception as *epistola catholica* among the books to be read by the church?" He answers himself: "It took into consideration and satisfied a need of the church, existing at that time."²⁷

As this anonymous epistle, according to Schaff, "actually seems to deny the literal historical sense" of the Old Testament, asserting, "for example, that God never willed the sacrifice and fasting, the Sabbath observance and temple worship of the Jews," and "proclaims thus an absolute separation of Christianity from Judaism,"²⁸ this must have been the need of some party in the church at that time. But what party, and for what purpose, A. Harnack informs us:—

"The Gnostics" "are therefore those Christians who, in a swift advance, attempted to capture Christianity for Hellenic culture, and Hellenic culture for Christianity, and who gave up the Old Testament in order to facilitate the conclusion of the covenant between the two powers, and make it possible to assert the absoluteness of Christianity."²⁹

The sum total of our investigation is: The so-called epistle of Barnabas is spurious, put out by some anonymous Gnostic writer sometime in the second century, in all probability at Alexandria, and under an apostolic flag, it gained access even among the books to be read in the church. It utterly disregards the literal historical sense of the Bible, it denies the covenant relation of ancient Israel with

²⁷ Apostolische Väter, pp. 74-76.

²⁸ "Ante-Nicene Christianity," vol. 2, sec. 176, pp. 673, 674.

²⁹ "History of Dogma," vol. 1, chap. 4, p. 228.

God, it ascribes its divine institutions to an evil source, and it contains such absurdities as a hyena changing its sex annually, etc. In the midst of this mystical, allegorical Gnostic exegesis, it brings forth for the first time, worthy of its surroundings, the eighth day as a visionary type of future eternity, said to commemorate both resurrection and ascension, just good enough to be regarded as a day of jubilee in this wicked world. No allusion whatever is made to the institution of this eighth day by Christ or his apostles, or to any obligation to observe the divine law; on the contrary, a *new* law is mentioned, and no sacred title is given to the day. Being Gnostic in its tendency, it can only be regarded as voicing the sentiment of a certain faction of postapostolic Christianity. But when this Gnostic exegesis became dominant in the church, and "Gnosticism, which the church had repudiated in the second century, became part of her own system in the third," the natural result was that this alliance between Christianity and Hellenistic pagan culture became an accomplished fact, and the establishment of this visionary eighth-day jubilee, under the disguise of the Lord's day, became the pronounced seal of this unholy union.

The next document that claims our attention is the letter of Pliny, the Roman governor of Bithynia, to the emperor Trajan. It was written about A. D. 109. He says of the Christians of his province: —

"They affirmed that the whole of their guilt or error was that they met on a certain stated day, before it was light,

and addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purposes of any wicked design, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery; never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it up; after which it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble to eat in common a harmless meal." ³⁰

As the epistle does not tell what day the stated day was, it can not be adduced as evidence for early Sunday observance. W. B. Taylor remarks: —

"As the Sabbath day appears to have been quite as commonly observed at this date as the sun's day (if not even more so), it is just as probable that this 'stated day' referred to by Pliny was the seventh day as that it was the first day; though the latter is generally *taken for granted*." ³¹

Taking for granted the very point that should be proved, is no new feature in the evidence thus far examined in support of first-day observance. Tertullian, who wrote in A. D. 200, alludes in his *Apology*, sec. 2, to this very statement, but makes no reference whatever to Sunday: —

"He found in their religious services nothing but meetings *at early morning* for singing hymns to Christ and God, and sealing home their way of life by a united pledge to be faithful to their religion, forbidding murder, adultery, dishonesty, and other crimes."

But the singular fact is that while Mosheim relies on this statement of Pliny as a chief support for Sunday observance, the very witness to whom he appeals, adduces the following argument: —

³⁰ "Pliny's Letters," b. 10, epist. 97.

³¹ "Historical Commentaries," c. 1, sec. 47.

"Pliny reports that he had learned from the admission of apostates from the faith of Christ, that the Christians were accustomed to meet on a stated day ere it was light; but what that stated day was, he by no means decides. From this, most commentators incline to the supposition that Pliny meant the day of the sun, or dominicus. This they do from the conviction, which has taken hold of so many, that the Christians, after abandoning or changing the customs of the Jews, did not abrogate the solemn feast of the Sabbath (for they are fully persuaded that this neither has happened nor can happen); but that they transferred it to the day of the sun; in other words, that from the early commencement of Christianity, the so-called day of the sun was kept instead of the Sabbath. But innumerable circumstances found in the records of ancient antiquities concerning the condition of the churches as they existed in the time of Trajan and Pliny, cast serious doubt upon this matter indeed, so that they even differ as far as possible from the general conception of Pliny. One thing is a fact, that Pliny the Younger did not mean any other stated day than the one which was observed among the Christians; and therefore, in order to throw light on what Pliny says, we must look elsewhere to see what stated day they kept at that time.

"The stated day of the Jews was the Sabbath. As the Christians originate from the Jews and are their rightful successors, it is not probable that they at once forsook the laws of their fathers; but there is more reason to believe that the Christians followed the Jews in this respect — a fact which Origen in his second book against Celsus by no means conceals. I therefore judge that I shall do nothing inadmissible by asserting that the Jewish believers who confessed Christ had, up to the time of Trajan, not rejected the whole observance of the Jewish law, but had retained the observance of the Sabbath, and then added to this the Sunday festival, by the liberty accorded them. As nearly all the churches which traced their origin from the Jews had thus far kept the Sabbath holy, we can certainly conclude that the churches in Pontus and Bithynia had also

retained this custom up to that time, as they consisted almost wholly of Jewish Christians. This I conclude from 1 Peter 1:1, which epistle he wrote to the strangers scattered among the Gentiles throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. The apostles had divided among themselves the care for the spread of the gospel in such a manner that Peter proclaimed the grace of God to the Jews, and Paul and his companions, to the Gentiles. Gal. 2:8, 9. From the fact that Peter wrote to the above-mentioned churches, I judge that they must have been founded by him and were chiefly composed of Jews; for the mentioned strangers throughout the Gentile countries refer only to believing Jews, although I do not deny that, later, converts joined these churches."²²

This testimony of Pliny was written a few years subsequent to the time of the apostles. It relates to a church which probably had been founded by the apostle Peter.²³ It is certainly far more probable that this church, only forty years after the death of Peter, was keeping the fourth commandment than that it was observing a day never enjoined by divine authority. It must be conceded that this testimony from Pliny proves nothing in support of Sunday observance; for it does not designate what day of the week was thus observed.

The epistles of Ignatius, so often quoted in behalf of first-day observance, next claim our attention. Concerning Ignatius and his epistles Neander writes:—

"Ignatius, bishop of the church at Antioch, is said, in the reign of Trajan, to have been conveyed as a prisoner to Rome,

²² *Dissertatio 1 de stato die Christianorum*, secs. 2, 3, pp. 5-7.

²³ 1 Peter 1:1. See Clarke's Commentary, preface to the epistles of Peter.

where he was expecting to be thrown to the wild beasts. On the way, he is said to have written seven epistles."³⁴

Eusebius and Jerome enumerate seven Ignatian epistles, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this number was swelled to fifteen, among them two letters to the apostle John and one to the Virgin Mary. Although these epistles "swarm with offenses against history and chronology," yet the Catholics at first accepted them all as genuine. Calvin condemned the whole lot as "abominable trash."³⁵ The later Catholics surrendered at least eight as utterly untenable. But of the remaining seven, a shorter Greek recension was discovered in a Latin version by Archbishop Usher, 1644, and in Greek by Isaak Vossius, from a Medicean Codex in 1646. Henceforth the longer recension, which had thus far been about the only one known, was generally set aside even by Catholic scholars, as interpolated. But when in 1839 and 1843 a Syriac version was found, containing only the epistles to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans, and even these in a much reduced form, a number of scholars insisted that, if any, they only were genuine.

As to the character of their contents, the Magdeburg centuriators protested that "there were such terrible things intermingled with the text as to horrify the reader."³⁶ Mosheim remarks as follows:—

"A regard for truth requires it to be acknowledged that so considerable a degree of obscurity hangs over the ques-

³⁴ "Church History," vol. 2, p. 443.

³⁵ Inst., b. 1, chap. 13, sec. 29. ³⁶ Jahrg. 2. Kap. 10, p. 314.

tion respecting the authenticity of not only a part, but the whole, of the epistles ascribed to Ignatius, as to render it altogether a case of much intricacy and doubt." ²⁷

Neander says of the shorter edition:—

"Even the briefer revision, which is the one most entitled to confidence, has been very much interpolated." ²⁸

Schaff makes the following explicit statement concerning the contents and genuineness of the Ignatian epistles:—

"In the 'catholic church'—an expression introduced by him—that is, the episcopal orthodox organization of his day, the author sees, as it were, the continuation of the mystery of the incarnation, on the reality of which he laid great emphasis against the Docetists; and in every bishop, a visible representative of Christ, and a personal center of ecclesiastical unity, which he presses home upon his readers with the greatest solicitude and almost passionate zeal."

"It is remarkable that the idea of the episcopal hierarchy . . . should be first clearly and boldly brought out, not by the contemporary Roman bishop Clement, but by a bishop of the Eastern Church; though it was transplanted by him to the soil of Rome, and there sealed with his martyr blood. Equally noticeable is the circumstance that these oldest documents of the hierarchy soon became so interpolated, curtailed, and mutilated by pious fraud that it is to-day almost impossible to discover with certainty the genuine Ignatius of history under the hyper- and pseudo-Ignatius of tradition." ²⁹

Doubtful as the seven Ignatian epistles, even in their shorter version, may seem, for they stand side

²⁷ "Ecclesiastical Commentaries," cent. 1, sec. 52.

²⁸ "Church History," vol. 2, p. 443.

²⁹ "Ante-Nicene Christianity," vol. 2, sec. 164, pp. 659, 660.

by side on the same manuscripts with decidedly spurious epistles, yet as one of them is often adduced in favor of Sunday, we will consider it. The passage often used occurs in the epistle to the Magnesians, chapters 8 and 9. To guard against the charge of a wrong rendering, we quote the text as it is given in the noted Bampton Lectures by J. A. Hessey: —

“Be not deceived with heterodox opinions, nor old, unprofitable fables. For if we still live according to Judaism, we confess that we have not received grace. For even the most holy prophets lived according to Jesus Christ. . . . If they then who were concerned in old things, arrived at a newness of hope, no longer observing the Sabbath, but living according to the Lord’s life, by which our life sprang up by him and by his death, . . . how can we live without him, whose disciples even the prophets were, and in spirit waited for him as their teacher? Wherefore, he whom they justly waited for, when he came, raised them up from the dead.” ⁴⁰

Now as to the originals, on which the above rendering is based, we would say that Usher, the very one who found the shorter version, using the Latin Codexes *Montacutianus* and *Caiensis*, renders this: “*non amplius Sabbatum colentes, sed juxta Dominicam vitam agentes.*” ⁴¹ Voss, the discoverer of the Greek version in the Codex Mediceus, gives the Greek as follows: “μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες” ⁴² The text as it stands in the Greek and Latin Codexes and the above English translation

⁴⁰ Sunday, p. 41.

⁴¹ Edition 1644. In the Greek parallel Usher includes ἡμέραν.

⁴² Patrum Apostolicorum Opera, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 36-39.

is in perfect harmony with its context and with similar contrasts made in later writings. No mention whatever is made here of Sunday, nor is it called here the Lord's day. Should on this account any one question even the originals of this shorter version, then let him be consistent enough to drop the whole passage and not to bring it forward as any kind of proof. As the attempt to smuggle into this passage the term Lord's day is but a link in a whole chain of similar attempts, we will consider them as a whole in the next chapter.

In our investigation thus far we have considered an anonymous epistle, falsely ascribed to the apostle Barnabas, and have set forth its spurious character; then fifteen Ignatian epistles claimed our attention, which none less than Calvin, in Inst., book I, chap. 13, sec. 29, terms "abominable trash;" we fitly close this dark age with another anonymous document bearing the most high-sounding title, even a twofold one: "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles; the Teaching of the Lord by the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles." The document names no author, nor gives the place or the date of its composition, nor are there any hints in its contents whereby they might be inferred with the least certainty. Thus every scholar is at liberty to guess, and almost every period between the first and fifth centuries has been guessed, and almost every country between Egypt and Rome by way of land.

This document was found in 1873, in a monastery in Constantinople, bound together in one vol-

ume with the epistle of Barnabas, two Clementine epistles, the spurious epistle of Mary of Cassoboli to Ignatius, and twelve pseudo-Ignatian epistles, all written by the same copyist, who signs himself "Leon, notary and sinner," June 11, 1056. If its character is to be decided by the company it keeps, it is decidedly bad.

Eusebius is the first who mentions among the "spurious" books the "so-called Teachings of the Apostles." Athanasius classifies "Teaching so called of the Apostles" with the apocryphal books, like Sirach, Tobias, etc. In the Apostolical Constitutions of pseudo-Clement of Rome, compiled in the first half of the fourth century, and condemned by the Trullan council for its heretical interpolations, we find it somewhat enlarged and changed as "book seven." As to the merit of its contents we let one of its ablest admirers, Schaff, testify:—

"The truths it contains and the duties it enjoins are independently known to us from the Scriptures." "It is not free from superstitious notions and mechanical practises which are foreign to apostolic wisdom and freedom."⁴³

An investigation of its contents more than substantiates the testimony of Schaff. Thus we read in chapter 4: If thou hast, thou shalt give with thy hands a ransom for thy sins,—Catholic meritorious giving with atoning efficacy. In chapter 6: If indeed thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, do what thou canst,—a strange standard of apos-

⁴³ "The Oldest Church Manual," New York, 1885, p. 138.

tolic teaching. In chapter 7: If thou canst find no living water, pour thrice upon the head — the beginning of the Catholic mode of sprinkling. In chapters 7 and 8: Before baptism let both minister and catechumen fast. Do not fast like the hypocrites, on the second and fifth days, but on the fourth, and the preparation day — the beginning of stated weekly fast-days, after the manner of pharisaical fasting, only the days are changed. In chapter 11: If an apostle remains longer than two days, or asks for money, he is a "false prophet."

It would be quite in keeping, if in connection with such "moralism, pettiness, and superstition," Sunday observance should be mentioned. There is a text in chapter 14: 1 adduced in favor of Sunday, and we quote it, giving the questionable part in the original: —

"But coming together *κατὰ κυριακὴν* of the Lord, break bread and give thanks, having before confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. Let no one who has a dispute with his fellow come together with you until they are reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be defiled."

These words evidently refer to the Lord's supper, but the Greek text is incomplete. The preposition *κατά* with the accusative may denote: "down along; passing over, through, or unto, pertaining to, according to: (a) of place; (b) of time; (c) of other relations; and (d) in distributive expressions." "As to the term *κυριακὴν*, we give Schaff's own notes: "The first use of *κυριακή* as a noun, but with the pleo-

* Hadley's Greek Grammar, New York, 1878, p. 247.

nastic addition of τοῦ κυρίου." Then under "Words Used for the First Time in the Didache," he says: "κυριακή, 14:1, the Lord's day. Occurs as a noun in Ignatius, Gregory Nazianzen, etc., and in Apost. Const. often." Then, after referring to Apost. Const. 7:30, he continues: "The New Testament has the adjective, in 1 Cor. 11:20, of the Lord's supper, and in Rev. 1:10, of *the Lord's day*."

As this term first occurs as an adjective in the writings of Paul, and as a noun in the Didache (its use in both forms being purely Christian), its correct definition must be settled, not from any dictionary or by any theologian, but from the very passages in which it is to be found. All any dictionary can do is what Schaff does — quote the instances of its occurrence. Schaff and others assert that κυριακή means the Lord's day, and that it is applied in that sense in subsequent Christian literature. We challenge them to prove this from the literature of *that* period. We could not accept evidence adduced from the literature *centuries* later; for theological terms, more than any other class of words, have changed their original meanings in the process of time. The *only fair* way is to produce all the passages where this term occurs until the end of the second century, and see if this rendering and application can be justified:—

In all the Gospels: τῇ μὲν τῶν σαββάτων, "the first day of the week."

Paul, the originator of this adjective, in 1 Cor. 11:20: κυριακὸν δείπνον, "the Lord's supper."

John in Rev. 1:10 : ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, "on the Lord's day."
 Didache, 14:1 : κατὰ κυριακὴν κυρίου, "according to the Lord's of the Lord."

Ignatius, Magn. 7:1 : κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν, "according to the Lord's life."

Justin Martyr, "Dial. with Trypho," chap. 41 : τῇ μὲν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ, "on the first day of the week."

Justin Martyr's "First Apology," chap. 67 : ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα, "the day of the sun."

Clement of Alexandria (A. D. 194), in Miscell., book 5 : τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, "the Lord's day."

We are now brought down to the close of the second century, and what is the result? — According to its first use, the term applied to the Lord's supper. John uses the same adjective in speaking of the Lord's day. The conclusion from its use in the New Testament is, the word means the Lord's, or belonging to the Lord, whatever may be referred to. Ignatius uses the very *same* preposition, the *same* case, the *same* gender, as is found in the Didache, to be rendered, "according to the *Lord's* life." This fully sustains the first conclusion reached from the New Testament — it may be the *Lord's* supper, the *Lord's* day, or the *Lord's* life.

But we have another chain of proof. All the Gospels give to Sunday its regular Bible name, "first day of the week." If the Didache is said to be the first evidence that henceforth this Bible term was changed into κυριακῇ, then Justin Martyr, writing soon afterward, ought to have used it. But lo and behold, he uses interchangeably the Bible term, "first day of the week," and the heathen designation, "day of the sun."

The next witness brought forward by Schaff is Gregory Nazianzen, a writer of the latter part of the fourth century. But the authority on which Schaff rests his rendering is, according to his own quotation, the Apostolic Constitutions, dating from the end of the fourth century. The merits of this composition we will consider in later chapters.

The word *κυριακή* was, as a rule, associated with *ἡμέρα* even into the fourth century; so in Clement, in Eusebius, and on the tombstones. What the "Lord's day" meant to Clement and Origen, we shall find out in due time. In Origen we find the first trace of the use of the term *κυριακή* (A. D. 231).

That the names of the days of the week underwent a wonderful change through the influence of the church, we shall show as we proceed. To sum up: No writer until a century later uses *κυριακή* as a noun. A writer of the same period as the Didache applies it to the Lord's life, and another uses interchangeably the Bible or the heathen designation for the first day of the week.

Last, but not least: The text in the Didache is the *only* place known in all literature where the term "the Lord's of the Lord" occurs. Prof. J. R. Harris and Dr. Taylor, perceiving this, try to show from the tenor of the epistle and from the context, that it must have reference to some great annual festival, answering to the day of atonement. They quote as evidence, from the *Mishna*, Yoma 8:9: "Transgression between man and his fellow the day of

atonement did not expiate, until his fellow be reconciled." ⁴⁶

Be this as it may, the statement is open to various interpretations, like others in the same epistle. The Catholic finds here allusions to the mass, stated fast-days, meritorious alms, purgatory. Why, therefore, should not the Protestant be expected to find in all this an allusion to the missing link for a post-apostolic Sunday-Lord's-day, or to sprinkling? It may be a comfort to one hard pressed for Bible proof to sustain early Sunday observance to quote from the Apostolic Fathers, yea, even from the "Teachings of the Twelve Apostles." Some who do this may not know that the Apostolic Fathers are a pseudo-Barnabas, a pseudo-Ignatius, a pseudo-Clement, and that the "Teaching of the Apostles" is the spurious work of an unknown author of an unknown period, and that even these spurious works must be taken in their interpolated versions of later centuries, to furnish any seeming evidences, as we shall see in the next chapter. We have seen that the Greek text of this epistle does not contain the phrase *κυριακή ἡμέρα*, Lord's day, as found in Rev. 1 : 10, and that, even if it did, there would be lacking in the context every specification as to which day is meant, and why it is thus styled — the very proof necessary to make the occurrence of such a term of any value.

One thing only is certain, that, as this epistle is

⁴⁶ Harris, "The Teaching of the Apostles," London, 1887, p. 105; C. Taylor, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," Cambridge, 1886.

"not free from superstitious notions and mechanical practises which are foreign to apostolic wisdom and freedom," the very title of it is a universally admitted forgery, and its contents are a compilation of some unknown author writing centuries later. The following statement from R. Cox about the Christian Fathers, based on his own experience in compiling his "Literature of the Sabbath Question," is directly to the point:—

"It is a received maxim that 'the Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants.' According to the sixth article of the Church of England, 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation.' And in the Westminster Confession it is in like manner declared that 'the whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture; unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men.'

"It is therefore somewhat surprising that theologians who accept and are constantly proclaiming this principle, should lay so much stress, as they evidently do, upon what the early postapostolic writers say, or are supposed to say, about the Sabbath and the Lord's day. For if it can be proved from Scripture that the Lord's day is a divinely appointed Christian institution, there is no need for further evidence of the fact, . . . while, if the alleged fact *can not* be proved from Scripture, the opinions and practise of the Fathers would be of no avail, even if these were always rational, and if we could rely on the genuineness of all the writings which have come down to us as theirs.

"But no such reliance is due to the works in question. 'Of all the chasms in the records of history,' says Dr. Arnold, 'none is so much to be regretted as that wide one of more than a century, in which all full and distinct knowledge

of the early state of Christianity after the date of the apostolical epistles has been irretrievably buried. In the apostolical epistles themselves we have a picture clear and lively, from which we can gain a very considerable knowledge of what the Christian church then was. But from these epistles, which merely as historical monuments are so invaluable; from these records, undoubtedly genuine, uncorrupted, uninterpolated, and in which everything is drawn with touches equally faithful, bold, and distinct, we pass at once into a chaos. We come to works of disputed genuineness, with a corrupted text, full of interpolations, and which, after all, are so different from the apostolical epistles in their distinctness and power of touch, that even if we could rely on their authenticity, the knowledge to be derived from them is exceedingly vague and scanty. . . . We stop then at the last epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, with something of the same interest with which one pauses at the last hamlet of the cultivated valley, when there is nothing but moor beyond. It is the end, or all but the end, of our real knowledge of primitive Christianity; there we take our last distinct look around; further the mist hangs thick, and few and distorted are the objects that we discern in the midst of it."⁴⁶

We have followed our opponents into the chaos of tradition; we have found the forbidden byways of false gnosis in a "new law;" we have seen the heavy mists of declining paganism trying to obscure the bright rays of the gospel, and as a strange mirage of the sunlight of the gospel there looms up before us the phantom of an "eighth-day" rest—a visionary type of eternity. Tracing our steps back to the good old Book, and resting on the Bible only, we are constrained to exclaim with the psalmist: "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Cox, vol. I, pp. 306, 307.

⁴⁷ Ps. 19 : 7.

CHAPTER XIV

A FORGED CHAIN OF SUNDAY EVIDENCES

The missing link sought—Were the martyrs of Pliny's time tested by the question, "Hast thou kept the Lord's day"?—Justin Edwards affirms—Domville's telling refutation—The correct time and question—Ignatius's spurious epistles still more interpolated—Justin Martyr's designation of the first day changed—Theophilus of Antioch, or of Alexandria?—Pseudo-Ignatius remodeled for a testimony of Irenæus—The unqualified statement of Dionysius—The indefinite title of Melito's treatise—The first day of the week in the Bible and in the postapostolic age—"Almost immediately" means at least a century—"Probable insinuations in Scripture"—A forged chain of tradition.

THE meager writings of that "obscure and mysterious transition period between the end of the first century and the middle of the second"¹ fail to furnish in their originals, questionable though they even appear, the missing evidences whereby Sunday observance could be traced to apostolic time. They likewise utterly fail to supply reliable testimony that soon after the apostolic time Sunday was observed under the significant title "the Lord's day." Feeling this lack keenly, certain doctors of divinity and first-day writers of less renown, try to supply the lack by fabrications. Intermingling statements of a much later date with the vague inferences of these few earlier documents, or interpreting their sayings in the language or light of later interpolations, they make these fabrications seem quite plausible, apt to deceive even the wary.

Pliny's epistle mentions a stated day of worship,

¹ Schaff, second century, vol. 2, sec. 161, p. 634.

but does not in any way specify the day. Being a historical document of the immediate postapostolic age, its testimony would carry some weight. How this lack has been supplied, Justin Edwards, D. D., demonstrates. After raising the question, "Which was this stated day?" he, without giving any reference whatever, incorporates the following into his answer: —

"Hence the fact that their persecutors, when they wished to know whether men were Christians, were accustomed to put to them this question; viz., '*Dominicum servasti?*' (Hast thou kept the Lord's day?) If they had, they were Christians. This was the badge of their Christianity, in distinction from Jews and pagans. And if they said they had, and would not recant, they must be put to death. And what, when they continued steadfast, was their answer? '*Christianus sum; intermittere non possum*' (I am a Christian; I can not omit it). It is a badge of my religion, and the man who assumes it must of course keep the Lord's day, because it is the will of his Lord; and should he abandon it, he would be an apostate from his religion."²

J. J. Gurney, who published his history of Sunday fourteen years before Edwards's "Sabbath Manual" was issued, uses the same argument, giving as reference, "Acts of the Martyrs, in Bishop Andrews's 'On the Ten Commandments,' page 264."³ Bishop Andrews first brought this forward in his speech in the Court of Star Chamber against Thraske (1618). The latter, who observed the seventh day as the Sabbath of the Lord, was accused, before that arbitrary

¹ "Sabbath Manual," New York, 1844, p. 120.

² "History of the Sabbath," Norwich, 1830, p. 87.

tribunal, of maintaining the heretical opinion that Christians were still bound to observe the seventh day. The bishop died in 1626. His speech against Thraske was not published until 1629; it was, therefore, as well as his "Catechism on the Ten Commandments," from which Gurney must have quoted, a posthumous publication. The following is his own statement (page 264):—

"A thing so notorious, so well known even to the heathen themselves, as it was (in 'The Acts of the Martyrs'), ever a usual question of theirs (even, of course) in their examining, What? '*Dominicum servasti?*' (Hold you to Sunday?), and their answer known; they all aver it, '*Christianus sum, intermittere non possum*' (I am a Christian, I can not intermit it); not the Lord's day, in any wise. These are examples enough."

Sir Wm. Domville, a very able writer, took pains carefully to trace the matter, making use of the *Acta primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta*, by Ruinart, who lived 1657–1709. Domville found that neither the question, '*Dominicum servasti?*' nor anything similar to it, was mentioned until *two hundred years after* the time of Pliny.

The martyrdom referred to is that of Saturninus, Dativ, and others of Abitina, in Africa, which is said to have occurred at the time of the Diocletian persecution. Ruinart designates 304 A. D. as the proper date. Here the expressions *celebrare Dominicum* and *agere Dominicum* frequently occur, but in no instance is the verb *servare* used in reference to *Dominicum*. From this "it is very clear"

* Domville's "The Sabbath," London, 1849, p. 260 ff.

that Bishop Andrews had not "his author at hand, and that, in trusting to his memory, he coined a phrase of his own."

Not only was the time of this martyrdom two hundred years after the age of Pliny, but even two hundred years later the question was not concerning the Lord's day, but with reference to the Lord's supper. Domville also proves this from Ruinart's own statement, and from the Benedictine edition of St. Augustine's works, and from Gesner's Latin Thesaurus, published in 1749. These, in quoting Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, and Hilary, refer it to the Lord's supper.

Domville himself says, concerning the meaning of *Dominicum*:—

"It was a barbarous word in use among some of the ecclesiastical writers in, and subsequent to, the fourth century, to express sometimes a church, and at other times the Lord's supper, but *never* the Lord's day."⁵

Then, after having reproved Mr. Gurney for his unfounded assertion, he stigmatizes this deceptive and favorite first-day argument as—

"one of those daring misstatements of fact so frequent in theological writings, and which, from the confident tone so generally assumed by the writers on such occasions, are

⁵ Note by Domville. "*Dominicum* is not, as may at first be supposed, an adjective, of which *diem* (day) is the understood substantive. It is itself a substantive, neuter, as appears from the passage, '*Quia non potest intermitte Dominicum*,' in the narrative respecting Saturninus. The Latin adjective *Dominicus*, when intended to refer to the Lord's day, is never, I believe, used without its substantive *dies* (day) being expressed. In all the narratives contained in Ruinart's '*Acta Martyrum*,' I find but two instances of mention being made of the Lord's day, and in both these instances the substantive *dies* (day) is expressed."

usually received without examination, and allowed, in consequence, to pass current for truth."⁶

That this did not stop the fraudulent and deceptive use of this statement is seen from the following note by Cox, some sixteen years later:—

"As Bishop Andrews's argument from '*Dominicum servasti?*' continues to be frequently reproduced by writers on the Sabbath, I have copied this searching exposure of it [by Domville], in the hope of fostering a more conscientious and scholarlike mode of conducting the controversy than that which unhappily prevails."⁷

After Domville had thus exposed the character of these fraudulent quotations, James Gilfillan published an exhaustive volume about Sunday in 1861, which was extensively circulated. Although it appears from his own quotations on pages 10, 142, and 143, that the author had read Domville's exposures, yet he makes the following statement:—

"From the days of the apostles downward for many years, the followers of Christ had no enemies more fierce and unrelenting than that people [the Jews]. . . . Among the reasons of this deadly enmity was the change of the Sabbath day. The Romans, though they had no objection on this score, punished the Christians for the faithful observance of their day of rest, one of the testing questions put to the martyrs being, '*Dominicum servasti?*' Have you kept the Lord's day?—*Baron. An. Eccles., A. D. 303, Num. 35, etc.*"⁸

Gilfillan, having reproduced the question about "*Dominicum servasti?*" assigns as his authority the

⁶ "The Sabbath," pp. 272, 273. ⁷ Cox, vol. 1, p. 304.

⁸ Gilfillan, "The Sabbath." Edinburgh, 1861, p. 7.

annalist Baronius. Other first-day writers repeat the story with the revised date. We find, for example, this assertion in the published sermons of Bishop Daniel Wilson, of Calcutta.⁹ And the same was transferred from the bishop's sermons into a French work.¹⁰

But that Domville was correct when he originally referred to Ruinart, is demonstrated by the fact that a noted German Catholic writer quotes this very account in Ruinart not only to prove early Sunday observance, but also in behalf of a Sunday law, and even of the mass. This author, A. G. Binterim, D. D., a knight of the papal order of the Golden Spur, in his elaborate work on the Antiquities of the Christian Catholic Church (a standard authority among Catholics), makes the following statement:—

"The writings of these two ancient Fathers [Ignatius and Justin] plainly show that they looked upon the observance of Sunday, not as something arbitrary, but as something commanded by a law which the martyrs Saturninus, Dativ, etc., still more plainly state. They refer to an old law which commands the observance of Sunday. ('Securi Dominicum celebravimus, quia non potest intermitti Dominicum. . . . Saturninus ait: intermitti Dominicum non potest. Lex sic jubet.—*Acta de Saturnini, etc.* Ruinart N. 9 et 10. See also *Acta Philipp. episcopi Herecleæ*. N. 4. Tertullian, *Libr. de Fuga Cap. ultim.*')"

"To attend the holy mass was a principal duty and the main part of Sunday observance from the earliest times, as we have shown from the testimonies of Justin and the above-

⁹ "Divine Authority of the Lord's Day Asserted," London, 1830.

¹⁰ "Le Dimanche," par L. V. Mellet, Laus., p. 109.

mentioned acts of the martyrs Saturninus, Dativ, etc., and of the bishop of Herecleæ."¹¹

The full array of facts is before us, and they conclusively show that the martyrdom in question is that of Saturninus, Dativ, and their fellow sufferers in Northern Africa. We find these things recorded in the most noted "Acta Sanctorum" of J. Bollandus;¹² in Baronius;¹³ and in Ruinart.¹⁴ Bollandus places the martyrdom about A. D. 300, Baronius at A. D. 303, and Ruinart in A. D. 304. The context is everywhere the same—they were arrested while celebrating the Lord's sacrament according to custom.¹⁵ The charge was that they had celebrated the Lord's supper and the *collecta*.¹⁶

The following are some of the most important questions put to them by the proconsul:—

Dativ was asked whether he had celebrated the *collectam*; and he replied that he was a Christian, and had done this.¹⁷ Victoria said, "I have not only been in the *collecta*, but I have celebrated the Dominicum with the brethren, because I am a Christian."¹⁸

¹¹ Die vorzüglichsten Denkwürdigkeiten der christl. Kath. Kirche, b. 5. Th. 1, pp. 127, 139, Mainz, 1838.

¹² "Acta Sanctorum," Antwerpen, 1658, Febr. tom. 2, pp. 513-519.

¹³ Annales Eccl. Lucæ, 1738, Tom. III, pp. 348-352.

¹⁴ Acta sincera, Amsterdam, 1713, p. 382 ff.

¹⁵ Ibique celebrantes ex more Dominica sacramenta.—Baronius, Tom. III, p. 348.

¹⁶ Qui contra interdictum Imperatorum et Cæsarum, *collectam* et Dominicum celebrassent.—Ruinart, sec. 5. Baronius, Lat. *Collectam Dominicam*, An. 303, No. XXXIX.

¹⁷ Utrum *collectam* fecisset. Qui cum se christianum, et in *collecta* fuisse profiteretur.—Id.

¹⁸ Nam et in *collecta* fui, et Dominicum cum fratribus celebravi, quia Christiana sum.—Id., No. 43, p. 344.

Saturninus answered, "We have celebrated the Dominicum, because the Dominicum can not be neglected."¹⁹ Upon being questioned again, he replied, "The Dominicum can not be disregarded; the law so commands."²⁰

To Felix the proconsul said that he did not wish to know whether he was a Christian, but whether he participated in the collecta. His answer was: "As if one could be a Christian without the Dominicum (or as if the Dominicum can be celebrated without the Christian)."²¹ "We have observed the collecta most sacredly; we have always convened in the Dominicum for reading the Lord's Word."²² After him, the younger Felix declared the Dominicum to be the hope and safety of the Christian; and when tortured as the others, he exclaimed, "I have celebrated the Dominicum with a devoted heart, and with my brethren I have made the collecta because I am a Christian."²³ When the proconsul asked the younger Saturninus whether he had conducted the Dominicum, he replied that he had, because Christ was his Saviour.²⁴

This is the substance of this famous examination,

¹⁹ Dominicum celebravimus. Proconsul ait: Quare? respondit: Quia non potest intermitteri Dominicum.— *Id.*, No. 46, p. 350.

²⁰ Intermitti Dominicum non potest, ait. Lex sic jubet.— *Id.*

²¹ Non quero an Christianus sis sed an collectam feceris. . . . Quasi Christianus sine Dominico esse possit.— *Id.*, No. 51, p. 351.

²² Collectam, inquit, religiosissime celebravimus; ad scripturas Dominicas legendas in Dominicum convenimus semper.— *Id.*

²³ Post quem junior Felix, spem salutemque Christianorum Dominicum esse proclamans. . . . Ego, inquit, devota menta celebravi Dominicum; collectam cum fratribus feci, quia Christianus sum.— *Id.*, No. 53.

²⁴ Utrum egeris Dominicum. Cui respondit Saturninus: Egi Dominicum, quia Salvator est Christus.— *Id.*, p. 352.

and it can be easily seen what use is made of the words *Dominicum* and *collecta*. The important question is, Do Bollandus, Ruinart, and Baronius ever translate these words Lord's day?—*Never*. On the contrary, all three carefully show the right sense of these words by plain definitions. In his notes, Bollandus says, "Surius renders, 'The sacraments of the Lord, the sacrifice of the mass.'"²⁶ He also adduces a passage from the works of Cyprian in confirmation of this. In another note (*nota a*) he remarks, "*Collecta* or *collectio* is the assembly and meeting of the Christians for prayer." Ruinart observes that "*Dominicum* signifies the holy mysteries."²⁶ In confirmation of this, he appeals to Tertullian and Cyprian. Baronius explains this term seven times, expressly stating that *Dominicum* could only refer to that divine service which the Catholics call the mass.²⁷ We might add that the German translator of Ruinart translates *Dominicum* as Lord's supper, and *collecta*, as assembly.²⁸ Of course at that early age, the divine service of the martyrs, and their celebration of the Lord's supper, were far different from that pompous ceremony now known as the mass in the Catholic Church.

Gilfillan had read these explanations of Baronius, still he dares to quote him as saying that these martyrs were tested by the question, "Have you kept the Lord's day?" (*Dominicum servasti?*) He should

²⁶ Bolland., Febr. tom. 2, p. 516, *nota c*.

²⁶ Ruinart on Sec. 5, *nota 20*.

²⁷ Baronius, No. LXXXIV, p. 359.

²⁸ *Leidengeschichten der Märtyrer*, Klagenfurt, 1805, Th. 2, p. 32.

have known that he was writing a direct falsehood; and all who knowingly repeat this fraud, are without excuse.

The correctness of Sir Domville's refutation and the error of Binterim is thus ably set forth by Prof. Th. Zahn, D. D., in his "History of the Sunday:" —

"The *Acta Saturnini, Dativi*, etc., from the time of Diocletian are a touching testimony (Ruinart, pp. 409-419, ed. 1). It is perhaps not superfluous to correct incidentally a misunderstanding of Binterim (Denkw. V. 1, 127, note). He fancied a reference to an old ecclesiastical law concerning Sunday observance in the exclamation of the old presbyter Saturnin: *Intermitti Dominicum non potest, lex sic jubet*; and afterward once more: *Lex sic docet* (p. 414 Ruinart). The neuter *dominicum* never signifies Sunday, but the Lord's supper. (*Convivium dominicum*, Tertull. *Ad uxorem*, 11, 4.) Thus all through these acts, for example, chap. 7, p. 412: *et in collecta fui et dominicum cum fratribus celebravi*; compare with this Tertull. *de Fuga* 14 or August. *brevic. collat. c. Donat. coll. tertii diei sec. 32*. In the *acta Saturni*, chap. 2, p. 410, we find in addition to *dominicum* the synonymous variant, *dominica sacramenta*. Thus the word is undoubtedly also to be understood in Cypr. *de opere et eleemos.*, chap. 15; *epist.* 63, 16; *Pseudocypr. de spectat.* 5. Whether *dominicum* ever, except in translations from the Greek (for example *Acta Phil. Heracl. c. 3. 4. bei Ruinart*, p. 444), denotes the church building (*τὸ κυριακὸν*), I can not tell."

"But the law, to which these martyrs appealed when they were tortured, is no particular precept, be it of God and Christ, or be it of the church, but as the one giving the account once himself expresses (chap. 11, p. 415), the law written in the heart by the Spirit of the living God. The Lector Emeritus (chap. 11, p. 414) replies to the question of the proconsul, why he had allowed other Christians to assemble in his house: 'Because they were my brethren, and I could not keep them away.' 'But you must keep them away.' 'I could not, because we can not be without the Lord's sup-

per.' When tortured, he repeats his sentence, 'I could not but receive my brethren.'" ²⁹

We have clearly traced and exposed the efforts of first-day authors to produce some evidence to prove that the term Lord's day was used soon after the apostle John used it in Revelation, as well as their attempts to demonstrate from questionable tradition that the Lord's day of the Bible was the first day of the week. The Protestant authors simply are following in the wake of Catholicism, which not only attempts thus to establish Sunday observance from tradition, but also tries to substantiate the doctrine by a traditional law, and, in connection with it, the claim that the major part of the celebration of Sunday was the celebration of the mass. Domville, Cox, and others deserve credit in the eyes of every honest seeker after truth for having traced out and exposed these wily efforts to make Pliny's "stated day" the first link in a chain of evidence to identify the Lord's day of the Bible with that of later tradition, and with the day erroneously designated by that term in our own times.

Justin Edwards demonstrates how the second link of this chain has been forged. After assuming that, when John the revelator spoke of the Lord's day, all Christians knew that it was the day of the resurrection, on which they were to meet, he continues: —

"Hence Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, A. D. 101, only about half a dozen years after the death of the apostle, speaks of

²⁹ Geschichte des Sonntags, Hannover. 1878, pp. 75, 76.

the Lord's day familiarly and without explanation, as if everybody understood it. And he gives this title to the first day of the week exactly after the manner of the apostle himself. 'Let us (Christians) no more Sabbatize,' he says,—that is, keep the seventh day, as the Jews did,—'but let us keep the Lord's day.' 'Let every one that loves Christ keep holy the LORD'S DAY, the queen of days, the resurrection day, the highest of all days.'"³⁰

As usual, Justin Edwards saves himself the trouble of giving the reference. Had he done so, his deception would have been evident, viz., that the above statements which, seemingly, fit together so nicely, are fabricated in this manner: First, he suppresses the phrase in the shorter version of the epistle to the Magnesians, "living according to the Lord's life;" secondly, he substitutes for it, from the enlarged and still worse interpolated version manufactured probably in the fourth century, the term, "celebrate the Lord's day;" and, finally, to strengthen it, he joins the rest of the statement from the enlarged version to his own interpolated shorter version.

Dr. Edwards, we are sorry to say, is not the only one who has done this kind of work. A number of writers are guilty of this sort of deception, and among them must be included Archbishop Wake, in his translation of the Fathers, which is thus ably reviewed by Cox:—

"There is, however, in the original no word or phrase which corresponds to the phrase 'the Lord's *day*,' or to the word '*keeping*:' the literal translation is, 'No longer ob-

³⁰ "Sabbath Manual," page 113.

serving Sabbaths, but living according to the Lord's life (κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες), in which also our life is sprung up.' Indeed, the archbishop admits, in a note, that this translation would be correct; while his own is by many thought inconsistent, not only with the expressions in the original, but with the whole scope of the passage. (See Domville, I, 241-251; and Powell in Kitto's *Cyclop.* II, 270, first edition.)

"To such an extent have the epistles of Ignatius been corrupted by interpolation (see Chevallier, *Introd.* 43-54), that even those considered genuine (among which is the one above quoted) were suspected by Lardner and Beausobre to have been tampered with (Domville, vol. I, 241), and have recently been pronounced by Mr. Cureton (with whom Lipsius agrees) to have been copiously interpolated for the same dogmatical purposes which prompted to the forgery of four of the seven, and by the same forging hand. (Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, London, 1849; and Lipsius in *Jour. of the Historico-Theological Society of Germany* for 1856.) But not to insist upon this, it is more important to mention that a passage still frequently quoted in popular treatises from one of the epistles as genuine, has for two centuries past been rejected by every scholar as spurious. The words are: 'Let us therefore no longer observe Sabbaths after the manner of the Jews; . . . but let every one of you observe Sabbaths in a spiritual manner, rejoicing in the meditation of the law; . . . and after the Sabbath day, let every lover of Christ celebrate the Lord's day, which is consecrated to our Lord's resurrection, and is the queen and chief of all days.' (Domville, vol. I, 245-6.)"³¹

It is sad enough that writings of such men as Ignatius, and others of the postapostolic period, have been thus shamefully interpolated for "dogmatical purposes,"—in this instance manifestly to smuggle in Sunday as the Lord's day. But is it not still more wicked to interpolate, and to misquote their

³¹ Cox, vol. I, pp. 119, 120

compositions, with the avowed purpose of making null and void the direct commands of the divine Word of God? That there was not only one instance of this, and that interpolation has been frequently perpetrated, Cox plainly shows, giving instances such as that of the above-mentioned Bishop Wilson, and others. How long this has been going on, and how early it was reprov'd, is seen from the correspondence between Dr. Priestley and E. Evanson, near the end of the eighteenth century. Dr. Priestley had, in his *Theological Repository*, published at Birmingham in 1786 and 1788, given this very quotation from Ignatius, as "keeping the Lord's day." In consequence of this, Mr. Evanson wrote to him as follows:—

"But pray, good sir, by what rules of construction do you translate ζῶντες κατὰ, 'keeping'? The only meaning of those two Greek words that I am acquainted with is 'living according to.' And if the word ζῶν be allowed to be part of the original sentence, the phrase 'living according to the Lord's life,' viz., the spiritual life he now lives in heaven, is perfectly intelligible, and much of the same kind with what we meet with in several places of the canonical epistles, particularly in that to the Colossians, chapter 3. But if the phrase 'living according to the Lord's day' has any meaning at all, it is entirely beyond my comprehension."²²

Much more might be said to show up the improper use of the writings of Ignatius; but the reader will readily concede that enough has been brought forward to show that this second link in the chain

²² Quoted by Cox, vol. 2, p. 299.

to connect the Lord's day of John with the Sunday Lord's day of tradition, will not hold.

The third link of this chain is supplied in the Dictionary of the Holy Bible (published by the American Tract Society in 1886, and compiled by W. W. Rand) by a quotation from Justin Martyr A. D. 140. On page 489 it makes him call Sunday the Lord's day by quoting him as follows: —

"Justin Martyr, in the second century, observes that 'on the Lord's day all Christians in the city or country meet together, because that is the day of our Lord's resurrection.' "

Here are his words correctly quoted: —

"And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read, as long as time permits," etc.³³

Justin speaks of the day called Sunday. But that he may be made to help establish its title to the name of Lord's day, his words are deliberately changed.

Justin Martyr (whom we shall consider later on) uses, in addition to the word Sunday, the term eighth day. He employs throughout, as J. A. Hessey correctly remarks, "the heathen designations for the seventh and first days of the week."³⁴ As the heathen designation of the first day of the week has been fraudulently transformed into the significant title of Lord's day, is it not just as probable that the day itself to which these terms are applied,

³³ Justin Martyr's "First Apology," chap. 67.

³⁴ Sunday, p. 43.

has been changed over in a like manner? So it turns out that this third link is simply another fraud.

The fourth link of this chain is thus set forth by Justin Edwards: —

"Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, about A. D. 162, says: 'Both custom and reason challenge from us that we should honor the Lord's day, seeing on that day it was that our Lord Jesus completed his resurrection from the dead.'"³⁵

Dr. Edwards shrewdly neglects to tell us where this passage is to be found in the works of Bishop Theophilus of Antioch; and the same is true of Gilfillan, who makes use of the same quotation.³⁶ But no such statement as the above occurs anywhere in the writings of that church Father. The same passage is adduced by W. Cave in his "Primitive Christianity," in favor of Sunday observance; but he attributes it correctly to Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 385-412. In order that we may get the import of this garbled statement, we will give it in full. As the church festival of Theophany was to fall on a Sunday, Theophilus issued the following decree: —

"Both custom and reason challenge from us that we honor and keep holy the Lord's day, seeing on that day it was that our Lord Jesus completed his resurrection from the dead. Therefore, in the Holy Scriptures it is called as well the first (day), because it is the beginning of our life, as also the eighth (day), because it has excelled the Sabbath observance of the Jews. But as it happens that this Sunday

³⁵ "Sabbath Manual," p. 114.

³⁶ "The Sabbath," p. 374.

would be a fast-day, on account of the holy Theophany, we decree that we eat a few dates, to thus avoid following the heretics, who do not honor the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and at the same time we give the fast-day its due by waiting until the evening meeting, which, God willing, shall take place. We assemble ourselves therefore at the ninth hour." ³⁷

If the quotation is given entire, what a different face it puts upon the whole matter! We can see from it that in the latter part of the fourth century (the decree was issued in 398 A. D.) Sunday and the movable festivals clash. But the eating of a few dates recommended by the decree of the bishop, solves the difficulty! But even at that late date, the best authority that could be adduced in favor of the celebration of the Lord's day was "custom and reason."

The fifth link of the chain is introduced by Dr. Edwards's "Sabbath Manual" (page 114) in these words:—

"Hence Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, a disciple of Polycarp, who had been the companion of the apostles, A. D. 167 [it should be A. D. 178], says that the Lord's day was the Christian sabbath. His words are, 'On the Lord's day every one of us Christians keeps the sabbath, meditating on the law, and rejoicing in the works of God.'"

Dr. Edwards introduces this witness in a manner to give the utmost weight of authority to his words, by connecting Irenæus, through Polycarp, with the apostles; but, as seems customary to him, Dr. Ed-

³⁷ *Edicti Theophili apud Th. Balsamon, canon apostolorum, conciliorum, Paris 1620, p. 1067.*

wards gives no reference. Mr. Gurney makes exactly the same statement, and has as his authority, in a note, "quoted by Dwight, *Theology*, vol. 4, p. 26." Dr. Dwight was president of Yale College, "and had the misfortune to be afflicted with a disorder in his eyes from the early age of twenty-three, 'a calamity,' says his biographer, 'by which he was deprived of the capacity for reading and study.'" ³⁸ He wrote his *Theology* in 1818, and there were no less than six reprints of it in London. He gives no reference whatever as to where this passage occurs.

Cox says that innumerable writers, Bishop Wilson among them, have borrowed this statement from him. Sir Wm. Domville, after having carefully searched "all the extant works of Irenæus (another statement ascribed to him we shall consider in chapter 15), said that he could find no such passage, nor anything resembling it. As to where he did find it, Cox states thus:—

"But he discovered, in the writings falsely ascribed to Ignatius, expressions so closely resembling those given by Dr. Dwight, as to leave no doubt of the source from which the quotation was erroneously made. Paley also (*Mor. Philos.*, book 5, chap. 8) cites, as from Irenæus, a similar passage, which Sir William shows to be evidently derived from the pseudo-Ignatius (Domville, vol. 1, 127-132)." ³⁹

How this fraud was manufactured will be best seen by setting the words of Dr. Dwight side by side with those of the pseudo-Ignatius:—

³⁸ Cox, vol. 1, p. 328. ³⁹ *Id.*, p. 121.

Dr. Dwight
 "On the Lord's day
 every one
 of us Christians
 keeps the Sabbath,

 meditating in the law
 (or Scriptures),
 and rejoicing in the
 works of God." ⁴⁰

Pseudo-Ignatius
 "But let
 every one of you

 keep the Sabbath
 after a spiritual manner,
 rejoicing in meditation of
 the law,
 and admiring the works
 of God." ⁴¹

That we may get the full intent of this quotation, we will let the pseudo-Ignatius finish the passage: "After the observance of the Sabbath, let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's day as a festival." In the above passage, pseudo-Ignatius speaks of the spiritual observance of the seventh-day Sabbath; but Dwight, Edwards, and all their followers, distort pseudo-Ignatius by applying this to their Lord's day. Every scholar, according to Cox, has, for centuries, rejected this passage from pseudo-Ignatius as interpolated for dogmatical purposes. And what shall we say of men who, knowing all this, have, for dogmatical purposes, wrested the interpolated passage from its real meaning, and then presented it to the world as a quotation from the church Father Irenæus? We can but declare it to be an inexcusable fraud. Does this not equal any interpolation that was ever committed upon the writings of the so-called church Fathers? Does it not show to us the utter unreliability of human tradition, although it may be manufactured by

⁴⁰ Quoted by Cox, vol. 1, p. 329.

⁴¹ Interpolated Epistle to Magn., c. 9, quoted by Cox, vol. 1, p. 33v.

doctors of divinity living in the nineteenth century, and appear as genuine even in standard religious works?

As the sixth link in this famous chain, we quote the following from Schaff's Church History:—

"The Didache calls the first day 'the Lord's day of the Lord' (chap. 14: κυριακη κυρίου, pleonastic. The adjective in Rev. 1 : 10)." ⁴²

As to the claim put forth above and based on chapter 14 of the Didache, we would say that the only reference made to any week-day whatever, is to be found in chapter 8, verse 1:—

"Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites, for they fast on the second and fifth day of the week, but ye shall fast on the fourth day, and the preparation day." ⁴³

This is the regular Bible method of naming the days of the week, and the Greek term translated "preparation day" here, is the word used for Friday in the Gospels (see Luke 23 : 54, etc.). The resurrection of Christ is not so much as mentioned. Instead of finding the two Greek words translated "Lord's day" in Rev. 1 : 10, we find here the expression, "according to the Lord's of the Lord." In commenting on the Didache, chapter 14, Schaff says, "This chapter interrupts the connection, and should precede chapter 9."⁴⁴ Why did he say so? His reason is easily found, because it is so in the enlarged version, forming the seventh book of the

⁴² Vol. 1, second period, par. 60, p. 202.

⁴⁴ "Oldest Church Manual," pp. 187, 188. "Id., p. 208.

Apostolic Constitutions. Here we find all that is said in chap. 8 : 1 on fasting, in chapter 23. But we here have some additional facts, viz., to either fast the entire five days or on the fourth day and the day of the preparation. On the fourth day they should fast as the day of Christ's betrayal; on the sixth day, because of Christ's crucifixion. Then it continues: —

"But keep the Sabbath, and the Lord's day festival; because the former is the memorial of the creation, and the latter of the resurrection." ⁴⁵

The passage on which Schaff bases his rendering is, according to his note on page 108, *The Apost. Const.* vii: 30, where we have the very thing lacking in the *Didache*, 14 : 1: —

"On the day of the resurrection of the Lord, that is, the Lord's day, assemble yourselves together, without fail giving thanks to God."

We will let Schaff himself tell us something about these Apostolic Constitutions: —

"It is, in form, a literary fiction, professing to be a bequest of all the apostles, handed down through the Roman Bishop Clement, or dictated to him." "The first six books which have a strongly Jewish-Christian tone, were composed, with the exception of some later interpolations, at the end of the third century, in Syria. The seventh book is an expansion of the *Didache*. . . . The second Trullan council of 692 rejected it for its heretical interpolations." "Baronius, Bellarmin, and Petavius attached little weight to them. . . . The work is a gradual growth, with many repetitions, interpolations, and contradictions, and anachronisms." ⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Id.*, p. 277.

⁴⁶ "History of the Church," second period, par. 56, pp. 185, 186.

Let the reader judge how fair it is to complete an unfinished phrase of the second century from a questionable document of the fourth century, and then purport this to be a doctrine of the second century. There is, however, a statement in the *Didache* (chap. 4 : 13) to which we wish to refer in closing, because it furnishes a correct standard by which to test its own statements, and the teachings of those who may quote it. It is based on Matt. 5 : 17-19, and reads: —

“Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord, but thou shalt keep what thou hast received, neither adding to nor taking away therefrom.”

If these instructions were followed concerning the ten commandments, it would obviate all these fraudulent efforts, restore the true Sabbath, and supply the missing link — a plain “Thus saith the Lord.”

Ere we close this investigation, we may be allowed to dispose of two other church Fathers quoted by Dr. Edwards or his associates in their efforts to erect this first-day structure. The first witness adduced is Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (A. D. 170), whose original letter to Soter, bishop of Rome, has perished, and all that remains of it is a short extract preserved in Eusebius, who renders it thus: —

“To-day we have passed the Lord’s holy day, in which we have read your epistle; in reading which we shall always have our minds stored with admonition, as we shall, also, from that written to us before by Clement.” ⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Eusebius, “*Ecclesiastical History*,” b. 4, chap. 23.

Instead of having Dionysius's own words, we have this expression as it was quoted by a church historian of the fourth century; and even at that, there is nothing in his statement which would identify the Lord's day with the first day of the week. He in no wise connects it with, nor does he even mention, the resurrection. He does not say "the Lord's day," but "the Lord's holy day." Nor is it proper to translate the word "kept," as Hessey renders it, but it should be "passed," as given above. And Edwards's statement in his "Sabbath Manual" (page 114) that this epistle of the bishop of Rome should be read in the church at Corinth, "while they kept holy the Lord's day," is a direct interpolation and addition, not to be found in the original at all. While the first part of the statement has been quoted in support of the Sunday Lord's day, although it in no wise specifies the day, we will now give the remainder of the passage in question, for the benefit of those attempting to bring forward such perverted evidence: —

"As the brethren," says he, "desired me to write epistles, I wrote them, and these the apostles of the devil have filled with tares, exchanging some things, and adding others, for whom there is a woe reserved. It is not, therefore, matter of wonder, if some have also attempted to adulterate the sacred writings of the Lord, since they have attempted the same in other works that are not to be compared with these."⁴⁸

Gilfillan names the second of these two church Fathers: —

⁴⁸ Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," b. 4, chap. 23.

"In A. D. 170, the Lord's day is known at Sardis, for Melito, bishop of the church there, writes a book on the subject, and Eusebius, who supplies the information, and who attests the character of the weekly holy day in his own time, must be considered as intimating the identity of the sacred season in Sardis and Cæsarea."⁴⁹

But the sum total is, Eusebius simply gives the titles of various works written by Melito, among which are two works on the Passover, *καὶ ὁ περὶ κυριακῆς λόγος*, "and the Discourse about something belonging to the Lord."⁵⁰ This is all we know about it. Cox remarks that it is "a treatise 'on the Lord's day,' if this be the meaning" of the title. So we have nothing of the book but the title, and even that is indefinite. But there is one thing that we do know about this bishop — that he was among the chief supporters of celebrating Easter according to the Jewish practise, which, as Schaff says, "was afterward condemned as schismatic and heretical. This may be a reason why his writings fell into oblivion."⁵¹ This gives us positive evidence that he did not believe in celebrating Easter on Sunday, and was therefore declared a heretic by those who wanted to enforce this change.

The epistles of the so-called Apostolic Fathers and the letter of Pliny are the only sources yielding us historical material for the doctrinal knowledge of the immediate postapostolic age. It is the link that connects the latter part of the first cen-

⁴⁹ "The Sabbath," p. 374.

⁵⁰ Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," *graec.* Stephanus, Paris, 1544, p. 42.

⁵¹ Second period, par. 177, p. 736.

tury with the middle of the second. In the Bible there is no record whatever of the institution of another day in the place of the seventh-day Sabbath by either Christ or his apostles. Could this be found, it is self-evident that all such arguments as we have just been considering would not be advanced. The Bible makes clear and definite statements about the first day of the week. Here are all the instances in which the inspired writers mention the day:—

Moses, B. C. 1490: "The evening and the morning were the first day." Gen. 1 : 5.

Matthew, A. D. 41: "In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week." Matt. 28 : 1.

Paul, A. D. 57: "Upon the first day of the week." 1 Cor. 16 : 2.

Luke, A. D. 60: "Now upon the first day of the week." Luke 24 : 1.

Luke, A. D. 63: "And upon the first day of the week." Acts 20 : 7.

Mark, A. D. 64: "And very early in the morning the first day of the week." Mark 16 : 2. "Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week." Verse 9.

After the resurrection of Christ, and before John's vision, A. D. 96, the day is six times mentioned by inspired men, and every time as plain "first day of the week." That was, up to this time, its familiar and only name: inspiration knows no other.

But in the year 96, John says, "I was in the

Spirit on the Lord's day." Rev. 1 : 10. Now it is evident that this must be a day which the Lord had set apart for himself, and which he claimed as his. This was all true of the seventh day, but was not in any respect true of the first day. He could not, therefore, call the first day by this name, for it was not such. But if the Spirit of God designed at this point to create a new institution, and to call a certain day the Lord's which before had never been claimed by him, it was necessary that he should specify that new day. He did not define the term, which proves that he was not giving a sacred name to some new institution, but was speaking of a well-known, divinely appointed day. But *after* John's return from Patmos, he wrote his Gospel, and in that Gospel he twice had occasion to mention the first day of the week. Let us see whether he adheres to the manner of the other sacred writers, or whether, when we know he means the first day, he gives to it a sacred name.

John, A. D. 97: "The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early." John 20 : 1. "Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week." Verse 19.

These texts complete the Bible record of the first day of the week. They furnish conclusive evidence that John did not receive new light in vision at Patmos, bidding him call the first day of the week the Lord's day; and when taken with all the instances preceding, they constitute a complete demonstration that the first day was not familiarly known

as the Lord's day in John's time, nor indeed known at all by that name.

That the Bible texts quoted in favor of Sunday (such as Acts 20 : 7; 1 Cor. 16 : 1, 2; Rev. 1 : 10, etc.) are not adequate proof, and that, therefore, the evidence must be sought in the records of tradition, is thus set forth by J. A. Hessey in Smith's Bible Dictionary: —

"Taken separately, perhaps, and even all together, these passages seem *scarcely adequate* to prove that the dedication of the first day of the week to the purposes above mentioned was a matter of apostolic institution, or even of apostolic practise. But it may be observed that it is at any rate an extraordinary coincidence that almost immediately we emerge from Scripture, we find the same day (Lord's day) mentioned in a similar manner, and directly associated with the Lord's resurrection; that it is an extraordinary fact that we never find its dedication questioned or argued about, but accepted as something equally apostolic with confirmation, with *infant* baptism, with ordination, or at least spoken of in the same way. And as to direct support from Holy Scripture, it is noticeable that those other ordinances which are usually considered Scriptural, and in support of which Scripture is usually cited, are dependent, so far as mere quotation is concerned, upon fewer texts than the Lord's day is. Stating the case at the very lowest, the Lord's day has at least 'probable insinuations in Scripture,'* and so is superior to any other holy day, whether of hebdomadal celebration, as Friday in memory of the crucifixion, or of annual celebration, as Easter day in memory of the resurrection itself."

* This phrase is employed by Bishop Sanderson. **

As we emerged from Scripture, have we found "almost immediately" the first day of the week

** Boston, 1863, vol. 2, p. 136, article, "Lord's Day."

"mentioned in a similar manner [that is, under the title, Lord's day], and directly associated with the Lord's resurrection"? There is not a *single instance* where we have found the first day under the title "Lord's day" "directly associated with the Lord's resurrection," in all the church Fathers until near the close of the second century.

But what have we found?—After John's time, the day is next mentioned in the so-called epistle of Barnabas, written probably as early as A. D. 140, and is there called "the eighth day." Then it is spoken of by Justin Martyr in his Apology, A. D. 140, once as "the day on which we all hold our common assembly;" once as "the first day on which God . . . made the world;" once as "the same day [on which Christ] rose from the dead;" once as "the day after that of Saturn;" and three times as "Sunday," or "the day of the sun." Again he refers to it in his dialogue with Trypho, A. D. 155, in which he twice calls it the "eighth day;" once "the first of all the days;" once as "the first" "of all the days of the [weekly] cycle;" and twice as "the first day after the Sabbath." These are all the passages in which the first day of the week is mentioned until near the close of the second century. The variety of names by which the day is referred to during this time is remarkable, but it is *never* called the Lord's day, nor is it ever designated by *any sacred* name.

On the other hand, what efforts have been made by noted first-day writers to manufacture evidence

for the use of the term Lord's day almost immediately after John's time? In the case of Pliny, they pervert the question put to the martyrs at the beginning of the fourth century, and assign it to the second. As to Ignatius, they have interpolated his statement of the second century with a quotation taken from the pseudo-Ignatius of the fourth century. The heathen designations of the first day of the week occurring in Justin Martyr, they have fraudulently changed into the significant title of the Lord's day. Into the mouth of Theophilus of Antioch they have placed the opening words of an episcopal decree of an Alexandrian bishop of the fourth century. They have honored Irenæus with this same statement of the pseudo-Ignatius of the fourth century — remodeled in order to hide its identity. The obscure phrase "Lord's of the Lord," found in the Didache, and in no way associated with the first day of the week, or with the resurrection, they have interpreted in the light of a spurious compilation of the fourth century. From Eusebius's church history (written in the fourth century), they have quoted the doubtful title of a treatise by Melito, and the isolated phrase "Lord's holy day" occurring in Dionysius, to prove that the term Lord's day was employed by them to designate the first day of the week. These fraudulent productions cover the entire interim between John's use of the Lord's day in A. D. 96, and the time of Irenæus, A. D. 178. In view of these perversions, we would inquire, What remains now

of J. A. Hessey's "extraordinary coincidence" of the use of the words Lord's day for the first day of the week, "almost immediately after we emerge from Scripture"?

Here we desire to state an "extraordinary fact:" While the most able first-day writers have to admit that the Scriptures contain only "probable insinuations" as to the dedication of Sunday to its new office, with its accompanying title of Lord's day, they are unable to produce a single treatise, or even as much as a phrase, from the early church Fathers, proving that Christ or the apostles instituted Sunday in honor of the resurrection and conferred upon it the name of Lord's day, and thus make good their insinuations from Scripture by the testimony of early tradition. They have to fabricate a chain of evidence to create even plausible proofs to substantiate their assertion.

That Sunday is "equally apostolic" with such church practises as infant baptism, confirmation, etc., we are ready to admit; but to make the list complete, he should have added the sign of the cross, fast-days, meritorious works, and the claims of the papal hierarchy.

All that first-day authors have been able to bring forward up to A. D. 178 in support of their claim that Sunday is a divine institution, and, as such, entitled to the honored title of Lord's day, are the "probable insinuations in Scripture," and a forged chain of evidence from apostolic tradition. The missing chain that they so earnestly seek for,

by which they would connect the human Sunday institution with the Biblical record, has proved to be a chain of sand. Sunday still stands forth in its true character as a man-made festival, like all other popular holidays, and its origin must be accounted for solely on this basis.

CHAPTER XV

ORIGIN OF SUNDAY OBSERVANCE

Worship of the heavenly bodies the oldest form of idolatry—Names of the days of the week—Prominence of Sunday—Condition of pagan Rome—Its form of worship—Reaction of paganism and Christianity on each other—Pagan influences on the Christian forms of worship—Patriotism and expediency as factors for the change of the day—The Greek apologists—Justin Martyr—Reasons for the Sunday festival—A "new law," and a perpetual Sabbath—Irenæus's views of the decalogue—Eusebius's record of Irenæus's Sunday position—The first instance of papal assumption—Rome again conquers the Christian world.

THE worship of the sun is one of the oldest forms of idolatry, and it is found among all the leading heathen nations of antiquity. But the adoration of the heavenly bodies did not originate as the result of any divine command, or from a sense of true piety; it was rather a perversion of the truth that God alone is the creator of all things, and that he only is to be worshiped. In adoring the heavenly bodies, the heathen worshiped the creature rather than the Creator.¹ From the earliest times, God warned his people against this sort of idolatry.² The following quotation from the book of Job clearly shows that the worship of the heavenly bodies was known already in his day:—

"If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, and my mouth hath kissed my hand: this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge: for I should have denied the God that is above."³

From the Portable Commentary, we take the following explanation of this passage:—

¹ Rom. i : 25. ² Deut. 4 : 19; 17 : 3. ³ Job 31 : 26-28.

"If I looked unto the sun (as an object of worship), *because* he shined; or to the moon *because* she walked, etc. Sabaism (from *tsaba*, the heavenly hosts) was the earliest form of false worship. God is hence called in contradistinction 'Lord of Sabaoth.' The sun, moon, and stars, the brightest objects in nature, and seen everywhere, were supposed to be visible representatives of the invisible God. They had no temples, but were worshiped on high places and roofs of houses. Eze. 8 : 16; Deut. 4 : 19; 2 Kings 23 : 5, 11. The Hebrew here for 'sun' is *light*. Probably *light* was worshiped as the emanation from God, before its embodiments, the sun, etc. This worship prevailed in Chaldaea; wherefore Job's exemption from the idolatry of his neighbors was the more exemplary. Our 'Sun-day, Monday,' or Moon-day, bear traces of Sabaism."

The early sun-worship mentioned in the Divine Record is attested by innumerable representations in the temples and on the monuments of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Phœnicia, Greece, and Rome. Indeed, "Pharaoh," the title of all Egyptian rulers, means nothing less than the "sun," it being in reality "Phra," from Ra, the Egyptian sun-god; and the winged disk seen over the heads of many of the ancient monarchs of that country, was a symbol of the sun. Ra, Isis, Osiris, Baal, Mithras, Hercules, Apollo, and Jupiter are all heathen deities of the sun and light.

As the heavenly bodies were held in such high regard, it was but natural that this esteem should find expression in naming the days of the week after these deities, the gods most highly honored occupying the first place. As the sun, from which light and heat emanated, was the most prominent and powerful object in the kingdom of nature, it was

accorded the first rank: "Sunday was the first day of the week in the East from all antiquity."⁴ The Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn were the seven deities to whom the Chaldeans dedicated the days of the week. God distinguished the common days of the week by simply giving their numerical order; but upon the seventh day, on which he had rested, and which he had blessed and sanctified, he bestowed the title, "the Sabbath of the Lord thy God," thus setting apart the seventh day of the week, hallowed and honored of him, and distinguishing it as *the* Lord's day. The heathen, on the other hand, who had gods many and lords many, bestowed upon each day of the week the name of one of their gods, dedicating the first day to the sun, as the source of light and life. The Anglo-Saxons dedicated Tuesday to Tuisco, Wednesday to Wodon, Thursday to Thor, and Friday to Frea or Frigga. Verstegan speaks thus of the Germans:—

"The most ancient Germans being pagans, and having appropriated their first day of the week to the peculiar adoration of the sun, whereof that day doth yet in our English tongue retain the name of Sunday."⁵

And then, of our Saxon ancestors, he remarks:—

"Unto the day dedicated unto the special adoration of the idol of the sun, they gave the name of Sunday, as much as to say the sun's day, or the day of the sun. This idol was placed in a temple, and there adored and sacrificed unto,

⁴ Selden Sac. An., vol. 1, p. 221.

⁵ Verstegan's Antiquities, London, 1628, p. 10.

for that they believed that the sun in the firmament did with or in this idol correspond and co-operate." ⁶

Sunday was, indeed, "the wild solar holiday of all pagan times," as the *North British Review* fitly styles it ⁷ in a labored attempt to justify the observance of Sunday by the Christian church.

Having thus shown the prominent position that sun-worship and the sun-day occupied in heathenism, we will next turn our eyes to the condition of paganism in the Roman empire, and in Rome itself, as well as to the religious attitude of her many philosophers at the very time when Christianity came "forth conquering, and to conquer." Gibbon gives us the desired information:—

"The various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher as equally false; and by the magistrate as equally useful." "The deities of a thousand groves and a thousand streams possessed, in peace, their local and respective influence." "The visible powers of nature, the planets, and the elements, were the same throughout the universe." "The Greek, the Roman, and the barbarian, as they met before their respective altars, easily persuaded themselves that, under various names and with various ceremonies, they adored the same deities." "Rome gradually became the common temple of her subjects; and the freedom of the city was bestowed on all the gods of mankind." ⁸

How ready the heathen were to deify man is best seen from Acts 14:11. But the change wrought in the pagan world by the progress of Christianity, Harnack thus sets forth:—

⁶ Id., p. 68. ⁷ Vol. 18, p. 409.

⁸ Gibbon's Rome. chap. 2, pars. 2, 3, 7.

"After the national religion and the religious sense generally in cultured circles had been all but lost in the age of Cicero and Augustus, there is noticeable in the Græco-Roman world from the beginning of the second century a revival of religious feeling which embraced all classes of society, and appears, especially from the middle of that century, to have increased from decennium to decennium. . . . The ideas of repentance and of expiation and healing of the soul became of special importance, and consequently such Oriental cults came to the front as required the former and guaranteed the latter. . . . Apotheosis came into currency. The old state religion first attained its highest and most powerful expression in the worship of the emperor (the emperor glorified as 'Lord and our God,' as 'present and corporeal God,' the Antinous cult, etc.). . . . That was the import of the message preached by the Cynics and the Stoics, that the truly wise man is Lord, Messenger of God, and God upon the earth."⁹

This explains why during this very time the Oriental cults, consisting chiefly in sun-worship, were introduced among, and mingled with, the sun-worship of the Roman Jupiter. In course of time the worship of Isis, Osiris, Mithra, and Apollo outshone the Roman Jupiter, and became, by the beginning of the third century, the favorite deities of the Roman emperors, some of whom even claimed to be the incarnation of the sun-god.

Paganism had its pontifex maximus, which was applied to the deified Roman emperors from the days of Caligula, who, according to Seneca,¹⁰ had his toe kissed. Its fine temples, though in ruins, are still objects of admiration; and Grecian art, in

⁹ "History of Dogma," vol. I, chap. 2, pp. 116-119.

¹⁰ *De Benef.* I., 2, 12.

its golden age, adorned them with innumerable statues of the various deities. In honor of the gods, smaller sanctuaries were also created in grottoes, on the hilltops, or in prominent thoroughfares. From the days of Jeremiah, paganism had its "queen of heaven," unto whom were offered cakes of wheat and incense.¹¹ Each country, each province, each town, yea, even each family, had its images of tutelary deities. Bloody and bloodless sacrifices were offered by priests in showy attire, to appease for sin. Ascetic tendencies and stoicism manifested themselves in the heathen world, and virgins were chosen to keep the sacred fire ever burning. We find lavers of holy water at the entrances of the heathen temples, and offerings were sprinkled therewith. Incense was burned to the gods, and votary gifts were deposited at their altars, for supposed healing. Mysteries of all sorts were invented to captivate the senses of the worshipers, and showy processions were held. Innumerable holidays, commemorating certain events, and honoring certain deities, were introduced. Midsummer and midwinter day, when the sun is at its zenith and at its nadir, were in especial esteem. Human reason and philosophy did their utmost to produce a system of religion which would satisfy the cravings of the masses.

As Justin Martyr refers¹² to the Mithraic sun-worship, we shall give a brief description of it. Mithra was the Persian embodiment of light, and

¹¹ Jer. 7 : 18; 44 : 17, 25.

¹² "First Apology," chap. 66.

the god of truth. Its worship spread from Persia to Babylon, where it absorbed Chaldaic elements. At an early date soldiers and slaves brought it to Rome. Some Mithra inscriptions date from the time of Trajan and Hadrian. First favored by the lower classes, Mithraism spread upward with great rapidity. Grottoes, natural or artificial, were its sanctuaries. The grotto at Spoleto has three niches for Mithra and his two torch-bearers, and in front of them there is an altar with the significant inscription, "*Soli invicto Mitrae sacrum*" (sacred to the invincible sun, Mithra). It had, in common with Christianity, its belief in a mediator, in the resurrection, the lustrations, the sacred meal of bread and water. On the day of the sun the hymn, or iescht, of Mithra was recited, and prayers were addressed to him and to his assistant genii.¹³

But while paganism did everything in its power to stop the victorious advance of the Christian religion by the creation of a counterpart to it, were there not at work similar tendencies in the church to supplant the more easily conquered paganism? We have already found in the struggle with Gnosticism that while the church repudiated it, it soon afterward became a part of her own system.

The same holds true in the controversy between the early church and philosophy. Scarcely a century after Paul condemned philosophy, philosophers were the teachers of the church, and defended the

¹³ Gibbon, chap. 8, par. 6, note.

church on philosophical principles, as Schaff thus states:—

“From the time of Justin Martyr, the Platonic philosophy continued to exercise a direct and indirect influence upon Christian theology, though not so unrestrainedly and naively as in his case. We can trace it especially in Clement of Alexandria and Origen, and even in St. Augustine, who confessed that it kindled in him an incredible fire. In the scholastic period it gave way to the Aristotelian philosophy, which was better adapted to clear, logical statements. But Platonism maintained its influence over Maximus, John of Damascus, Thomas Aquinas, and other schoolmen. . . . The Platonic philosophy offered many points of resemblance to Christianity.”¹⁴

But while Gnosticism and pagan philosophy had their respective influence on Christianity, we find that the rites and ceremonies of paganism exercised none the less influence upon it, as Mosheim thus concludes in the testimony from which we have already quoted:—

“Lastly, not to be tedious; whoever considers that the Christians were collected from among the Jews and from the pagan nations, who were accustomed, from their earliest years, to various ceremonies and superstitious rites; and that the habits of early life are very hard to be laid aside, will perceive that it would have been little short of a miracle if nothing corrupting and debasing had found its way into the Christian church. For example, nearly all the people of the East, before the Christian era, were accustomed to worship with their faces directed toward the sun rising. For they all believed that God, whom they supposed to resemble light, or rather to be light, and whom they included within certain bounds, had his residence in that part of the heavens where the sun rises. Those of them, indeed, who

¹⁴ Schaff, second period, vol. 2, par. 173, pp. 724, 725.

became Christians rejected this error, but the custom that originated from it, which was very ancient and universally prevalent, they retained. Nor even to this age has its abrogation been found practicable."

"A large part, therefore, of the Christian observances and institutions, even in this century [the second], had the aspect of the pagan mysteries."¹⁵

As already in the second century "a large part of the Christian observances and institutions had the aspect of the pagan mysteries," the mighty counter-influence of paganism on Christianity at an early date is here admitted without question. And not only did the Christian observances and institutions have the aspect of the pagan mysteries of sun-worship, but the very attitude of sun-worshippers toward the rising sun, was retained in worshipping the true God.

How extensive and comprehensive the Christian worship toward the east was, Dr. Dodgson shows in a note to Tertullian's *Apology*, chapter 16: —

"Christians prayed to the east, as the type of Christ the Sun of Righteousness (Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii, 7, p. 856; Damasc. iv, 12), whence also in baptism they turned to the east to confess Christ (S. Jer. in Am. vi, 14. Ambros. *de iis qui initiantur* c. 2), and their churches were toward the east (Tert. c. Valent. c. 3. Const. Ap. ii, 57), so that other positions were rare exceptions." "It is instanced as an apostolic tradition by S. Basil. i, c., and so called in the *Quaestt. ad Orthodox.* i, c. Origen (Hom. 5, in Num.) instances it as a rite in universal practise."¹⁶

Still more, the day annually celebrated in commemoration of the resurrection bears, in its very

¹⁵ Mosheim, b. i, c. 2, pt. 2, chap. 4, pp. 182, 183.

¹⁶ Tertullian, Oxford, 1842, vol. i, p. 38.

name, the evidence of pagan influence. That this is so, and how naturally this transformation from the pagan to the Christian celebration came about, is thus set forth by Schaff:—

“The English *Easter* (. . . German *Ostern*) is connected with *east* and sunrise, and is akin to *ἑως, oriens, aurora*. . . . The comparison of sunrise and the natural spring with the new moral creation in the resurrection of Christ, and the transfer of the celebration of *Ostara*, the old German divinity of the rising, health-bringing light, to the Christian Easter festival, was easy and natural, because all nature is a symbol of spirit, and the heathen myths are dim presentiments and carnal anticipations of Christian truths.”¹⁷

Does not this statement, setting forth the ease with which the transfer was made from the pagan Ostra, the annual festival of sunrise and natural spring, to the Christian Easter in commemoration of the beginning of the new life through Christ's resurrection, clearly demonstrate how easy and natural it was to change the pagan holiday dedicated to the sun into the so-called Christian holy day of the Sun of Righteousness? Were not the heathen myths also applicable in this case as “dim presentiments and carnal anticipations of Christian truths”? That this transformation was made on this basis is thus admitted in a statement found in the *North British Review*, in these words:—

“That very day was the Sunday of their heathen neighbors and respective countrymen; and patriotism gladly united with expediency in making it at once their Lord's day and their sabbath. . . . If the authority of the church is

¹⁷ Second period, vol. 1, par. 61, p. 207, note 1.

to be ignored altogether by Protestants, there is no matter; because opportunity and common expediency are surely argument enough for so ceremonial a change as the mere day of the week for the observance of the rest and holy convocation of the Jewish Sabbath. That primitive church, in fact, was shut up to the adoption of the Sunday, until it became established and supreme, when it was too late to make another alteration; and it was no irreverent nor undelightful thing to adopt it, inasmuch as the first day of the week was their own high day at any rate: so that their compliance and civility were rewarded by the redoubled sanctity of their quiet festival."¹⁸

D. B. Byers, in the "Christian Sabbath," attests the same fact, as follows:—

"When the gospel came to our ancestors in Europe, it found them paying their devout homage to the sun on the day on which the Christians worshiped most devoutly the God of heaven. The day was all right, and when the Sun of Righteousness displaced the solar sun, the idolater became a Christian and worshiped God in the beauty of holiness."¹⁹

Even church historians, writing in favor of Sunday, have to admit the possibility of this being the case, as the following quotation will show:—

"Sunday was celebrated as the weekly festival of the resurrection. But perhaps the Roman sun-day (*dies solis*) has aided in bringing this about on the basis of Christ himself being the light of the world. It was celebrated as a day of joy, without any regard whatever to the Sabbath rest of the Jews."²⁰

The very motives prompting such a change are thus clearly set forth by a London Anglican rector,

¹⁸ Vol. 18, p. 409.

¹⁹ "Christian Sabbath," Cleveland, 1879, p. 99.

²⁰ K. Hase, Kirchengeschichte, Leipzig, 1885, Th. I, par. 38.

T. H. Morer, in his "Discourses on the Lord's Day," as early as 1701:—

"It is not to be denied but we borrow the name of this day from the ancient Greeks and Romans, and we allow that the old Egyptians worshiped the sun, and as a standing *memorial* of their veneration, dedicated this day to him. And we find by the influence of their examples, *other* nations, and among them the Jews themselves, doing him homage; yet these abuses did not hinder the Fathers of the Christian church simply to repeal, or altogether lay by, the day or its name, but only to sanctify and improve both, as they did also the pagan temples polluted before with idolatrous services, and other instances wherein those good men were always tender to work any other change than what was evidently necessary, and in such things as were plainly inconsistent with the Christian religion; so that Sunday being the day on which the Gentiles solemnly adored that planet, and called it Sunday, partly from its influence on that day especially, and partly in respect to its divine body (as they conceived it), the Christians thought fit to keep the same day and the same name of it, that they might not appear causelessly peevish, and by that means hinder the conversion of the Gentiles, and bring a greater prejudice than might be otherwise taken against the gospel."²¹

As our investigation thus far has not furnished any clear and reliable testimony from the Fathers as to the origin of Sunday, except that it is merely of human origin, the evidences for this gradual transformation in the manner already described, must be produced from the writings of the antenicene church Fathers, covering the period from A. D. 150 to 311.

Schaff thus introduces this period:—

²¹ "Six Dialogues on the Lord's Day," London, pp. 22, 23.

"After the intense commotion of the apostolic age there was a breathing spell." "Then came the great literary conflict of the apologists and doctrinal polemics in the second half of the same century; and toward the middle of the third the theological schools of Alexandria, and northern Africa, laying the foundation the one for the theology of the Greek, the other for that of the Latin Church."

"The ante-Nicene age . . . is the natural transition from the apostolic age to the Nicene age, yet leaving behind many important truths of the former (especially the Pauline doctrine) which were to be derived and explored in future ages. We can trace in it the elementary forms of the Catholic creed, organization, and worship, and also the germs of nearly all the corruptions of Greek and Roman Christianity."²²

This introduction corroborates what we have already inferred, that "leaving behind many important truths of the apostolic age," these church Fathers laid the foundation of the future church containing "the germs of nearly all the corruptions of Greek and Roman Christianity."

Most noted among the Greek apologists of this period, was Justin Martyr, who addressed his first apology to Emperor Antoninus Pius about A. D. 147. Eusebius calls him a "genuine lover of the true philosophy," who "in the garb of a philosopher proclaimed the divine Word and defended the faith by his writings."²³ As the theology of this philosopher mostly concerns us, we will let Schaff give us the necessary information:—

"As to the sources of his religious knowledge, Justin derived it partly from the Holy Scriptures, partly from the living church tradition. He cites most frequently, and

²² Second period, vol. 1, par. 2, pp. 11, 12.

²³ "Ecclesiastical History," pp. 4, 12, 17.

generally from memory, hence often inaccurately, the Old Testament prophets (in the Septuagint), and the 'Memoirs' of Christ, or 'Memoirs by the Apostles,' as he calls the canonical Gospels, without naming the authors. . . .

"Justin's exegesis of the Old Testament is apologetic, typological, and allegorical throughout. . . . He had no knowledge of Hebrew, and freely copied the blunders and interpolations of the Septuagint. He had no idea of grammatical or historical interpretation. He used also two or three times the Sibylline Oracles and Hystaspes for genuine prophecies, and appeals to the Apocryphal Acts of Pilate as an authority. We should remember, however, that he is no more credulous, inaccurate, and uncritical than his contemporaries and the majority of the Fathers.

"Like all the ante-Nicene writers, he had no clear insight into the distinction between the Old Testament and the New, between the law and the gospel, nor any proper conception of the depth of sin and redeeming grace, and the justifying power of faith. His theology is legalistic and ascetic rather than evangelical and free. He retained some heathen notions from his former studies. . . . Christianity was to Justin, theoretically, the *true philosophy*, and, practically, a *new law* of holy living and dying. . . . He may be called, in a loose sense, a Christian Platonist. He was also influenced by Stoicism. He thought that the philosophers of Greece had borrowed their light from Moses and the prophets.

"Socrates was a Christian, as well as Abraham, though he did not know it. None of the Fathers or schoolmen has so widely thrown open the gates of salvation. He was the broadest of broad churchmen."²⁴

This statement from Schaff shows several striking resemblances between the theology of the Gnostic Barnabas and Justin, the philosopher. Both have the allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures in common, both have no clear insight into the re-

²⁴ Second period, par. 173, pp. 719-723.

lations existing between the old and the new covenant, both refer to a new law, and therefore both must bring forth a new day. As Justin wrote a lengthy dialogue between him and Trypho, a Jew, we find here more explicit statements. Trypho advised Justin, in chapter 8, to observe the Sabbath and "do all things commanded in the law;" in chapter 10 he adds, "You observe no festivals or sabbaths." This was the golden moment for Justin to bring forth the Lord's day of the new covenant, and to produce the command of Christ or the apostles, if not from Scripture, then from unwritten tradition, of which the Gnostics had provided such an abundant supply. But let us observe Justin's reply, in chapter 12:—

"The new law requires you to keep a perpetual sabbath, and you, *because you are idle for one day*, suppose you are pious, not discerning why this has been commanded you; and if you eat unleavened bread, you say the will of God has been fulfilled. The Lord our God does not take pleasure in such observances: if there is any perjured person or a thief among you, let him cease to be so; if any adulterer, let him repent; then he has kept the sweet and true sabbaths of God."

Instead of a Sunday command of Christ and the apostles, there is a reference made to "the new law," first brought forward by pseudo-Barnabas. This new law demands a perpetual sabbath, kept by not sinning, and on this sabbath one should not be idle. As no such law can be found in all the Bible, it must come from without. And in this inference we

do not go amiss, as the following extract from Harnack will show:—

“Tatian preached this renunciation in a specially powerful manner. There is no need to prove that no remains of Judæo-Christianity are to be recognized in these ideas about the new law. It is not Judæo-Christianity that lies behind the Christianity and doctrines of the apologists, but Greek philosophy (Platonic metaphysics, Logos doctrine of the Stoics, Platonic and Stoic ethics), the Alexandrine-Jewish apologetics, the maxims of Jesus, and the religious speech of the Christian churches.”²⁵

But how about the seventh-day Sabbath enjoined in the fourth commandment? Justin replies in chapters 18, 22:—

“For we, too, would observe the fleshly circumcision, and the Sabbaths, and in short all the feasts, if we did not know for what reason they were enjoined you; namely, on account of your transgressions and the hardness of your hearts. You see that the heavens are not idle, nor do they observe the Sabbath. Continue as ye were born. For if before Abraham there was no need of circumcision, nor of the Sabbaths, nor of feasts, nor of offerings before Moses; so now in like manner there is no need of them, since Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was by the determinate counsel of God, born of a virgin of the seed of Abraham without sin.”

We can see from the preceding what estimate Justin placed on the Sabbath, which he identified with the ceremonial law. In his mind there was no Sabbath observance before Moses; consequently there is none since Christ. Harnack gives the following three estimates which Justin placed on the ceremonial law:—

²⁵ “History of Dogma,” vol. 2, chap. 4, p. 228.

"(1) That the ceremonial law was a pedagogic measure of God with reference to a stiff-necked people prone to idolatry. (2) That it — like circumcision — was to make the people conspicuous for the execution of judgment, according to the divine appointment. (3) That in the ceremonial legal worship of the Jews is exhibited the special depravity and bigotry of the nation."²⁸

He inadvertently alludes to the keeping of the ten commandments as the performance of "the eternal and natural acts of righteousness." We see in this acknowledgment, as Harnack fitly remarks, "the beginning of a compromise, in so far as a distinction was made between the moral law of nature contained in the Old Testament — the decalogue — and the ceremonial law." On the other hand, the philosophy adduced, "that the heavens are not idle," is not only an argument against the Jews, but against the Creator himself, who rested on the Sabbath in the beginning, and enjoined the Sabbath observance upon man in a perpetual and universal command. But we can see a slight change indicated. First, the new law is not defined. Then, there is a suggested reference later to the ten commandments as being the moral law, but without the observance of the Sabbath. Having thus cleared up the position of Justin, and finding that he believed in a spiritual, perpetual sabbath, we are now ready to quote from his "First Apology" his full statement about Sunday: —

"And upon the day called Sunday, all that live either in city or country meet together at the same place, where the

²⁸ "History of Dogma," vol. 1, chap. 3, p. 179, note 1.

writings of the apostles and prophets are read as much as time will give leave; when the reader has done, the bishop makes a sermon, wherein he instructs the people, and animates them to the practise of such lovely precepts: at the conclusion of this discourse, we all rise up together, and pray; and prayers being over, as I now said, there is bread and wine and water offered, and the bishop, as before, sends up prayers and thanksgivings, with all the fervency he is able, and the people conclude all with the joyful acclamation of Amen. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to, and partaken of by, all that are present, and sent to the absent by the hands of the deacons. But the wealthy and the willing, for every one is at liberty, contribute as they think fitting; and this collection is deposited with the bishop, and out of this he relieves the orphan and the widow, and such as are reduced to want by sickness or any other cause, and such as are in bonds, and strangers that come from far; and, in a word, he is the guardian and almoner to all the indigent. Upon Sunday we all assemble, that being the first day in which God set himself to work upon the dark void in order to make the world, and in which Jesus Christ our Saviour rose again from the dead; for the day before Saturday he was crucified, and the day after, which is Sunday, he appeared unto his apostles and disciples, and taught them what I have now proposed to your consideration." ²⁷

This is the first instance in which the day of the sun is plainly mentioned as a day of Christian worship, as far as Rome is concerned. Something over a century has passed since the day of Christ; the apology itself bears no date, but it is generally placed at about 147 A. D. In this Apology, and in fact throughout all his writings, Justin uses everywhere the heathen designations for the day. Thus this new day of Christian worship appears as the day of

²⁷ "First Apology," translated by Wm. Reeves, p. 127, secs. 87-89.

the sun, a very significant fact. The reasons for this assembly are, "being the first day in which God set himself to work upon the dark void in order to make the world, and in which Jesus Christ our Saviour rose again from the dead." Thus the day of the sun is set forth as the first day of light and of life, but these old heathen motives for distinguishing the first day of the week as the day of the sun and life-giving power, appear in the Christian setting — this life through the resurrection of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Nothing whatever is here said of any divine commandment to observe this day. Even the idea of a memorial would include a twofold memorial — of the creation of light in the beginning and of the resurrection of Christ four thousand years later. Bishop J. Taylor fittingly replies to this: —

"The first of these looks more like an excuse than a just reason; for if anything of the creation were made the cause of a sabbath, it ought to be the end, not the beginning; it ought to be the rest, not the first part of the work; it ought to be that which God assigned, not [that] which man should take by way of after-justification."²³

The Hauck-Herzog Cyclopedia thus lays stress on the two reasons given here for the observance of the first day of the week: —

"Justin is the first one who designates this day as Sunday, and justifies this designation 'day of *Helios*' with the twofold reference to the breaking forth of light on the first day of creation (Genesis 1), and to the going forth of Christ (Sun

²³ Ductor Dubitantium, pt. 1, b. 2, rule 6, sec. 45.

of Righteousness cf. Mal. 3 : 20 with Luke 1 : 78) from the dark night of the grave."²⁹

But in chapter 24 Justin sets forth a new reason for the superiority of the holy day of the new law over the rest day of the old, strange as it may seem: —

"It is possible for us to show how the eighth day possessed a certain mysterious import, which the seventh day did not possess, and which was promulgated by God through these rites. . . . The command of circumcision, again, bidding [them] always circumcise the children on the eighth day, was a type of true circumcision, by which we are circumcised from deceit and iniquity through him who rose from the dead on the first day after the Sabbath [namely, through] our Lord Jesus Christ. For the first day after the Sabbath, remaining the first of all the days, is called, however, the eighth, according to the number of all the days of the cycle, and [yet] remains the first."

The philosopher seems entirely to overlook the fact that the command of circumcision reads: "In the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised."³⁰ It does not read, each eighth day of the week, but the eighth day after the birth of the male child, which might be on any day of the week; so that this rite was performed even on the Sabbath day.³¹

In summing up Justin Martyr, we find attested what even Schaff himself had to admit: "He had no clear insight into the distinction between the Old Testament and the New, between the law and the gospel." For him, consequently, the law and the

²⁹ Article, "Sonntagsfeier," vol. 18, p. 521.

³⁰ Lev. 12 : 3.

³¹ John 7 : 22.

Sabbath were both abolished. The day of the sun came in as a voluntary assembly day for prayer and worship. He accounts for its superiority by stating that it is the first day of light, the day on which Christ arose from the dead, and that it possesses, as eighth day, a mysterious import, and that this mysterious import of this eighth day of the week is derived from the fact that the children of Israel were commanded, "on account of the wickedness of their hearts," to circumcise their children on the eighth day after their birth. Pseudo-Barnabas, Gnostic, and Justin Martyr, philosopher, thus have in common the new law, and the eighth day, and with it the mysteries which only a philosopher or a Gnostic could fathom. To this may be added the facts that he everywhere tries to find the sign of the cross, and wants to have it made on every occasion; that, in chapter 61, he calls baptism "illumination," and the baptized, "illuminated," terms never applied in this way in the Bible, but occurring in the initiatory ceremonies of the pagan mysteries. He also mentions the bread and the wine mixed with water, and the elements of the Lord's supper being carried to absent persons. While Barnabas introduces this eighth day by rejecting the historical connection between ancient Israel and the people of God, Justin slightly weakens the charge, spiritualizes away the Sabbath, and introduces the sun's day as a voluntary ordinance on its own independent grounds, good or bad, as they may be.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, 178 A. D., and, in con-

nection with him, the Easter controversy next claim our attention. In his own writings no mention is made of the first day of the week, but such mention is found in two statements concerning him. His position on the law and the Sabbath he defines in his books against heresies, in which he chiefly refutes the Gnostics, and demonstrates the oneness between the two covenants. He teaches that God gave to Israel in the decalogue the natural precepts which he implanted in the heart of Adam and the righteous patriarchs from the beginning: "For God at the first, indeed, warning them by means of natural precepts, which from the beginning he had implanted in mankind, that is, by means of the decalogue (which, if any one does not observe, he has no salvation), did then demand nothing more of them." ³² But as Israel made a golden calf, he added to this the ceremonial law, "calling them to the things of primary importance by means of those which were secondary; that is, to things that are real, by means of those that are typical; and by things temporal, to eternal; and by the carnal to the spiritual; and by the earthly to the heavenly." ³³ Christ's advent, while removing the ceremonial law, only extends the decalogue: "Preparing man for this life, the Lord himself did speak in his own person to all alike the words of the decalogue; and therefore, in like manner, do they remain permanently with us, receiving, by means of his advent in the flesh, extension and increase, but not abrogation." ³⁴

³² "Against Heresies," b. 4, chap. 15. ³³ Id., chap. 14. ³⁴ Id., chap. 16.

The Sabbath, on the other hand, he spiritualizes, and sees in it simply a sign of the future kingdom of God: "For in as many days as this world was made, in so many thousand years shall it be concluded." "This is an account of the things formerly created, as also it is a prophecy of what is to come."²⁵ "Moreover, the Sabbath of God (*re-positio Dei*), that is, the kingdom, was, as it were, indicated by created things; in which (kingdom) the man who shall have persevered in serving God (*Deo assistere*) shall, in a state of rest, partake of God's table. And that man was not justified by these things, but that they were given as a sign to the people, this fact shows,—that Abraham himself, without circumcision and without observance of Sabbaths, 'believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness; and he was called the friend of God.'" "But the Sabbaths taught that we should continue day by day in God's service."²⁶

Although Irenæus writes five books against the heresies, it is rather strange that he himself nowhere alludes to Sunday. But in a fragment ascribed to him, we find the following:—

"This (custom), of not bending the knee upon Sunday, is a symbol of the resurrection, through which we have been set free, by the grace of Christ, from sins, and from death, which has been put to death under him. Now this custom took its rise from apostolic times, as the blessed Irenæus, the martyr and bishop of Lyons, declares in his treatise on Easter, in which he makes mention of Pentecost also; upon

²⁵ "Against Heresies," b. 5, chap. 28.

²⁶ Id., b. 4, chap. 16.

which (feast) we do not bend the knee, because it is of equal significance with the Lord's day, for the reason already alleged concerning it."³⁷

The Ante-Nicene Library makes the following important note on this:—

"Taken from a work (*Quaes. et. Resp. ad Othod.*) ascribed to Justin Martyr, but *certainly written* after the Nicene council. It is evident that this is not an exact quotation from Irenæus, but the summary of his words. The 'Sunday' here referred to must be Easter Sunday."

Some unknown writer "after the Nicene council" says that Irenæus declared that the custom of not kneeling on Sunday "took its rise from apostolic times." It is the unknown writer who applies the term Lord's day to Sunday, and not Irenæus himself, and at the same time this writer declares that Pentecost is of equal significance with Sunday.

The next statement we find in Eusebius, in connection with the great controversy as to the day on which Easter should be observed. Passover and Pentecost were important annual festivals in ancient Israel as significant types of the great future events of redemption. As type met antitype, early Christianity, composed at first chiefly of Israelites, would voluntarily continue these festivals, but in commemoration of facts accomplished, as the death of the Lord, his resurrection, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. They would therein naturally follow the Jewish method of computation. The Passover lamb was to be eaten on the fourteenth of Nisan,

³⁷ Ante-Nicene Library, Irenæus, vol. 2, fragment 7, pp. 162, 163.

without reference to the day of the week on which it fell; then followed the seven days of unleavened bread.³⁸ Now, it is a singular fact that "neither the Apostolic Fathers, nor Justin, nor the Didache mention any annual feast."³⁹ These, as well as the so-called vigils (*dies stationum*), are supposed to have existed on the strength of later statements. As the events commemorated by Easter extended over several days, there was room for play — whether the fourteenth should be chosen, when the Passover was eaten, or the first day, as the day of the resurrection. Again, whether they should partake of the Lord's supper on the fourteenth after having fasted previously, or whether they should fast until the first day, and then take the Lord's supper, was the question.

A number of the churches in the East, appealing to apostolic example, fasted until the close of the fourteenth, and celebrated the Passover at the beginning of the fifteenth, by having the communion and the love feast; but in some parts of the West, especially in the Roman Church, likewise appealing to an ancient custom, celebrated the death of Jesus on a Friday, and his resurrection always on a Sunday after the March full moon, fasting till Sunday and celebrating the communion on that day. Thus it happened that one part of Christianity was fasting and mourning over the death of Christ, while the other part was already rejoicing over his accom-

³⁸ Lev. 23 : 5, 6.

³⁹ Hauck-Herzog, article, "Passah," vol. 14, p. 734.

plished resurrection. This difference had already been discussed when the martyr bishop Polycarp of Smyrna visited Ancietus, bishop of Rome, between 150 and 155 A. D. But although they could not agree, they parted in peace, as far as Eusebiuss' statement goes.

But some forty years later the Roman bishop Victor, thinking that he, being bishop of the capital of the Roman empire, had therefore the right to dictate to the other bishops, in an imperious tone required the churches in the East to abandon their practise, and follow the example of Rome. An Eastern synod considered his letter, and Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, in his answer to Victor, appealing to the example of Philip, of John, of Polycarp, and of other ancient bishops, winds up: "All these observed the fourteenth day of the Passover according to the gospel, deviating in no respect, but following the rule of faith."⁴⁰

Victor turned a deaf ear to this remonstrance,—though it surely had apostolic tradition in its favor, if there be such a thing,—branded the Eastern churches as heretical, and threatened to excommunicate them. Thus the first instance on record in which the bishop of Rome attempted to be the Pope over all the churches, was *by an edict in behalf of Sunday*. Bower calls this "the first essay of papal usurpation;"⁴¹ and Dowling, "the earliest instance of papal assumption."⁴²

⁴⁰ Eusebius, 5. chap. 24.

⁴¹ "History of the Popes," vol. 1, pp. 18, 19.

⁴² "History of Romanism," heading on page 32.

This caused Irenæus, as well as other bishops, though they agreed with him on the disputed point, to reprove him for his unchristian conduct. In a letter to Victor, he, after quoting Col. 2: 16, says: —

“We keep the feasts, but in the leaven of malice, by ~~swearing~~ the church of God and observing what is outward, ~~in~~ order to reject what is better, faith and charity. That ~~such~~ feasts are displeasing to the Lord, we have heard from the prophets.” ⁴

Now referring to this very controversy, Eusebius first states, in chapter 23, that all the bishops unanimously agreed “that the mystery of our Lord’s resurrection should be celebrated on no other day than the Lord’s day; and that on this day alone we should observe the close of the paschal fasts.” In the next chapter Eusebius represents Irenæus as writing a letter to the same effect to the bishop of Rome.⁴

Thus we have not the words of Irenæus, A. D. 178, but the result of the synod held in his day, stated in the language of a church historian of the fourth century, and he uses at that time, for Sunday, the title Lord’s day.

This whole controversy, which was one of the chief questions of the council of Nicæa, and really laid the foundation for the later division between the East and the West, contains some valuable lessons. First, that the so-called apostolic tradition is so uncertain a matter that as early as A. D.

⁴ Fragment 3, Opera ad Stieren, i, 887. ⁴ Eusebius, 5. chaps. 23, 24.

150, differences of opinion arose about it; second, that some forty years later, Victor, the bishop of Rome, assumed to settle these differences of tradition by the supposed exalted position of his office over the other bishops, and threatened to excommunicate the so-called heretics, though they could appeal to John and Philip as their authorities, while the others appeal to Peter and Paul. While we have seen from the Fathers how Sunday was introduced as a voluntary human institution, we have here a plain indication of how the Sabbath of the decalogue was forced out.

The first clear evidence that the first day of the week was used as an assembly day by the Christians we have found in the middle of the second century, where it appears under the heathen designation of "day of the sun," or where it is called, as in the Bible, "the first day of the week." The only new thing about it is the mixed use of the pagan and Bible terms. Its being employed as an assembly day is justified by the breaking forth of light on the first day of creation week and also on the resurrection morn,—reasons agreeable to both pagan and proselyte. The other argument adduced in its favor is the mysterious import of circumcision on the eighth day, the fallacy of which we have shown. It appears as a part of "the new law," or revision of the decalogue, demanding a perpetual sabbath, not of rest or of idleness, but of continual activity—a very soothing doctrine to the Roman slave, to the mechanic, to the farmer,

or to the official, if compared to the rest demanded in the law as it stands. There is not a word anywhere intimating that Christ or the apostles instituted the day, or that it is to be observed as the sabbath. On the contrary, it appears as an independent, voluntary institution, closely associated with the pagan day of the sun.

Toward the close of the second century we find a controversy springing up between the East and the West, as to whether Easter should always be celebrated on the first day of the week, or on a fixed day of the month (the fourteenth of Nisan), and whether the fasting should stop at the beginning of the seventh-day Sabbath, or at the commencement of Sunday. The Roman bishop appears as champion of the venerable day of the sun, and his chief instrument of warfare is excommunication; but he is thwarted in his efforts to force the East to conform to the usage of the West, and in the course of time this dispute ripens into open rupture between Constantinople and Rome.

Gnosticism, as a sect, is subdued; but its principles of a new and spiritual law and a new and spiritual sabbath become the principles of the coming Catholic Church; it is on this very basis that the day of the sun creeps into the church as an honored day of worship. The strength of Judaism is also broken; its laws are no longer asserted to be of the devil; but the Catholic Church assimilates from it all that she can to assist her in building up her claims to power, and to increase her pomp. And

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while paganism is putting forth every effort to revive, and especially to increase, the mysteries of the sun, and to press sun-worship to the front, Catholicism makes all these movements serve her cause. Indeed, the second century is the genesis of the Catholic Church. Rome again conquers the world step by step—but this time it is the Christian world⁴⁶—until we have a full reproduction of paganism in Christian garb, with the Gnostic system of interpretation, and a decrepit Jewish ritual, but with this one exception: that on her victorious banners we see emblazoned as the sign of her triumph over her opponents, and as the mark of her high authority, the significant sign of Sunday, the day of the origin of light.

⁴⁶ Harnack's "History of Dogma," vol. 1, chap. 2. p. 127.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LORD'S DAY OF THE FATHERS

State of Christianity at the beginning of the third century—The Roman bishop already called "pontifex maximus"—Eastern sun-worship at its height in Rome—Why Sunday is called Lord's day—The lord of bishops and the lord of days—The day of the birth of light—Clement of Alexandria—His mystical numbers—The prophetic day of Plato—The mystic Lord's day—Tertullian the lawyer—His contradictions—His position on the Sabbath—Pagans' and Christians' affiliated worship—Worship toward the East—Christians mingle with the heathen in their festivities—Ancient custom and unwritten tradition—Origen—His spiritual Lord's day and festivals—Cyprian—Commodian's Lord's day—Victorin's assumptions—Peter of Alexandria—Position of the Fathers reviewed—Conclusion drawn.

CHRISTIANITY, at the very threshold of the third century, found itself in a mighty ferment of transition. As to its growth, one of its apologists could say: "We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum. We leave you your temples only. We can count your armies; our numbers in a single province will be greater."¹ Though there was some rhetorical exaggeration in this, yet by the end of the century, one tenth of the population of the Roman empire professed Christianity. Although rapidly growing in numbers, yet more rapidly it lost in spiritual power. The Catholic Church was forming with a definite creed, and although the leading bishops had preserved their independence, still the primacy of the bishop of Rome was coming more and more to the front. No great men ruled in "the

¹ Tertullian's Apology, chap. 37

chair of Peter," the eminent leaders of thought resided in Alexandria and northern Africa, and yet the mystic power of the capital of the Cæsars supplied all lack. And strange to say, the very men who developed the fundamental principles on which the Catholic Church was built, strenuously opposed the encroachments of the Roman bishop, and even broke with the Church of Rome. Tertullian established the principle of tradition, compared the church to the ark of Noah, and — ended in Montanism. Clement and Origen laid down the philosophical principles of Bible interpretation, declared that there was no salvation outside of the church, and — were excommunicated. Cyprian, assuming the superiority of Peter over the other apostles as the one upon whom the church should rest and who should feed the flock, transferred this superiority to the bishop of Rome as the successor of Peter, and called the Roman Church the chair of Peter, the fountainhead of priestly unity, and the root and mother of the Catholic Church; and yet it was only his martyrdom that saved him from being denounced as a heretic. The Catholic Church became a great political commonwealth in which the gospel and the Bible merely had a place, besides other things. The true principle that "out of *Christ* there is no salvation," Cyprian had restricted to "out of the *church* there is no salvation," and it was fast becoming, "out of the *Roman Church* there is no salvation." This transition was not without opposition. Montanists, claiming to have the Comforter and the

gifts of the Spirit, and the Novatianists, asserting that they were the *Cathari* (the Puritans), are eloquent witnesses as to the apostasy of the church. The arrogance of the Roman bishop had already become so apparent that Tertullian calls him, in irony, "pontifex maximus" and "bishop of the bishops."

Another matter needs to be taken into consideration. At the beginning of the third century, sun-worship had risen already to such a height in the Roman empire that the name of its emperor, Elagabalus (A. D. 218-222), meant really god of the sun. He elevated his sun-god from Emesa over all Roman deities, of which Gibbon gives a minute description.² How far this was carried by the end of this century, and what effect it had on Christianity, Milman thus sets forth:—

"From Christianity, the new paganism had adopted the unity of the Deity, and scrupled not to degrade all the gods of the older world into subordinate demons or ministers. The Christians had incautiously held the same language: both concurred in the name of the demons; but the pagans used the term in the Platonic sense, as good but subordinate spirits, while the same term spoke to the Christian ear as expressive of malignant and diabolic agency. But the *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* was not the great Supreme of the new system. The *universal deity of the East, the sun*, to the philosophic was the emblem or representative; to the vulgar, the Deity. Diocletian himself . . . appealed in the face of the army to the all-seeing deity of the sun. It is the oracle of Apollo of Miletus, consulted by the hesitating emperor, which is to decide the fate of Christianity. The metaphor-

² Chap. 6, par. 24.

ical language of Christianity had unconsciously lent strength to this new adversary; and in adoring the visible orb, some, no doubt, supposed that they were not departing far from the worship of the 'Sun of Righteousness.'"³

As the sun thus became at the same time so eminently the lord over all other Roman deities, it was but policy to give this child of syncretism the attractive title Lord's day. This phase of the question is very candidly set forth by H. Gunkel, Dr. Th., in the following manner:—

"How has it happened that the day of the resurrection was celebrated just weekly? How is it to be explained that this day was named the Lord's day? All of these difficulties are cleared up as soon as we attempt to investigate the matter on a religio-historical basis. If, in another Oriental religion, we should hear about the celebration of Sunday, and then should raise the question, 'What kind of a lord is it after whom Sunday was called the Lord's day?' we would at once find the answer: This lord is a god, the sun-god. The idea that definite days appertain to definite gods, manifestly lies very near to the naïve religious manner of thinking, and at that time it was everywhere prevalent in the Orient. According to one of the Babylonian calendars, Sunday, as its name still indicates, was regarded as essentially the day of the sun-god. If the ancient church celebrated Sunday, it indirectly took over with it the celebration of the old day in honor of the gods." "But a very important evidence that the observance of the first day of the week is of foreign origin (in particular a religion of the sun) is its analogy to the Mithraic mysteries, in which also this same day was celebrated." "The taking over of Sunday by the early Christians is, to my mind, an exceedingly important symptom that the early church was directly influenced by a spirit which does not originate in the gospel, nor in the Old Testament, but in a religious system foreign to it."⁴

³ "History of Christianity," b. 2, 9, par. 7.

⁴ Zum religionsgesch. Verstaendniss des N. T., Goettingen, 1903, pp. 74-76

In such a favorable period, Sunday, the child of Christian tradition, and in its claims closely related to those of the Roman bishop, its earliest champion, and the pagan sun-day, came rapidly to the front. The Papacy and the Sunday are both strange seeds transplanted from pagan into Christian soil; both were not only Christianized, but became the ruling factors of Christianity. While Cyprian attempted to trace the line of Roman bishops back to the days of Peter, Justin could bring forward no such claim for the day of the sun; but it did not need such claim, being the wild solar day of all pagan times. Popular as it was in the world, it arose on the very principles laid down by men of thought for the upbuilding of the Catholic Church; and when the Roman bishop became the lord of bishops, and the sun became the ruling deity in the Roman pagan world, Sunday became the lord of the days — the Lord's day.

The memorial days in vogue both in Israel and among the pagans — natural products of human admiration — supplied the motive; the Gnostic "new law," the theory; Greek learning, the philosophy; the Roman bishop, the ecclesiastical authority; and the wild solar day of all pagan times, the popularity, of the new institution: while on the other hand, the bigotry and the downfall of the Jewish nation made the Sabbath of the Lord unpopular. The civil authority of the imperial pontifex maximus was the only thing yet lacking to make it universal. But that Sunday is indeed the child of an amalgamation

between Christianity and paganism brought about by the philosophers, the consideration of this period will fully establish.

By this time Christian philosophers had become the luminaries of the world, because, in their estimation, Greek philosophers had been Christian philosophers before Christianity. Especially in Alexandria the highest philosophy of the Greeks was placed under the protection and guaranty of the church, and we must expect, therefore, clear indications of this amalgamation. Accordingly we read: —

"They therefore are ministers and worshipers of the Divinity who offer the freest and most royal worship, viz., that which is rendered by devoutness both of purpose and of knowledge (gnosis). Every place, then, and every time at which we entertain the thought of God is truly hallowed." "And since the east symbolizes the day of birth, and it is from thence that the *light* spreads, after it has first *shone forth out of darkness* (2 Cor. 4:6), aye, and from thence that the day of the knowledge of the truth *dawned* like the SUN *upon those who were lying in ignorance* (Matt. 4:16), therefore our prayers are directed toward the rise of dawn. It was for this reason that the most ancient temples looked toward the west in order that they who stood facing the images might be taught to turn eastward."⁶

These are the words of Clement (A. D. 194), the leader of the Alexandrian school of theology. What a contrast to Eze. 8:15-18! Greek philosophy and perverted Scriptural teaching combine to popularize Christianity by setting forth its affinity with paganism, and sun-worship affiliated with the light of the gospel to form the basis of union.

⁶ Clement, "Miscellanies," b. 7, secs. 42, 43.

Mosheim, in commenting on the writings of Clement, sets this forth in these words:—

“He may even be placed at the head of those who devoted themselves to the cultivation of philosophy with an ardor that knew no bounds, and were so blind and misguided as to engage in the hopeless attempt of producing an accommodation between the principles of philosophical science and those of the Christian religion. He himself expressly tells us in his ‘*Stromata*,’ that he would not hand down Christian truth pure and unmixed, but ‘associated with, or rather veiled by, and shrouded under, the precepts of philosophy.’ For, according to him, the rudiments, or seeds, of celestial wisdom communicated by Christ to the world, lay hid in the philosophy of the Greeks, after the same manner as the esculent part of a nut lies concealed within a shell.”⁶

From Schaff we quote the following concerning Clement’s theology:—

“His theology, however, is not a unit, but a confused eclectic mixture of true Christian elements with many Stoic, Platonic, and Philonic ingredients.” “He shows here an affinity with the heathen mystery cultus and the Gnostic arcana.”⁷

Clement attributes the Book of Wisdom to Solomon, and Baruch, to Jeremiah. He calls Plato “all but an evangelical prophet,” and last, but not least, he is the first to quote the Didache and Barnabas as having Scriptural authority. If the apostle Barnabas could be made accountable for producing such a writing as the epistle wherein we found the first witness for Sunday, then Clement of Alexandria, a century later, was surely justified in enlarging upon

⁶ Commentaries, cent. 2, sec. 25, note 2.

⁷ Second period, par. 186, p. 783.

the mystic eighth day, and turning it into a mystic Lord's day. The very title of the book in which this wonderful change is set forth is suggestive in itself, "Stromata," "gay-colored tapestry." It is indeed a gaudy patchwork of quotations from history, poetry, philosophy, Christian truths, and heretical error, and is fitly translated by the word *miscellanies*. In these books he professes to set forth a guide to the deeper gnosis of Christianity, and he claims that this knowledge is the "true tradition of the blessed doctrine which has been received immediately from Peter, James, John, and Paul, and has been transmitted to him."

One of his efforts is to find a mystical sense in all sorts of figures. There are mysteries in the number ten. There is a "ten" in heaven, in the earth, and in man. There are mysteries in the ark, as it contained the ten commandments; there are also mysteries in the two tables of stone, for they had engraved upon them the ten commandments. Six, seven, and eight are mysterious numbers. The fact that the letters of the Greek alphabet were also equivalent to numbers, he uses as a part of his argument. These mystic notions concerning numbers, which Philo carries to still more extravagant lengths, can be traced not only to Plato and his followers, but to the true source of all mysticism — the Orient.

Barnabas gives a fair sample of this mysticism; for he finds the cross and the word Jesus in the three hundred and eighteen servants of Abraham. The first two letters of the Greek word Jesus (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ)

are I and H, the first of which was used for 10, the second for 8, making 18; but the remaining 300 is represented by T, in the shape of which Barnabas pretends to see a resemblance to the cross. Clement, who considers Barnabas as apostolic authority, quotes this absurd mysticism.

In a similar manner Clement fancies that he finds the Lord's day in an utterance of the pagan philosopher Plato, as is seen from the following:—

"And the Lord's day Plato prophetically speaks of, in the tenth book of the 'Republic,' in these words: 'And when seven days have passed to each of them in the meadow, on the eighth they are to set out, and arrive in four days.' By the meadow is to be understood the fixed sphere, as being a mild and genial spot, and the locality of the pious; and by the seven days, each motion of the seven planets, and the whole practical art which speeds to the end of rest. But after the wandering orbs, the journey leads to heaven, that is, to the eighth motion and day. And he says that souls are gone on the fourth day, pointing out the passage through the four elements. But the seventh day is recognized as sacred, not by the Hebrews only, but also by the Greeks; according to which the whole world of all animals and plants revolve."⁸

All the numbers employed here possess a mysterious meaning, according to the Gnostic theology. Plato, in his "Republic," speaks of seven days, and an eighth day. Here is Clement's golden moment to turn this utterance into a prophecy, and to transform the eighth day into the Lord's day. To bring this about, the mystic meaning of "meadow" is said to be the "fixed sphere," that is, the heavens, the

⁸ "Miscellanies," b. 5, chap. 14.

future abode of the pious. The seven days are to be understood as the motions of the seven planets, and, as such, represent this earthly pilgrimage of toil. The ancients recognized only seven planets, so that after these seven wandering orbs had been passed, the journey would naturally lead "to heaven, that is, to the eighth motion and day," to the fixed sphere,—the locality of the pious and their eternal home. The great period of eternity spent on this mild and genial spot is the Lord's day, thus foretold by Plato. One is struck with the similarity of this to Barnabas's seven thousand years, and the eighth day afterward. Thus the Lord's day in reality represents, according to Clement, the future day of the Lord — eternity.

But immediately after making this statement, Clement quotes a number of Greek philosophers to prove that the number seven was sacred not only to the Hebrews, but also to the Greeks; some of these testimonies, however, can not be found in the writings quoted.

But Clement uses the term Lord's day once more; and as he represents Christian Gnosticism, as well as the theological school in Alexandria, of which he was the head, his position with regard to the observance of fasts and holidays is not simply personal, but represents the leading Alexandrian thought. Clement indorsed the Didache as a part of Scripture. As this enjoins fasting on the fourth and sixth days of the week, he had to interpret it, which he does in this manner:—

"The Gnostic understands the mystical meaning of the fasts on the fourth and sixth days of the week. The one is called the day of Mercury, the other of Venus. Hence he continually fasts from avarice and from lust, the sources of all vice."⁹

As, in heathen mythology, Mercury is the god of commerce and Venus the god of beauty and love, playing on this, Clement justifies the position of the Gnostic, who repudiates literal fasting, and, instead, abstains "from avarice and from lust." After dwelling a little longer on the subject of fasting, he thus connects with it his position with reference to observing a day in honor of the resurrection:—

"Such a one [a Gnostic], having fulfilled the command according to the gospel [by abstaining from evil instead of fasting, outwardly], makes that day the Lord's day on which he casts off evil thought, and takes those which are, according to gnosis, glorifying the Lord's resurrection as wrought in himself."¹⁰

There were Christians in Alexandria at that time who did literally fast on the fourth and sixth days of the week, and who celebrated the first day of the week in commemoration of the resurrection; but the head of the theological school taught, in clear opposition to this, that true fasting consisted in abstaining from bad deeds, and that the true commemoration of the resurrection was to experience the power of the resurrection in our daily life.

That we have given the true meaning of his words is clearly shown by another statement of his, where

⁹ "Miscellanies," b. 7, chap. 12.

¹⁰ Id., chap. 12, quoted in Cox, vol. 1, p. 339.

he contrasts the Gnostics with other Christians. Of the Gnostic he says that it was "*not on special days, as some others, but doing this continually in our whole life,*" and "*not in a specified place, or selected temple, or at certain festivals, and on appointed days, but during his whole life.*"¹¹

With this in mind, we are now prepared to listen to an explanation which he gives concerning the fourth commandment, in his "Gnostic Exposition of the Decalogue:" —

"The fourth commandment tells us that the world was made by God, and that he gave us the seventh day as a rest, because of the sufferings and afflictions of our lives. For God has no fatigue, no suffering, no need; but we, as bearing the flesh, have need of rest. Therefore, the seventh day is declared to be the rest, the cessation of evil, to prepare for that day, that brought a new beginning; that is our real rest; which is also the first origin of the real Light, by whom all things are seen, and all things received as our inheritance: from this day the primest wisdom and knowledge enlighten us; for the Light of truth, the true, unshadowed Light, the Spirit of the Lord, divided without division to those who are sanctified through faith, is like a lamp for the knowledge of the things that are: following this, then, through the whole of our lives, we are set free from affliction; and this, to rest. . . . Since we have arrived at this point, to be speaking of the numbers seven and eight, we must briefly call to mind this also — for eight seems properly to be seven, and seven, as it appears manifest, six; and the former to be properly a rest, but seven a working."¹²

The true object of the seventh day in the beginning was to insure rest, because we meet in this life so much suffering and affliction. But true Sabbath

¹¹ "Miscellanies," b. 7, chap. 7.

¹² Id., b. 6, chap. 16. Also quoted by Cox, vol. 1, pp. 340, 341.

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to cease from evil. Any one doing this
es for the gospel day of light. This gospel
ypified by the fact that God created light on
st day, is the new life of the Christian when
lightened by the Spirit, becomes sanctified
th it. This frees his whole life from affliction,
rings the true rest in Christ.

er giving this epitome, Clement, patchwork as
iscellanies are, joins to it a play on numbers,
he afterward makes intelligible by using the
alphabet as a key. The first five letters of
reek alphabet represent the numbers one to
but with the number six, there is a break
eing represented by the letter *sigma*), but
gular order is taken up again from seven on-
thus, following the regular alphabetical order,
ops out entirely; seven (*zeta*) becomes six,
ght (*eta*), seven. While this is the case, seven,
ment has shown all through his book, sig-
as the perfect number, rest, even though by
ing the order of the Greek alphabet, it may

On the other hand, eight, although it may
s manner become seven, means *working*. So
ysterious *eight* is not a day of rest but a
f work to him who, as a Gnostic, experiences
wer of the resurrection every day, and lives
ually the Lord's life.

sed by an unscriptural theory, some First-day
s pervert this Gnostic philosopher of Alex-
into a champion of their cause. Gilfillan,
ample, makes Clement say, "The eighth day

appears rightly to be named the seventh, and to be the true Sabbath, but the seventh to be a working day.'"¹³ And Rev. A. A. Phelps, in "An Argument for the Perpetuity of the Sabbath," p. 159, finds here the lacking gospel command for the Lord's day.¹⁴

It is a very striking coincidence that the first mention of Sunday as a mystic eighth day should be found in the Gnostic pseudo-Barnabas, and that the first mention of the term Lord's day as a mystic day typifying the renewed life should be made by the Gnostic philosopher Clement of Alexandria, the very one who first indorsed this pseudo-epistle. With all the mysticism found in Clement, there is some irony in it, that this mystic Lord's day adduced from an utterance of a pagan writer should, soon after, become the prominent title of the wild solar day of all pagan times.

From Alexandria, we turn our eyes to Carthage, which vies with its ancient rival, Rome, for the honor of supplying, in Tertullian, a very gifted lawyer, the father of Latin Christianity and church language. Schaff gives the following description of his character and strange contrarieties:—

"Tertullian was a rare genius, perfectly original and fresh, but angular, boisterous, and eccentric. . . . Like almost all great men, he combines strange contrarieties of character." "He did not shrink from insulting the greatest natural gift of God to man by his 'I believe because it is absurd.' And yet reason does him invaluable service against his antagonists. He vindicates the principle of church au-

¹³ "The Sabbath," p. 378.

¹⁴ Cox, vol. I. p. 344.

thority and tradition with great force and ingenuity against all heresy; yet, when a Montanist, he claims for himself with equal energy the right of private judgment and of individual protest. He has a vivid sense of the corruption of human nature and the absolute need of moral regeneration; yet he declares the soul to be born Christian, and unable to find rest except in Christ. . . . He adopts the strictest supernatural principles; and yet he is a most decided realist."¹⁵

He embraced Christianity in middle life, but soon afterward, between 199, and 203 A. D., became a Montanist. Schaff gives the following reasons for this:—

"But Tertullian was inclined to extremes from the first, especially to moral austerity. He was no doubt attracted by the radical contempt for the world, the strict asceticism, the severe discipline, the martyr enthusiasm, and the chiliasm of the Montanists, and was repelled by the growing conformity to the world in the Roman Church."¹⁶

That Tertullian blew hot and cold, A. Harnack thus testifies:—

"In the questions as to the relationship of the Old Testament to the New, of Christ to the apostles, of the apostles to each other, of the Paraclete to Christ and the apostles, he was also of necessity involved in the greatest contradictions. This was the case not only because he went more into details than Irenæus: but, above all, because the chains into which he had thrown his Christianity were felt to be such by himself. This theologian had no greater opponent than himself, and nowhere perhaps is this so plain as in his attitude to the two Testaments. Here, in every question or detail, Tertullian really repudiated the proposition from which he starts." "Tertullian strove to reconcile the prin-

¹⁵ Second period, par. 196, pp. 822-824.

¹⁶ Id., p. 821.

ciples of early Christianity with the authority of ecclesiastical tradition and philosophical apologetics. Separated from the general body of the church, and making ever-increasing sacrifices for the early Christian enthusiasm, as he understood it, he wasted himself in the solution of this insoluble problem."¹⁷

Occupying such a contradictory position on the covenants, it is but natural that he contradicts himself also on the question of the law and the Sabbath. Two quotations will prove this: —

"Thus Christ did not at all rescind the Sabbath: for even in the case before us (Matt. 12:10), he fulfilled the law, while interpreting its condition; moreover, he exhibits in a clear light the different kinds of work, while doing what the law excepts from the sacredness of the Sabbath, and while imparting to the Sabbath day itself, which from the beginning had been consecrated by the benediction of the Father, an additional sanctity by his own beneficent action. For he furnished to this day divine safeguards. . . . Since, in like manner, the prophet Elisha on this day restored to life the dead son of the Shunammite woman,¹⁸ you see, O Pharisee, and you too, O Marcion, how that it was proper employment for the Creator's Sabbaths of old to do good, to save life, not to destroy it; how that Christ introduced nothing new, which was not after the example, the gentleness, the mercy, and the prediction also of the Creator."¹⁹

But to the Jews he writes: —

"For the Jews say that from the beginning God sanctified the seventh day by resting on it from all his works which he made; and that thence it was, likewise, that Moses said to the people: 'Remember the day of the Sabbaths, to sanctify it; every servile work ye shall not do therein, except what

¹⁷ "History of Dogma," vol. 2, chap. 5, p. 311, note 1.

¹⁸ In 2 Kings 4 : 23, we read: "It is neither new moon, nor sabbath."

¹⁹ Against Marcion, b. 4, chap. 12.

pertaineth unto life.' Whence we [Christians] understand that *we* still more ought to observe a sabbath from all 'servile work' always, and not only every seventh day, but through all time. And through this arises the question for us, *what* sabbath God willed us to keep. For the Scriptures point to a sabbath eternal and a sabbath temporal. For Isaiah . . . says, '*Your* sabbaths my soul hateth;' and in another place he says, '*My* Sabbaths ye have profaned.' Whence we discern that the temporal sabbath is human, and the eternal Sabbath is accounted divine, concerning which he predicts through Isaiah: 'And there shall be . . . month after month, and day after day, and Sabbath after Sabbath; and all flesh shall come to adore in Jerusalem, saith the Lord:' which we understand to have been fulfilled in the times of Christ, when 'all flesh'—that is, every nation—'came to adore in Jerusalem' God the Father, through Jesus Christ his Son, as was predicted through the prophet: 'Behold, proselytes through me shall go unto thee.' Thus, therefore, before this temporal sabbath, there was withal an eternal Sabbath foreshown and foretold; just as before the carnal circumcision there was withal a spiritual circumcision foreshown. In short, let them teach us . . . that Adam observed the Sabbath, or that Abel, when offering to God a holy victim, pleased him by a religious reverence for the Sabbath." "Whence it is manifest that the force of such precepts was temporary, and respected the necessity of present circumstances; and that it was not with a view to its observance in perpetuity that God formerly gave them such a law." ²⁰

Answering Marcion, the Gnostic, Tertullian shows how the Sabbath was consecrated by the Father at the beginning for the good of man, and how Christ only added additional sanctity and divine safeguards to the day. But in answering the Jew, he takes the Gnostic position—a perpetual spir-

²⁰ "Answer to the Jews," chap. 4.

itual sabbath, not "exemption from work on a specific weekly sabbath." But as to the difference between temporal and eternal sabbaths, this is in no wise between the Sabbath of the decalogue and some perpetual sabbath, beginning with the advent of Christ—a conclusion which Tertullian only reaches by misapplying Isa. 66:23. This text, as is seen from verse 22, applies not to the time of Christ, but to the new earth. There were temporal sabbaths—those of the ceremonial law.

After having thus done away with the observance of a literal sabbath, and after considering some prophecies concerning the true spiritual sacrifice, in chapter 6 he proceeds to demonstrate the abolition of the old law. In like manner, as there was a sabbath temporal and a Sabbath eternal, there is also a law temporal and a law eternal, and there was a time to come "whereat the precepts of the ancient law and of the old ceremonies would cease, and the sending forth [*promissio*] of the new law, and the recognition of spiritual sacrifices, and the promise of the New Testament, supervene." Then he goes into the details about this new law, as follows:—

"And, indeed, first we must inquire whether there be expected a giver of the new law, and an heir of the new testament, and a priest of the new sacrifices, and a purger of the new circumcision, and an observer of the eternal Sabbath, to suppress the old law, and institute the new testament, and offer the new sacrifices, and repress the ancient ceremonies, and suppress the old circumcision together with its own sabbath, and announce the new kingdom which is not corrupti-

ble. Inquire, I say, we must, whether this giver of the new law, observer of the spiritual sabbath, priest of the eternal sacrifices, eternal ruler of the eternal kingdom, be come or no: that, if he is already come . . . it be manifest that the old law's precepts are ~~superseded~~, and that the beginnings of the new law ~~ought to arise~~.

We now have ~~clearly~~ before us a spiritual, eternal Sabbath of a ~~spiritual~~ eternal law, both commencing with ~~the new~~ covenant. This law commands a ~~personal~~ spiritual Sabbath, but in no wise teaches, like ~~the old~~ law, a specific weekly Sabbath, demanding ~~abstinence~~ from work. With this in mind, we are ready to proceed further.

When considering the origin of Sunday, we found ~~that the day~~ had been devoted to the worship of ~~the sun~~ in all pagan times. When, in the course of ~~some~~ centuries, Christians began to have their worship on ~~the same~~ day, at the same time, and in the same manner, it was but natural that they should be ~~connected~~ with the worshipers of the Persian sun-god Mithra. To meet this, Tertullian makes the following statement in his Apology, chap. 16, which is one of his oldest works:—

"Where, again, certainly with more information and greater acquaintance, believe that the sun is our god. We shall be counted Persians, perhaps, though we do not worship the orb of day painted on a piece of linen cloth, having himself everywhere in his own disk. The idea no doubt has originated from our being known to turn to the east in prayer. But you, many of you, also under pretense sometimes of worshipping the heavenly bodies, move your lips in the direction of the sunrise. In the same way, if we devote Sun-day to rejoicing, from a far different reason than sun-worship, we have some resemblance to those of you who devote the

day of Saturn to ease and luxury, though they too go far away from Jewish ways, of which indeed they are ignorant."

This conformity in worship both as to the day and the attitude, Tertullian thus sets forth still more clearly in another book:—

"Others, with greater regard to good manners, it must be confessed, suppose that the sun is the God of the Christians, because it is a well-known fact that we pray toward the east, or because we make Sunday a day of festivity. What then? Do you do less than this? Do not many among you, with an affectation of sometimes worshiping the heavenly bodies likewise, move your lips in the direction of the sunrise? It is you, at all events, who have even admitted the sun into the calendar of the week; and you have selected its day [Sunday] in preference to the preceding day, as the most suitable in the week for either an entire abstinence from the bath, or for its postponement until the evening, or for taking rest, and for banqueting. By resorting to these customs, you deliberately deviate from your own religious rites to those of strangers."²¹

Tertullian addresses this book to those nations that are still in idolatry. His only defense for making Sunday a day of festivity, and praying toward the east, was: "Do you do less than this?" It was the pagans who admitted the sun into the calendar of the week. They selected Sunday in preference to the preceding day, the Sabbath, and made it a day of festivity. How could they, then, chide the Christians for doing likewise, especially as these customs really came from the Orient? This proves beyond question what we presented in the previous chapter regarding the origin of Sunday.

²¹ *Ad Nationes*, b. 1, chap. 13.

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As many Christians still observed the Sabbath, and all Christians used the Old Testament, it was very natural for them to be confounded with the Jews. Tertullian is exceedingly careful to clear this matter up in the twenty-first chapter of his Apology:—

"We neither accord with the Jews in their peculiarities with regard to food, nor in their sacred days."

But what effect it had when Christians no longer observed the Sabbath of the Lord, but joined the pagans in devoting Sunday to a sacred purpose, though from far different reasons, Tertullian sets forth in his book on Idolatry, chapter 14:—

"The Holy Spirit upbraids the Jews with their holy days. 'Your sabbaths, and new moons, and ceremonies,' says he, 'my soul hateth.' By us (to whom sabbaths are strange, and the new moons and festivals formerly beloved by God) the Saturnalia and New-year and midwinter's festivals and Matronalia are frequented—presents come and go, New-year's gifts, games join their noise, banquets join their din. O, better fidelity of the nations to their own sect, which claims no solemnity of the Christians for itself! Not the Lord's day, not Pentecost, even if they had known them, would they have shared with us; for they would fear lest they should seem to be Christians. *We* are not apprehensive lest we seem to be *heathens*! If any indulgence is to be granted to the flesh, you have it. I will not say your own days, but more too; for to the *heathens* each festive day occurs but once annually; *you* have a festive day every eighth day."

The heathen would not join the Christians in any way, lest they should seem to be Christians, but the so-called Christians had already so far apostatized that they frequented with the heathen the

Saturnalia, New-year's, and midwinter festivals, and Matronalia, annual festivals to the sun and to other deities, shared in the banqueting, and imitated their custom of exchanging gifts. So the very effect of joining the pagans in their devotions on Sunday was to let down the bars which God had put up, and to lead them to join the heathen in their anniversaries held in honor of the sun. Surely Tertullian had every reason to cry out, "O, better fidelity of the heathen to their own sect!"

But strange to say, it is in the midst of all this apostasy that we find the term Lord's day first clearly applied to Sunday. Though this was done for some reason, one thing is certain, that it was not because it was so sacredly regarded. Even Tertullian had to admit that the heathen were more true to their sect than were the Christians to their faith. And we notice that the Lord's day appears on an equal footing with Pentecost, as a festive day, a season of rejoicing.

But we have a still more striking instance in which Tertullian is forced to reveal to us the foundation on which Sunday observance rests, in his book on the soldier's crown. It was customary then, as it is now, on special occasions, for the soldiers to adorn their heads with laurel, myrtle, olive, with flowers, or with gems. During a review of the camp by the emperor, one Christian soldier had the courage to hold this crown simply in his hand, instead of placing it on the head. This led to his discharge. As there were many Christian soldiers who con-

formed to the custom, discontentment arose about this soldier's refusal, and he was charged with having created trouble and brought reproach upon the Christian cause. No Bible text could be adduced to prohibit this standing custom. Tertullian, in reply, says, "If no scripture hath determined this, assuredly custom hath confirmed it, which, doubtless, hath been derived from tradition." "But," says the objector, "even where tradition is pleaded, written authority ought to be required."

This leads Tertullian to inquire "whether none, save a written tradition, ought to be received." Then he continues:—

"Certainly we shall deny that it ought to be received, if there be no precedents to determine the contrary in other observances, which, without any Scripture document, we defend on the ground of tradition alone, and by the supports of consequent custom. In fact, to begin with baptism, when we are about to come to the water, in the same place, but at a somewhat earlier time, we do in the church testify, under the hand of a chief minister, that we renounce the devil and his pomp and his angels. Then are we thrice dipped, pledging ourselves to something more than the Lord hath prescribed in the gospel: then, some undertaking the charge of us, we first taste a mixture of honey and milk, and from that day we abstain for a whole week from our daily washing. The sacrament of the eucharist, commanded by the Lord at the time of supper, and to *all*, we receive even at our meetings before daybreak, and from the hands of no others than the heads of the church. We offer, on one day every year, oblations for the dead as birthday honors. On the Lord's day we account it unlawful to fast or to worship upon the knees. We enjoy the same freedom from Easter day even unto Pentecost. We feel pained if any of the wine, or even of our bread, be spilled upon the ground. In all

our travels and movements, in all our coming in and going out, in putting on our shoes, at the bath, at the table, in lighting our candles, in lying down, in sitting down, whatever employment occupieth us, we mark our forehead with the sign of the cross.

"For these and such like rules if thou requirest a law in the Scriptures, thou shalt find none. Tradition will be pleaded to thee as originating them, custom as confirming them, and faith as observing them."

Then Tertullian proceeds to add as another example, the fact that the ancient Jewish women had a veil upon their head, though there was no written law for it, and that Paul even sanctioned this custom. Then he concludes:—

"By these examples therefore it will be declared that even an unwritten tradition may be maintained in its observance, being confirmed by custom, a sufficient witness of a tradition at the time approved by the continuance of the observance. But even in civil matters, custom is taken for law where there is no law: nor is there any difference whether it be founded on any writing or on reason, since it is reason which commandeth even written authority. Moreover, if law be founded in reason, then will all that is founded in reason, by whomsoever first brought forward, be law. Dost thou not think that any believer may have the power to conceive and to establish a thing, so it be agreeable to God, conducive to true religion, profitable to salvation, when the Lord saith, *And why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?* and this not as touching judgment only, but every opinion also on things coming under examination. So also saith the apostle: *If in anything ye be ignorant, God shall reveal it unto you*; he himself having been accustomed to supply counsel, when he *had no commandment of the Lord*, and to ordain certain things of himself, yet himself also *having the Spirit of God*, that *guideth into all truth*. Wherefore his counsel and his ordinance have now obtained the likeness of a divine command, because supported by the reason which cometh

of God. Question now this reason, saving however thy respect for tradition, from whomsoever dated as having delivered it: and regard not the author, but the authority, and chiefly that of custom itself, which ought for this cause to be respected, because it may be the witness of reason: so that if it be God, who hath given reason also, thou mayest learn, not, whether the custom ought to be observed by thee, but why the reason of Christian observances becometh greater than that of others, seeing that even nature, which is the first rule of all, defendeth them."

We have here the very principles of tradition by which every custom of the Catholic Church came in, and the very principle on which the Reformers rested Sunday, as we shall see later. But to show the power which even the heathen sun-worship had upon its votaries, we will consider Tertullian's words about the Mithra service and its adherents. He could use for the completion of his argument no better evidence than to appeal to the constancy of its adherents:—

"Blush ye, his fellow soldiers, who shall now stand condemned, not by him, but even by any soldier of Mithra, who, when he is enrolled in the cavern, the camp, in very truth, of darkness, when the crown is offered him (a sword being placed between him and it, as if in mimicry of martyrdom), and then fitted upon his head, is taught to put it aside from his head, meeting it with his hand, and to remove it, it may be, to his shoulder, saying that Mithra is his crown. And thenceforth he never weareth a crown, and he hath this as a sign whereby he is approved, if at any time he is tried touching his military oath: and he is forthwith believed to be a soldier of Mithra, if he throweth down his crown, if he declareth that he hath it in his God. See we the wiles of the devil, who pretendeth to some of the ways of God for this cause, that, through the

faithfulness of his own servants, he may put us to shame and condemn us." ²²

We are now ready to listen to Tertullian's statement about Sunday observance:—

"We, however (just as we have received), only on the Lord's day of the resurrection [*solo die dominico resurrectionis*] ought to guard not only against kneeling, but every posture and office of solicitude; deferring even our business, lest we give any place to the devil. Similarly, too, in the period of Pentecost; which period we distinguish by the same solemnity of exultation." ²³

We have now carefully investigated the writings of Tertullian. He has nothing but tradition to offer for Sunday. And more than this, as he was a strong believer in the constant guidance of the Holy Spirit, and considers all reasonable actions formed under its influence as equal with the Scripture, his principle of continual tradition was wide enough to take in anything that might come along and suggest itself to be reasonable. What he says above about deferring our business we must understand in the light of his previous statement, that we ought to observe a spiritual sabbath every day.

Turning again to Alexandria, Origen (A. D. 231), a disciple of Clement, next claims our attention. On account of Clement's flight and in view of his great ability, at the early age of nineteen he was placed at the head of that school. He was a very industrious student, never drinking wine, seldom eating meat, sleeping on the bare floor; and by his

²² "Library of the Fathers," Oxford, 1842, "Of the Crown," secs. 3, 4, 15.

²³ "Concerning Prayer," chap. 23.

studious, ascetic life he became the greatest scholar of his age. He remained the exegetical oracle until Chrysostom surpassed him. Schaff thus points out the weakness of his exegesis:—

"His great defect is the neglect of the grammatical and historical sense, and his constant desire to find a hidden, mystic meaning. He even goes further in this direction than the Gnostics, who everywhere saw transcendental, unfathomable mysteries. His hermeneutical principle assumes a threefold sense, . . . literal, moral, and spiritual. His allegorical interpretation is ingenious, but often runs far away from the text and degenerates into the merest caprice, while at times it gives way to the opposite extreme of a carnal literalism, by which he justifies his ascetic extravagance." ²⁴

Professor Harnack says of him:—

"He proclaimed the reconciliation of science with the Christian faith and the compatibility of the highest culture with the gospel within the bosom of the church, thus contributing more than any other to convert the ancient world to Christianity." ²⁵

As to his theology, Killen writes:—

"In his attempt to reconcile the gospel and his philosophy, he miserably compromises some of the most important truths of Scripture." "He maintained the pre-existence of human souls; he held that the stars are animated beings; he taught that all men shall ultimately attain happiness; and he believed that the devils themselves shall eventually be saved." ²⁶

From the testimonies adduced, no one must wonder at the following statement concerning his view of the Sabbath:—

²⁴ "History of the Christian Church," second period, par. 187, p. F92.

²⁵ "History of Dogma," 2, 333.

²⁶ "Ancient Church," second period, sec. 2, chap. 1.

"There are countless multitudes of believers who . . . are most firmly persuaded that neither ought circumcision to be understood literally, nor the rest of the Sabbath, nor the pouring out of the blood of an animal, nor that answers were given by God to Moses on these points." ²⁷

And in his book against Celsus, he thus writes of the Sabbath rest:—

"For he [Celsus] knows nothing of the day of the Sabbath and rest of God, which follows the completion of the world's creation, and which lasts during the duration of the world, and in which all those will keep festival with God who have done all their works in their six days, and who, because they have omitted none of their duties, will ascend to the contemplation of celestial things, and to the assembly of righteous and blessed beings." ²⁸

In book 5, chap. 59, he says:—

"With respect, however, to the creation of the world, and 'the rest which is reserved after it for the people of God,' the subject is extensive, and mystical, and profound, and difficult of explanation."

We now come to the one reference in which Origen makes allusions to a Lord's day. Some one is supposed to charge him with inconsistency because, though Origen, in harmony with Gal. 4 : 10, did not believe in the observance of any days, he paid some respect to the Lord's day and other festivals. As Bishop Cox says:—

"This charge he evades rather than encounters in his reply, which, with the objection prefixed to it, is as follows: 'But if any one should object against this what takes place among ourselves on the Lord's days, or on preparation days, or on the days of the Passover or of Pentecost, the answer is,

²⁷ *De Principiis*, b. 2, chap. 7.

²⁸ B. 6, chap. 61.

that the perfect Christian, who continually lives in the words, and works, and thoughts of the Word of God, his natural Lord, continually lives in his days, daily keeps a Lord's day." " "

In like manner he shows that the perfect Christian keeps the preparation day by preparing himself daily; also the Passover day by eating constantly the flesh of the Word; and the day of Pentecost by praying daily for the outpouring of the Spirit. This distinction between a perfect and an imperfect Christian sheds much light on his position. An imperfect Christian keeps Sunday literally; a perfect Christian, by living a constant holy life, pays no respect to weekly or to annual festivals. The preference of such a Lord's day over a literal sabbath, Origen sets forth in his seventh homily on Exodus, par. 5: —

"It is plain from Holy Writ that manna was first given on earth on the Lord's day. . . . But if it be clear from the Holy Scriptures that God rained manna from heaven on the Lord's day, and rained none on the Sabbath day, let the Jews understand that from that time our Lord's day was set above the true Sabbath. . . . For on our Lord's day God always rains down manna from heaven; . . . for the discourses which are delivered to us are from heaven; and the words which are preached to us have come down from God; and hence we are blessed in receiving such manna."

Turning back to Carthage again, the next Father offering an argument for Sunday is Cyprian, A. D. 254. His tract on the "Unity of the Church" is the

Magna Charta of the Roman primacy. But as he contended with the same zeal for an independent episcopate, and differed on the subject of heretical baptism, he brought himself into conflict with the See of Rome. He thus brings forward Justin's old argument: —

"For in respect to the observance of the eighth day in the Jewish circumcision of the flesh, a sacrament was given beforehand in shadow and in usage; but when Christ came, it was fulfilled in truth. For because the eighth day, that is, the first day after the Sabbath, was to be that on which the Lord should rise again, and should quicken us, and give us circumcision of the Spirit, the eighth day, that is, the first day after the Sabbath, and the Lord's day, went before in the figure; which figure ceased when by and by the truth came, and spiritual circumcision was given to us."³⁰

His own maxim fits his case: "Custom without truth is the antiquity of error."

Commodian, A. D. 270, is quoted by Hessey and Gilfillan as using the term Lord's day. So he does. He admonishes the rich to remember the poor brother, and in that connection he says, "What sayest thou of the Lord's day?"³¹ As he treats of the judgment in previous chapters, it is evident from the context that he refers to that. But First-day writers are often very hard pressed for seeming proofs of their theories. He once speaks of Easter as the "day of ours most blessed."

Bishop Victorin of Petau (A. D. 290) is so anxious not to appear to observe any Sabbath with the Jews

³⁰ Cyprian's Epistles, No. 58, sec. 4. Ante-Nicene Christian Library vol. 8, p. 196.

³¹ "Instructions of Commodian," sec. 61.

that, while apparently quoting Scripture, he makes a number of unfounded statements about it. "Thus Moses, foreseeing the hardness of the people, on the Sabbath raised up his hands, and thus fastened himself to the cross;" further, that Jesus (Joshua) "himself broke the Sabbath day" at the siege of Jericho; and that Matthias "broke the Sabbath when he slew the prefect of Antiochus, king of Syria, upon that day;" and finally he states that "in Matthew we read that it is written, Isaiah also and the rest of his colleagues broke the Sabbath — that that true and just Sabbath should be observed in the seventh millenary of years." For his statement about Matthew's words, he refers to Matt. 12:3, but no such text can be found there. His fitting preparation for the Lord's day was a rigorous fast on the Sabbath, as will be seen from the following: "On the former day [that is, Sabbath] we are accustomed to fast rigorously, that on the Lord's day we may go forth to our bread with giving of thanks."²² This same bishop wrote a commentary on Revelation, but he has no comment whatever about the Lord's day of Rev. 1:10.

Peter, bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 300, closes the list of witnesses by saying, "We keep the Lord's day as a day of joy because of Him who rose thereon."²³

We have now followed the history of Sunday from the time it was first mentioned by the Gnostic pseudo-Barnabas as the mysterious eighth day,

²² "Creation of the World," Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. 18, p. 391.

²³ Peter's Canon, No. 15.

until it stands out clearly and definitely as the first day of the week, called the Lord's day. Not one of these Fathers has referred to Acts 20: 7, to 1 Corinthians 16, or to Rev. 1: 10 as the reason for its observance, nor has any allusion been made to any command of Christ or of the apostles for its observance. None of the Fathers base its observance on the Sabbath commandment, nor hint at the transference of the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week. On the contrary, some have taken the strongest grounds against the law or the Sabbath commandment or the literal observance of that commandment. None of the church Fathers, yea, no writer of the first five centuries, ever called Sunday the Sabbath. This name was only applied to the preceding or seventh day.

For the observance of Sunday they give, as Cox correctly says, "sundry other reasons of their own — fanciful in most cases, and ridiculous in some." These reasons are: (1) That God in the beginning created light on the first day of the week; (2) that circumcision was on the eighth day; (3) that manna began to fall on the first day of the week; (4) that Christ arose on that day, and instructed his disciples; (5) that Christ ascended to heaven on the first day of the week. Therefore Cox draws the following conclusion about Sunday: "From which the inevitable inference is that they neither had found in Scripture any commandment — primeval, Mosaic, or Christian — appointing the Lord's day to be honored or observed, nor knew from tradition any such

commandment delivered by Jesus or his apostles.”²⁴

As to the nature of its observance, we have found that the church Fathers lay special stress on the fact that the Sabbath commandment did not demand a cessation from labor, but rather a perpetual cessation from sin and a spiritual rest in Christ; and, consequently, Sunday was not to be a day of rest from work so much as it was to be a day of joy, marked by the celebration of the Lord's supper, by prayer, and by the absence of fasting. Easter and Pentecost were held in equal esteem with Sunday, or even in greater esteem.

If we note the names applied to the day, we find it first introduced under the name of eighth day, then sun-day, and first day of the week; from the beginning of the third century the term Lord's day is used interchangeably for the first day of the week and for the perpetual day of the gospel dispensation. From these evidences and from the fact that the Sabbath was still observed by a part of the Christian community, it is clear that Sunday came in on independent grounds; that it was a human institution resting on tradition; that its observance was but voluntary; and that it was an assembly day rather than a rest day.

That First-day writers who claim Sunday to be a divine institution based on the fourth commandment are not satisfied with the way the church Fathers have treated Sunday, is very apparent from their own admissions. For example: Hengstenberg says, “The idea of a transference of Sabbath into

²⁴ Vol. I, p. 353.

Sunday is unknown to all Christian antiquity." Dr. Schaff says that the ante-Nicene church "did not fully appreciate the perpetual obligation of the fourth commandment in its substance as a weekly day of rest;" and that "there was a disposition to disparage the Jewish law in the zeal to prove the independent originality of Christian institutions."³⁵ Again, that "the ancient church viewed the Sunday mainly . . . one-sidedly and exclusively, from its Christian aspect as a new institution."³⁶ Liebetrut, in his prize essay on Sunday, admits: "All church Fathers are unanimous in repudiating the direct reference of Sunday observance to the Sabbath commandment. They declare that the Sabbath commandment is not binding on the church, and assert a peculiar position of Sunday as the day of Christ. Instead of finding reasons for Sunday observance in the law of the Old Testament, they are everywhere far from it, and even so regardlessly oppose this view that they are in danger of looking altogether away from the foundation principles on which any Christian festival could rest."³⁷

These admissions of leading Sunday advocates — a few samples of the many that might be adduced — reveal the striking fact that their position concerning the Sunday institution differs very materially from that of the Fathers. While the Fathers, in order to introduce this new weekly memorial,

³⁵ "History of the Christian Church," vol. 1, pp. 202-205.

³⁶ *Id.*, third period, vol. 1, p. 379.

³⁷ *Die Sonntagsfeier*, Hamburg, 1851, pp. 33-35.

had to set aside the only commandment on which any weekly rest can be maintained by a church accepting the Bible alone, and to ingraft a scion from a strange religious cult in commemoration of important Christian events, the Protestant church of to-day, though attempting to substantiate the introduction of Sunday by the testimony of the Fathers, and thus by tradition, has, in order to maintain Sunday as a rest day, to adopt as the basis of its observance the very commandment thus rejected by the Fathers. A strange medley indeed!

But while the originators of Sunday and its present advocates differ so widely from one another that the latter reject the very basis on which it was introduced by the former, we, for our part, would point to the material difference existing between these two parties as an evident proof for the correctness of our position concerning the introduction of Sunday. As God's law is eternal and of universal application, and as the Sabbath institution is fixed by it on a definite day of the week for the benefit of man, regardless of nationality, time, or place, no new weekly memorial could be introduced to supplant the one already existing, without the rejection of the very basis on which the new institution could be maintained. To this the church Fathers assent by rejecting the Sabbath command as the basis of this new institution, and to this the present champions of Sunday assent, by appealing to the fourth commandment to maintain Sunday. Thus, while the Sunday of the Fathers differs from

that of the Protestant church in its very basis, yet the testimony of the Fathers furnishes the following striking similarities between their Sunday and the pagan sun-day: —

1. These two days are identical — the same day.
2. They both at first appear under the one common name — day of the sun.
3. They both have one common object of worship — light: by the pagan, the natural light proceeding from the sun was regarded as the deity; by the Christian, it was the natural light created by God on the first day of creation week, or the spiritual light proceeding from Christ as the Sun of Righteousness since his resurrection, that was venerated.
4. The time for the weekly worship perfectly agrees — at sunrise.
5. The attitude of the worshipers was the same — they faced toward the east.
6. The nature of the two festivals is strikingly the same — they are not days given to rest and the contemplation of God and to good works, but they are assembly days at early morn, then given up to busy pleasure and to labor.

No less remarkable is the fact that, while the Gnostic and the philosopher ingrafted this pagan day onto Christianity to commemorate an important event, without reference to any definite law and enjoining nothing but a spiritual rest, the bishop of Rome, seemingly the materialization of legality, became the outspoken sponsor of this illegal child, and effected the union, making the Gnostic and the philosopher subservient to its cause. Furthermore, this new institution comes into prominence and as-

sumes a new title at the very time when the sun, eminently worshiped in the Oriental cults, becomes, as such, the leading deity of the pagans in the Roman empire, and Christ, as the Sun of Righteousness, is the leading object of worship in the Roman Christian world, and the bishop of Rome, its champion in the church, is the leading ruler as lord of the bishops; and thus the day, as the common object of veneration by all as the lord of the days, is fitly styled by its syncretical name, the Lord's day.

We will let Cyprian, the great champion of the Roman primacy, tell us how far the apostasy had advanced in the church at this time:—

"Forgetful of what believers had either done before in the times of the apostles, or always ought to do, they, with the insatiable ardor of covetousness, devoted themselves to the increase of their property." "Among the ministers there was no sound faith: in their works there was no mercy; in their manners there was no discipline." "Crafty frauds were used to deceive the hearts of the simple, subtle meanings for circumventing the brethren. They united in the bond of marriage with unbelievers; they prostituted the members of Christ to the Gentiles. They would swear not only rashly, but even more, would swear falsely; . . . would speak evil of one another with envenomed tongue, would quarrel with one another with obstinate hatred. Very many bishops who ought to furnish both exhortation and example to others, despising their divine charge, became agents in secular business, forsook their throne, deserted their people, wandered about over foreign provinces, hunted the markets for gainful merchandise, while brethren were starving in the church."²⁸

The Catholic Church, adopting the tradition as its chief rule, and following the sayings of men

²⁸ "On the Lapsed," chap. 6, Ante-Nicene Library 8, pp. 354, 355.

rather than the commands of God, and no longer dependent upon the divine arm, longed for the arm of flesh to uphold its authority and to secure its unity against rending schisms, and the Sunday institution, as it possessed no just basis for its observance, needed the authority of civil and ecclesiastical legislation to assure its maintenance. Paganism and philosophized Christianity became so closely affiliated that believers in both systems could freely intermarry, and, naturally enough, it would be but the ultimate result that there should grow up a union between the state of Rome and the church of Rome; and, whenever the restraining power would be far enough removed to admit of such a union, then the mystery of lawlessness would become manifest. That this mystery of lawlessness was the natural outgrowth of spiritualizing away the law of God and the rest day by the Gnostic, philosopher, and Roman bishop in succession, an anonymous author of that time thus attests:—

"As Christ is the end of the law, those who are without law are without Christ; therefore the people who are without the law are without Christ."³⁹

Sunday appears in the writings of all the Fathers without law — yea, it is in opposition to it; therefore, it is without Christ, and, as Sunday is without Christ, it is not the Christian Lord's day; but, as the day of the sun, it is the pagan Lord's day of the Christianized "Lord of the bishops."

³⁹ Pseudo-Cyprian De XII, *abusivis saeculi*, chap. 12, quoted in Harnack's "History of Dogma," 6, p. 26, note 1.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CIVIL-ECCLESIASTICAL SUNDAY

A new era in Sunday observance—Division in empire and church—Constantine favors Christianity—Sole ruler of the empire—He desires consolidation—Half pagan and half Christian—The first Sunday law and its associate—Schaff's comment upon it—Sunday markets ordained—Military Sunday law—Sunday the mark of friendly union—The first general council—Its decrees claimed as divine commands—The Easter controversy settled—The ruling motive, hatred to the Jews—The first Sunday canon—The spiritual sabbath of Eusebius—Constantine the second Moses—The transference of the spiritual sabbath—The new spiritual law of Eusebius—Its carnal nature—The Catholic theocracy—The Levitical priesthood revived in Catholicism—The crimes of Constantine—His duplicity until death.

THE fourth century marks the victory of Christianity over paganism, its deadly rival, and with it began a new era in the history of Sunday observance. This final victory was not won, however, without a desperate struggle. Christianity, enjoying a long season of tranquillity, had meanwhile become a factor in the Roman empire, which was weakened by inner dissensions and by the increasing inroads of the barbarians. At the beginning of the fourth century the empire had not less than four sovereigns,—the two Augusti, Diocletian and Maximian, and their subordinate Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius. Galerius, being a deadly enemy to Christianity, and striving to become the sole Augustus, influenced Diocletian to issue an edict against the Christians. This brought about the terrible persecution known as the Diocletian persecution, which lasted from A. D. 303 to 313.

How far the church and its bishops had at this

time departed from God is seen by the following picture drawn by Eusebius:—

“When by reason of excessive liberty, we sunk into negligence and sloth, one envying and reviling another in different ways, and we were almost, as it were, on the point of taking up arms against each other, and were assailing each other with words as with darts and spears, prelates inveighing against prelates, and people rising up against people, and hypocrisy and dissimulation had arisen to the greatest height of malignity, then the divine judgment, which usually proceeds with a lenient hand, whilst the multitudes were yet crowding into the church, with gentle and mild visitations began to afflict its episcopacy; . . . and, as if destitute of all sensibility, we were not prompt in measures to appease and propitiate the Deity; some, indeed, like atheists, regarding our situation as unheeded and unobserved by Providence, added one wickedness and misery to another.”¹

The apostasy thus described had created sects and factions, such as the Montanists, the Novatians, the Donatists, and others. All these vied with the Church of Rome in their efforts to gain the ascendancy. While there were divisions both in the empire and in the church, and, in each, ambitious men were striving to become the sole leader, it was but natural that the strongest, or Romish faction, should make overtures to the most powerful and favorable ruler, and offer him her support in his ambitions to be universal Augustus, if he in turn would make her the state church.

Constantius, Cæsar of the western provinces (Gaul and Britain), while nominally carrying out the decrees of his superiors and tearing down a few

¹ “Ecclesiastical History,” b. 8, chap. 1.

church buildings, spared the life and property of his Christian subjects. Galerius, succeeding Diocletian, A. D. 305, the latter having resigned, as the Augustus of the East, promoted Constantius, who was frail in health, to be the Augustus of the West. In order to tie the new rulers to himself, he caused them to divorce their wives, and marry into his family. Thus Constantius had to divorce his first wife, Helena, the daughter of an inn-keeper, and at the same time he excluded her son, Constantine, who was distinguished for his military ability, from the Cæsarship. Constantine, fearing the foul designs of Galerius, suddenly left his court, and joined his father in Britain, at whose death (A. D. 306) he was proclaimed Augustus by the soldiers, much to the chagrin of Galerius.

Constantine, as well as his father, was greatly influenced in his religious sentiments by the new Platonic philosophy. He acknowledged one supreme God, who had revealed himself in many ways among men, and honored Apollo in particular as the revealer of this being. Like some of the Roman rulers before him, he hoped to strengthen the Roman empire by creating a monotheistic state religion, of which Christianity should become a part. As late as 308 he presented munificent gifts to Apollo, the god of the sun.

The tragic end of his pagan rivals and persecutors of Christianity,—Galerius dying from a dreadful disease, Maxentius perishing in the Tiber, and Diocletian committing suicide,—as well as political wis-

dom, taught Constantine to lean upon Christianity for the moral support he needed to become sole ruler of a united empire, able to withstand the inroads of the barbarians. That such utilitarian motives prompted his choice, he himself thus states:—

“My father revered the Christian God, and uniformly prospered, while the emperors who worshiped the heathen gods, died a miserable death; therefore, that I may enjoy a happy life and reign, I will imitate the example of my father, and join myself to the cause of the Christians, who are growing daily, while the heathen are diminishing.”²

As sole Augustus of the West, Constantine made, in A. D. 312, his triumphal entry into Rome, and assumed the title of “pontifex maximus.” He associated Licinius with him as Augustus of the East, giving him his sister in marriage. In March, 313, both rulers issued the edict of Milan, granting religious liberty to all subjects, and restoring to the Christians their church buildings or adequate compensation. As his monarchical politics accorded on the point of the external Catholic unity with the hierarchical spirit of the Roman Church, he favored its sole claims to the benefits of the edict, deprived the dissenting sects of it, and styled it the “legitimate and most holy Catholic religion.” He also exempted its clergy from all public offices and obligations as early as A. D. 316. Still his coins bore the pagan symbols.

As the Roman emperors were also, by the virtue of their office, supreme pontiffs of the heathen re-

² Schaff, third period, vol. I, sec. 2, pp. 19, 20.

ligion, so "he desired," as Schaff puts it, "to be looked upon as a sort of bishop, as universal bishop of the external affairs of the church. All this by no means from mere self-interest, but for the good of the empire, which, now shaken to its foundations and threatened by barbarians on every side, could only by *some new bond of unity* be consolidated and upheld."³

But to bring about such a union was no easy task. "He had to deal with an empire in which there was a great mixture of religions." "He was more than half convinced of the insufficiency of paganism, and nearly half convinced of the truth of Christianity. He dared not, however, offend the pagans, much as he wished to encourage the Christians." "Was there any way in which he might advantage both, and yet confer a special, though not obtrusive, boon upon the latter? All his subjects. it is probable, felt the condition of the calendar to be a crying and practical inconvenience."⁴ The "old Roman laws exempted the festivals of the heathen from all juridical business, and suspended all processes and pleadings" except in cases of great necessity or charity.⁵ Agricultural labors were, on the other hand, allowed.⁶ Among the Catholics, Sunday had gradually become their regular assembly day, honored also by high annual festivals. Many of his pagan subjects revered the same day as

³ Schaff, third period, vol. 1, sec. 2, p. 13. ⁴ Hessey, lect. 3, p. 63.

⁵ Bingham, vol. 2, b. 20, chap. 2, p. 287.

⁶ Gieseler, "Compendium of Ecclesiastical History," vol. 1, p. 202.

a day of prayer in honor of the sun. Here was the point of friendly union; here his legislation might be of common profit.

In order that the syncretic motive of Constantine—pagan and Catholic, religious and secular—may be more apparent, we not only quote his Sunday edict of March 7, but with it another edict of March 8, 321, regarding the haruspices, or pagan soothsayers, who foretold future events by examining the entrails of beasts slaughtered in sacrifice to the gods. Thus we read:—

“Let all the judges and town people, and the occupation of all trades rest on the venerable day of the sun; but let those who are situated in the country, freely and at full liberty attend to the business of agriculture; because it often happens that no other day is so fit for sowing corn and planting vines; lest, the critical moment being let slip, men should lose the commodities granted by Heaven. Given the seventh day of March, Crispus and Constantine being consuls, each of them for the second time.”⁷

“That whenever lightning should strike the imperial palace or any other public building, the haruspices, according to ancient usage, should be consulted as to what it might signify, and a careful report of the answer should be drawn up for his use.”⁸

The edicts of Trajan and Marcus Antoninus had permitted cases of necessity and charity to be acted upon on these heathen festivals.⁹ In accordance with them, Constantine, in June, 321, qualified this general prohibition by permitting acts of conferring

⁷ Corpus Juris Civilis Cod., lib. 3, tit. 12, 3.

⁸ Cod. Theod., 1, 10, tit. 10, c. 1.

⁹ Bingham, vol. 2, b. 20, chap. 2, p. 287.

liberty to the slave, and freeing the son from paternal power: —

"As it seems very unfit to occupy the day of the sun, noted for its veneration, with irritating discussions and obnoxious contentions, it would be therefore agreeable to fulfil on that day what we most principally vowed. Therefore they should have liberty for every act of emancipation and manumission on this feast-day, and actions in these matters are not to be prohibited."¹⁰

How well fitted such enactments were to the general demand, Hessey thus attests: —

"The Christians would accept it gladly. It was an evidence to them that the kingdoms of this world were becoming visibly, though the world knew it not, subservient to the Lord of the Day. The pagans could not object to it. It produced uniformity in their festivals, and remedied various inconveniences which met them at every turn. As for the rural districts, where paganism especially prevailed, these had an exception made in their favor, which obviated every pretense of hardship. Both Christians and pagans . . . had been accustomed to festival rests; Constantine made these rests to synchronize."¹¹

That pagan and Christian sentiments found expression in this law, Stanley thus states: —

"The same tenacious adherence to the ancient god of light has left its trace, even to our time." "The retention of the old pagan name of '*Dies solis*,' or 'Sunday,' . . . is, in great measure, owing to the union of pagan and Christian sentiment, with which the first day of the week was recommended by Constantine to his subjects, pagan and Christian alike, as the 'venerable day of the sun.'"¹²

How the bishops looked upon it, we can learn from the following language of Eusebius: —

¹⁰ Cod. Theod., 2, 8, 1.

¹¹ Hessey, lect. 3, p. 64.

¹² "Eastern Church," London, 1864, p. 193.

"He [Constantine] ordained, too, that one day should be regarded as a special occasion for prayer: I mean that which is truly the first and chief of all, the day of our Lord and Saviour."¹³

Again he eulogizes Constantine for commanding that "all should assemble together every week, and keep that day which is called the Lord's day as a festival, to refresh even their bodies, and to stir up their minds by divine precepts and instruction."¹⁴ Eusebius goes still further. While Justinian and Theodosian codes are silent on supplementary ordinances, Eusebius, as well as Sozomen, claims that Constantine did the same in honor of Friday.¹⁵ Eusebius even mentions that he enjoined all his soldiers, both Christian and pagan, to worship on Sunday.¹⁶

As Schaff has some striking comments on Constantine's Sunday legislation, we will listen to him: —

"So long as Christianity was not recognized and protected by the state, the observance of Sunday was purely religious, a strictly voluntary service, but exposed to continual interruptions from the bustle of the world and a hostile community. . . . Constantine is the founder, in part at least, of the *civil* observance of Sunday by which *alone* the religious observance of the church could be made universal and could be properly secured. . . . But the Sunday law of Constantine must not be overrated. He enjoined the observance, or rather forbade the public desecration of Sunday, not under the name of *Sabbatum* or *Dies Domini*, but under its old astrological and heathen title, *Dies Solis*, familiar to all his subjects, so that the law was as applicable

¹³ *De Vita Const.*, 4, 18.

¹⁴ *De Laudibus Constantini*, c. 17.

¹⁵ *De Vita Const.*, 4, 18; Sozomen *Hist. Eccl.*, 1, 8.

¹⁶ *De Vita Const.*, 4, 19, 20.

to the worshipers of Hercules, Apollo, and Mithras, as to the Christians. There is no reference whatever in his law either to the fourth commandment or to the resurrection of Christ. Besides, he expressly exempted the country districts, where paganism still prevailed, from the prohibition of labor. . . . Christians and pagans had been accustomed to festival rests; Constantine made these rests to synchronize, and gave the preference to Sunday.¹⁷

That the religious observance of Sunday was dependent upon the legislation of the pontifex maximus of the pagan world, is an uncontrovertible testimony to the human origin of Sunday and its observance until that time. As to any reference to the fourth commandment, Constantine would never have found any mention of the day of the sun in it. How far he was from its spirit and letter, however, is easily seen from the fact, but little known, that it was Constantine who first decreed that markets should be held on Sunday, as Cox thus affirms:—

"It is a curious and little-known fact that markets were expressly appointed by Constantine to be held on Sunday. This we learn from an inscription on a Slavonian bath rebuilt by him, published in Gruter's '*Inscriptiones Antiquæ totius Orbis Romani*,' 164, 2. It is there recorded of the emperor that, 'by a pious provision, he appointed markets to be held on Sunday throughout the year.' His pious object was doubtless to promote the attendance of the country people at churches in towns. 'Thus,' says Chas. J. Hare, 'Constantine was the author of the practise of holding markets on Sunday, which in many parts of Europe prevailed above a thousand years after, though Charlemagne issued a special law (cap. 140) against it.'"¹⁸

¹⁷ "Church History," third period, par. 75. p. 379 ff.

¹⁸ Cox, I. 359.

In Russia and in other places markets are still held on Sunday. We next listen to Schaff's comment on Constantine's Sunday ordinance for his army: —

"For the army, however, he went beyond the limits of negative and protective legislation, to which the state ought to confine itself in matters in religion, and enjoined a certain positive observance of Sunday, in requiring the Christian soldiers to attend Christian worship, and the heathen soldiers, in the open field, at a given signal, with eyes and hands raised toward heaven, to repeat the following, certainly very indefinite, form of prayer: 'Thee alone we acknowledge as God, thee we reverence as king, to thee we call as our helper. To thee we owe our victories, by thee have we obtained the mastery of our enemies. . . . We all fall at thy feet, and fervently beg that thou wouldest preserve to us our emperor Constantine and his divinely beloved sons in long life healthful and victorious.'"¹⁹

This is surely a remarkable admission, that Constantine commanded the heathen soldiers to worship the sun-god in the open field at the same time that the Christian soldiers were worshiping Christ as the Sun of Righteousness.

In the beginning of our investigation, we found that the Gnostics were those Christians who set aside the Old Testament, and with it the Sabbath of the decalogue, in order to facilitate the conclusion of a covenant between Christianity and Hellenic culture—the outward sign of this covenant being the mystic eighth day. Now that Gnosticism had become a part of the church, and philosophy ruled both Christianity and paganism,

¹⁹ "Church History," third period, sec. 75, pp. 380, 381.

and thus the very union intended was effected, this mystic eighth day must become the manifest legal seal of this union accomplished. That Constantine by issuing this law had such an intent, is stated by Gieseler:—

"His first religious sentiments, like those of his father, were essentially the new Platonic. He acknowledged one supreme God who had revealed himself in many ways among men, and honored Apollo, in particular, as the revealer of this being. As this idea of Apollo and the Christian idea of Christ were obviously similar, so Constantine may have thought that he found in it very soon a *point of union* between Christianity and heathenism."

"As Christ was often compared with Sol, or Apollo, so Constantine believed, perhaps, that in the festival of *Dies Solis*, as a festival of Christ and the sun at the same time, he found a *point of friendly union* between both religions, directly opposed though they were to each other." ²⁰

Dr. Zahn still more definitely witnesses to this:—

"Ere Constantine decided to elevate Christianity to the position of the ruling church in the empire, the thought soared before his vision of a monotheistic state religion, of which Christianity should become a part. The introduction of Sunday as a general day of rest, appeared to him the *significant and effective expression of this union*." ²¹

Thus we have valid testimonies that Constantine's Sunday is the significant and effective seal of the accomplished union between pagan philosophy and fallen Christianity, between state and church, between emperor and Roman bishop. The twofold character of Constantine's motives, and to what ex-

²⁰ Church History, N. Y., 1868, vol. 1, par. 56, pp. 183, 185.

²¹ Geschichte des Sonntags, p. 40.

tent he was still governed by pagan superstition, appears from another law issued in A. D. 321, which Neander thus mentions:—

“By a law of the same year he declares also the employment of heathen magic, for good ends, as for the prevention or healing of diseases, for the protection of harvests, for the prevention of rain and of hail, to be permitted, and in such expressions, too, as certainly betrays a faith in the efficacy of these pretended supernatural means, unless the whole is to be ascribed simply to the legal forms of paganism.”²²

Constantine's Sunday law made the day of the sun, as Sozomen intimates, an “authorized holiday” for all subjects. To the pagan it was not only a civil law, but, as Constantine was the supreme pontiff of his religion, also an ecclesiastical law. But only a short time elapsed until the general council of the church passed its first decree concerning the observance of Sunday. The Easter question, sprung by Victor, bishop of Rome (A. D. 196), was still pending. The Arian controversy was causing great trouble. To settle questions disagreed upon in Christianity, and to form a compact imperial church, Constantine, “in pursuance of divine inspiration,” as he thought, summoned a general council of the bishops at Nice in the spring of A. D. 325. Although he was unbaptized, and in reality no church-member as yet, still not only did he control and maintain the council, but he presided over it as “the bishop of the bishops.”²³ He is also the author of another

²² Neander, vol. 3, p. 28, ed. 1848.

²³ Schaff, third period, vol. 2, sec. 120, pp. 623-632; vol. 1, sec. 2, pp. 32-36.

innovation: to make the decrees of this council unanimous, he had an ancient creed produced, which he, as the "beloved of heaven," had approved, and whoever refused to sign it became liable to civil penalties. The following from Schaff states the facts in the case:—

"The books of Arius were burned, and his followers branded as enemies of Christianity. This is the first example of the *civil* punishment of heresy; and it is the beginning of a long succession of civil persecutions for all departures from the Catholic faith. Before the union of church and state, ecclesiastical excommunication was the extreme penalty. Now banishment and afterwards even death were added, because all offenses against the church were regarded as at the same time crimes against the state and civil society."²⁴

How the decisions of this and of similar later councils were regarded, is seen from the following:—

"Their doctrinal decisions were early invested with infallibility." "After the example of the apostolic council, the usual formula for a decree was: It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us. Constantine the Great, in a circular letter to the churches, styles the decrees of the Nicene council a *divine* command."

"Athanasius says: 'What God has spoken by the council of Nice, abides forever.'"

"The council of Chalcedon pronounced the decrees of the Nicene Fathers unalterable statutes, since God himself had spoken through them."

"Pope Gregory the Great even placed the first four councils . . . on a level with the four canonical Gospels. In like manner Justinian puts the dogmas of the first four councils on the same footing with the Holy Scriptures, and their canons by the side of the laws of the realm."²⁵

²⁴ Third period, vol. 2, sec. 120, p. 630.

²⁵ Id., vol. 1, sec. 65, pp. 341, 342.

At Nicæa three hundred eighteen bishops, the significant number of Barnabas and Clement, are said to have assembled, as well as the emperor and his court. The first important question considered was the Eastern controversy. Stanley thus states it:—

“On the one side were the old, historical, apostolical traditions; on the other side, the new, Christian, Catholic spirit, striving to part company with its ancient Jewish birthplace. The Eastern Church, at least in part, as was natural, took the former, the Western the latter view. . . . The church appeared (this was the expression of the time) ‘to go halting on one leg.’ ‘The sight of some churches fasting on the same day when others were rejoicing, and of two Passovers in one year, was against the very idea of Christian unity.’ ‘The celebration of it on the same day as was kept by the wicked race that put the Saviour to death was an impious absurdity.’ The first of these reasons determined that uniformity was to be enforced. The second determined that the older, or Jewish, practise must give way to the Christian innovation.”²⁸

Schaff presents the leading motive in this decision as follows:—

“The leading motive for this regulation was opposition to Judaism, which had dishonored the Passover by the crucifixion of the Lord. ‘We would,’ says the circular letter of Constantine in reference to the council of Nice, ‘we would have nothing in common with that most hostile people, the Jews; for we have received from the Redeemer another way of honoring God [the order of the days of the *week*]; and harmoniously adopting this method, we would withdraw ourselves from the evil fellowship of the Jews. For what they pompously assert, is really utterly absurd: that we can not keep this feast at all without their instruction. . . . It is our duty to have nothing in common with the murderers

²⁸ “Eastern Church,” lect. 5, p. 54.

of our Lord.' This bitter tone against Judaism runs through the whole letter."²⁷

The twentieth canon of the council records another important decision in favor of Sunday:—

"As some kneel on the Lord's days and on the days of Pentecost, the holy synod has decided that, for the observance of a general rule, all shall offer their prayers to God standing."²⁸

Sunday was honored by the Catholic Church as an assembly day, and it was acknowledged by the state as a legal holiday. But there was a disagreement in reference to the attitude of the worshiper, — some prayed kneeling, and some standing, upon that day. This canon decreed that there should be uniformity. By this canon the council set its seal upon the Sunday law passed by the state. Henceforth Sunday was not only the legal holiday of the state, but its observance was acknowledged and regulated by the action of the first general council of the church. To stand while praying is still the universal practise of the Eastern Church, while in the West, kneeling has gradually taken its place.

Hatred toward the Jews, the powerful motive in Gnosticism for setting aside the Old Testament, the decalogue, and the Sabbath, appears in the Catholic state church as the ruling motive in setting aside the Sabbath of the Lord. The Gnostic theory finds a ratified form of expression in the decrees of the council. Both Gnosticism and the coun-

²⁷ Third period, vol. 1, par. 79, p. 405.

²⁸ Hefele's "Councils," vol. 1, sec. 42, p. 434.

cil set aside the Sabbath of Jehovah; but, while the former introduced the no-law and the no-day doctrine, the latter sanctions the venerable day of the sun as the weekly festival of the Catholic Church under Constantine.

But while the emperor and the council showed such aversion to the Sabbath of the Lord, which was made for man several thousand years before a Jew existed, the inconsistency of their course appears in glaring colors as we read Eusebius's "Life of Constantine," and view their general attitude in the light of the facts presented there. This pliant church theologian, basking in the sunshine of imperial favor, compares Constantine to Moses of old. But before entering upon a consideration of this comparison, we will have to give some attention to the views of Eusebius about the Sabbath. They need to be studied to be understood. The Sabbath of the decalogue was to him a "part of the legislation of Moses," the "Jewish Sabbath." Of the patriarchs he says, "They did not, therefore, regard circumcision, nor observe the Sabbath, nor do we; neither do we abstain from certain foods, nor regard other injunctions, which Moses subsequently delivered to be observed in types and symbols, because such things as these do not belong to Christians."²⁹

But in his commentary on Psalm 92, "a song for the Sabbath day," while he states that the patriarchs had not the legal Jewish Sabbath, yet he

²⁹ "Ecclesiastical History," b. i. chap. 4.

claims that "they spent holy sabbaths which were acceptable to God."³⁰ In other words, he makes a clear distinction between the Sabbath of the decalogue and the spiritual sabbaths observed by the patriarchs.

Yet while Eusebius sets aside the Sabbath of the Lord as a "part of the legislation of Moses," and as the "Jewish Sabbath," he uses this very Moses, as well as the types and symbols of the ceremonial law, to establish an analogy between him and Constantine. Constantine as "the new Moses," grew up at the court of the pagan, antichristian emperors; he, like Moses, was appointed by the Lord to "be prince and sovereign." He likewise put Maxentius to flight, who, with his host, sank "to the bottom as a stone."³¹ How pleased Constantine himself was to accept the rôle of the second Moses, is evidenced by the fact that he is the founder of the Catholic theocracy, in imitation of the Mosaic, as is thus attested:—

"Constantine, the first Christian Cæsar . . . was the first representative of the imposing idea of a Christian theocracy, or of that system of policy which assumes all subjects to be Christians, connects civil and religious rights, and regards church and state as the two arms of one and the same divine government on earth."³² He went so far in this imitation of Moses that "he pitched the tabernacle without the camp," "thus following his ancient prophet." "He was always honored with a manifestation of his [God's] presence. And then, as if moved by a divine impulse, he

³⁰ "Commentary on the Psalms," quoted by Cox, vol. 1, 361.

³¹ "Life of Constantine," b. 1, chap. 38.

³² Third period. par. 2, vol. 1, p. 12.

would rush from the tabernacle, and suddenly give orders to his army." ³³

Thus Constantine, who "would have nothing in common with the Jews," professed to be a second Moses, to dwell in a tabernacle as he did, and to be guided even in warfare by oracles direct from God. To complete Constantine's analogy to Moses, Eusebius needed as "headstone" only to stamp Constantine a divine legislator, who, instead of the Sabbath of the Lord, branded as "Jewish," legalized a universal, holy, "spiritual" sabbath for pagan and Christian alike. The incontrovertible proof of this is furnished by Eusebius in his comments on Psalm 92. After stating the precept respecting the Sabbath, as addressed originally to the Jews, and mentioning the fact that they often violated it, he proceeds:—

"Wherefore as they [the Jews] rejected it [the Sabbatical command], the Word [Christ], by the new covenant, TRANSLATED and TRANSFERRED the feast of the Sabbath to the morning light, and gave us the symbol of true rest; viz., the saving Lord's day, the first [day] of the light, in which the Saviour of the world, after all his labors among men, obtained the victory over death, and passed the portals of heaven, having achieved a work superior to the six days' creation."

"On this day, which is the first [day] of light and of the true sun, we assemble, after an interval of six days, and celebrate holy and spiritual sabbaths, even all nations redeemed by him throughout the world, and do those things *according to the spiritual law*, which were decreed for the priests to do on the Sabbath, for we make spiritual offerings and sacrifices, which are called sacrifices of praise and rejoicing; we

³³ "Life of Constantine," b. 2. chap. 12.

make incense of good odor to ascend, . . . Yea, we also present the showbread, reviving the remembrance of our salvation, the blood of sprinkling, which is the Lamb of God. . . . In the morning, also, with the first rising of our light, we proclaim the mercy of God toward us; also his truth by night, exhibiting a sober and chaste demeanor; and all things whatsoever that it was duty to do on the Sabbath, THESE WE HAVE TRANSFERRED TO THE LORD'S DAY, as more appropriately belonging to it, because it has a precedence and is first in rank, and more honorable than the Jewish Sabbath. For on that day, in making the world, God said, Let there be light, and there was light; and on the same day, the Sun of Righteousness arose upon our souls. Wherefore it is delivered to us [handed down by tradition] that we should meet together on this day; and it is ordered that we should do those things announced in this psalm."⁴

At this very juncture, when the first Sunday law — pagan-Catholic, civil-religious — is promulgated, there appears also for the first time the doctrine of the translation and of the transference of the "feast of the Sabbath to the morning light." It is not the transference of the Sabbath based on the fourth commandment, for both the Sabbath and the decalogue are "Jewish" in his mind; but it is the translation of the spiritual sabbath already observed by the patriarchs, to the "day of light and of the true sun," to be kept "according to the spiritual law," which is the essence of the Levitical law, as set forth in the ninety-second psalm. While, in the first part of his comment, this transference is ascribed to the Word, that is, to Christ, he in the latter part ascribes it to the proper persons by saying "*we.*" *Wherefore* as the wicked Jews have rejected

⁴ Commentary on the Psalms," quoted by Cox, vol. 1, 361.

the Sabbath commandment, "*we*," that is, the Catholic bishops, with the help of Constantine's Sunday law, have transferred the spiritual duties of the Sabbath day to the day of the sun, and made it "more honorable" than the Sabbath of the Lord, in strange contrast to Isa. 58: 13.

Though the title of the ninety-second psalm most evidently applies to the Sabbath of the fourth commandment, given to Israel, yet Eusebius assumes that it does not so much respect the Jewish Sabbath; for "it signifies the Lord's day and the resurrection day, as we have proved in other places." These other places are Ps. 22: 29; 46: 5; 59: 16. The first of these scriptures he applies to the celebration of the Lord's supper every Sunday. On Ps. 46: 5 he comments: "I think that the psalmist describes the morning assemblies in which we are accustomed to convene throughout the world." Concerning Ps. 59: 16 he declares: "By this is prophetically signified the service which is performed very early and every morning of the resurrection day throughout the whole world." ³⁵

While any one reading the book of Psalms will certainly find neither prophecy nor allusion in it to any weekly assembly at sunrise on the day of the sun in honor of the resurrection, he will find, on the other hand, in this effort of Eusebius a labored attempt to manufacture for this pagan day of the sun some fanciful theory from the Scripture, by which this new legal holiday would seem "venerable" to

³⁵ Quoted by Cox, vol. 1, 360.

the Catholic as well as to the pagan. It is well to remember that Eusebius is the man who put the words Lord's day in the mouth of Irenæus.

Gnosticism, out of hatred to the Jews, set aside the whole of the Old Testament, and brought forward the no-day and no-law theory. The church in Constantine's day, blinded by the same hatred, modifies this by a theory of a spiritual sabbath according to a spiritual law, but at the same time enjoins this so-called "holy and spiritual sabbath" as the venerable day of the sun by carnal, civil, and ecclesiastical laws. And these "spiritual laws" are yet so carnal that they may be fulfilled by pagan soldiers directing a prescribed prayer to the sun-god; that markets may be held on the day thus ordained; and that the country people may follow their accustomed agricultural pursuits.

Step by step we have traced the establishment of a new theocracy under Constantine in imitation of the Mosaic, and we have found in the setting apart of Sunday the final seal of this unbiblical union between church and state. To appreciate fully the inconsistency of the course pursued by the Catholic Church when it cast aside the perpetual Sabbath of Jehovah as "Jewish," we must understand its attitude toward the Mosaic theocracy. In his wisdom, God established for Israel, when, coming up out of Egyptian bondage, they were slow of faith in comprehending things unseen, a visible theocracy. It had a typical mediatorial service, performed in the tabernacle or temple by the Levitical

priesthood, the head of which was the high priest, who offered up continual sacrifice. Moses, the prophets, and, later, the kings were the visible leaders of this theocracy, the true head being God himself. All this was but a type and shadow, and, as such, was to cease when Christ, the substance, had become the true Lamb of God and ascended on high, to officiate as the true high priest after the order of Melchisedec (and no longer of Levi) in the heavenly sanctuary, there to atone, through the merits of an ever-valid sacrifice, made once for all.

Any human effort to establish again such an outward mediatorial service on earth, is a denial of the true service of Christ on high, a "recasting of the Christian spirit in the Old Testament form," a return indeed to Judaism and to type truly Jewish; for these services have lost not only their typical significance, but their very performance is a denial of the appearance of the Messiah.

However, how early this effort appeared, is seen from the epistle of Clement of Rome, when the Christian ministry is significantly compared to the Aaronic priesthood. By the close of the second century all the bishops and presbyters were called priests, the bishop sometimes being styled high priest. Cyprian becomes the champion of priestly office. Eusebius bases his spiritual sabbath on the Levitical law, and uses the Mosaic theocracy as the pattern for the theocracy of Constantine, which finally results in the Papacy, where the hierarchical

and priestly system attains its full development. The church buildings also began to show the Mosaic type, containing an outer court, the holy, and the most holy places.³⁶ Furthermore, the Lord's supper was gradually changed into an atoning sacrifice, offered continually by an earthly priest in the mass, and claiming mediatorial virtue for both the living and the dead. The pleasing motive for this tendency is thus stated to us by Neander: —

"While the great principle of the New Testament is the unfolding of the kingdom of God from within, . . . the readmission of the Old Testament position, in making the kingdom of God outward, went on the assumption that an *outward mediation was necessary* in order to the spread of this kingdom in the world. Such a mediation was to form for the Christian church a priesthood fashioned after the model of that of the Old Testament."³⁷

And how far this theocratical theory had developed in the days of Constantine, the historian thus sets before us: —

"There had in fact arisen in the church . . . a false, theocratical theory, originating, not in the essence of the gospel, but in the confusion of the religious constitutions of the Old and New Testaments, which, grounding itself on the idea of a visible priesthood belonging to the essence of the church and governing the church, brought along with it an unchristian opposition of the spiritual to the secular power, and which might easily result in the formation of a sacerdotal state, subordinating the secular to itself in a false and outward way. . . . This theocratical theory was already the prevailing one in the time of Constantine."³⁸

³⁶ Bingham, vol. 1, b. 8. chap. 6. p. 297 ff.

³⁷ "Church History," vol. 1, p. 265.

³⁸ Id., vol. 3, p. 177.

The Catholic Church, again establishing a visible priesthood, tabernacles made by hand, and a mediatorial service fashioned after the Levitical, paved the way for the setting up of a complete, man-made theocracy. On the other hand, the paganism of Rome was none the less prepared for such a theocracy, as church and state were combined in it, and the emperor was ever the pontifex maximus. The golden moment to perfect such a theocracy had arrived when Constantine professed Christianity. That he aimed fully to establish a theocracy in Christianity similar to the Mosaic, is thus attested by Eusebius:—

“Lastly, invested as he is with a semblance of heavenly sovereignty, he directs his gaze above, and frames his earthly government to the pattern of that divine original, feeling strength in its conformity to the monarchy of God.”³⁹

And how carnal the perception of the kingdom of God had already become, is well illustrated by the fact that, when the bishops were seated as honored guests around the sumptuous banquet table with the emperor, Eusebius wrote: “One might have thought that a picture of Christ’s kingdom was thus shadowed forth.”⁴⁰

Further, when Constantine appointed his sons and nephews as Cæsars, this was said to be a fulfilment of Dan. 7: 18: “The saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom.”

However, Schaff thus shows how far Constantine

³⁹ “Oration in Praise of Constantine,” chap. 3.

⁴⁰ “Life of Constantine,” b. 3, chap. 15.

was from the kingdom, even after he had presided at the council of Nicæa:—

"The very brightest period of his reign is stained with gross crimes, which even the spirit of the age and the policy of an absolute monarch can not excuse. After having reached, upon the bloody path of war, the goal of his ambition, the sole possession of the empire, yea, in the very year in which he summoned the great council of Nicæa, he ordered the execution of his conquered rival and brother-in-law, Licinius, in breach of a solemn promise of mercy (324). Not satisfied with this, he caused, soon afterward, from political suspicion, the death of the young Licinius, his nephew, a boy of hardly eleven years. But the worst of all is the murder of his eldest son, Crispus, in 326, who had incurred suspicion of a political conspiracy, and of adulterous and incestuous purposes towards his stepmother, Fausta, but is generally regarded as innocent. . . . At all events, Christianity did not produce in Constantine a thorough moral transformation."⁴¹

The duplicity of Constantine's religious views continued until his death. He retained his office as the supreme pontiff of paganism. In A. D. 330, when he laid the foundation to a new capital, which was named Constantinople in his honor, the city was dedicated by heathen ceremonies in honor of the goddess of Fortune. He also had a marble statue erected in the forum, which is thus referred to by Stanley: It was "in the image of his ancient patron deity Apollo; but the glory of the sunbeams was composed of the emblems of the crucifixion, and underneath its feet were buried, in strange juxtaposition, a fragment of the 'true cross' and the ancient Palladium of Rome. On one side his coins

⁴¹ "History of Christian Church," third period, par. 2, pp. 16, 17.

bore the letters of the name of Christ; on the other, the figure of the sun-god and the inscription, '*Sol invictus.*'"⁴² Milman fitly asks: "Is this paganism approximating to Christianity, or Christianity degenerating into paganism?"⁴³

And that this duplicity of Constantine continued until his death is thus testified by his own words, as quoted by Schaff: "When at last on his death-bed he submitted to baptism, with the remark, 'Now let us cast away all *duplicity*,' he honestly admitted the conflict of two antagonistic principles which swayed his private character and public life."⁴⁴ Stanley thus fittingly reviews his course:—

"So passed away the first Christian emperor, the first defender of the faith,—the first imperial patron of the Papal See, and of the whole Eastern Church,—the first founder of the holy places,—pagan and Christian, orthodox and heretical, liberal and fanatical, not to be imitated or admired, but much to be remembered, and deeply to be studied."⁴⁵

As "the significant and effective expression of the union" between paganism and Christianity, and as the fitting seal of the false theocracy, we have, in lasting memory of Constantine's duplicity, the first imperial law and the first canon of a general council in favor of the venerable day of the sun as "the spiritual sabbath" of the new covenant.

⁴² "Eastern Church," lect. 6, p. 184.

⁴³ "History of Christianity," b. 3, chap. 3, p. 341.

⁴⁴ "History of the Christian Church," third period, vol. 1, par. 2, p. 18.

⁴⁵ "Eastern Church," lect. 6, p. 210.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LEGAL LORD'S DAY

Friday the universal, legal, weekly holiday — Canons of the council of Laodicea — Sunday fasting anathematized — Civil legislation — Laws of Valentinian, Valens, Theodosius (Sen.) — Councils troublesome occasions — Agitation for the change of the heathen name — Church attendance and communion service enforced on Sunday — Attendance at shows forbidden — Athanasius — Gregory of Nyassa — Ambrose — Jerome — Augustine — Chrysostom — Apostolic Constitutions — Paganized Christian worship — Christmas — Wilberforce on Sunday evolution — Court sessions of the "rightly" called Lord's day sacrilegious.

BY the almost simultaneous enactments of state and church, Sunday, hitherto voluntarily observed in honor of the rising sun and as a memorial of the resurrection, was transformed into a weekly legal holiday, and a binding religious ordinance, in which the rests of pagan and Catholic were made to synchronize. In the eyes of the pagan the day of the sun, in its weekly recurrence, was henceforth *venerable* unto him by his highest civil and ecclesiastical authority. In the eyes of the Catholic it was the weekly holiday enjoined by the imperial law, and sanctioned by an ordinance of the general council. Thus the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities enforced Sunday as the universal legal weekly holiday for all the subjects of the vast empire. But these legal holidays were only regarded as rest days from the common vocations of life in so far as the enacted laws demanded it.

Influenced by Gnostic theology, which had spiritualized the law and the Sabbath into a no-law and no-day theory, the church Fathers had hitherto

"usually explained the Sabbath of the commandment as meaning the new era, which had been introduced by the advent of Christ, and interpreted the rest enjoined as cessation from sin."¹ Accordingly, the members of their flock, after having attended the early morning assembly, would follow their occupation. Constantine's Sunday laws only paved the way for services during the day, and yet he ordained markets, let the country people work, and put no restraint on the pursuit of pleasure. Furthermore, as the church Fathers had spiritualized the "rest" into ceasing from sin, the Catholic could be urged to rest on Sunday only to that degree prescribed by the civil and ecclesiastical laws.

As to the manner in which the pagans spent their holidays, we had occasion to note the complaints of Tertullian as to the excesses committed by them on their feast-days, and how the Christians were influenced by them to join them in their pleasures. With the declining empire, and the increasing apostasy of the church, the succeeding church Fathers were caused to lament this pleasure-seeking tendency more and more. As there was no divine command advanced demanding rest, the only seeming remedy was to be sought in the increase of state and church Sunday legislation.

Again, asceticism had steadily increased, and with it, fasting had become a standing custom with some. This was especially true of sects of Gnostic tendency, such as the Cerdonians, Marcionites, Priscillianists,

¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ninth edition, vol. 22, p. 654, article, "Sunday."

Manicheans, etc. As Sunday had become a church ordinance of a joyous nature, upon which fasting was forbidden, this tendency to observe no day, and to fast upon any day, had to be restrained by church councils pronouncing anathemas against Sunday fasting.

Further, since the day of the sun was the heathen designation of the first day of the week, used also by the pagan state in its civil laws, there would naturally accompany the increasing sanctity of the day and the change into a "Christian" empire, an agitation in favor of conferring some legal Christian title upon it.

Finally, the believers in the binding claims of the true Sabbath would, constrained by God's law and Spirit, continue to rest upon it according to the commandment, unless they were restrained from doing so by civil and ecclesiastical laws of human origin. The matter relating to the Sabbath, we shall set forth in the next chapter, and ample evidence will be forthcoming establishing what we have just asserted about Sunday.

That the sanctification of Sunday was not commanded by the church before the fourth century, is thus attested by a standard Catholic Church lexicon: "The sanctification of Sunday appears as a commandment of the church in the beginning of the fourth century."²

The first general council legislating on Sunday was that of Nicæa, held only four years after the

² Wetzer & Welte, Kirchenlexikon, article, "Kirchenjahr," 7. 582.

enactment of the first Sunday law. The next authentic council is that of Laodicea, held between 343 and 381 A. D. The following canons of this council touch both Sabbath and Sunday:—

"CANON 16.—On Saturday the Gospels and other portions of the Scripture shall be read aloud."

"CANON 29.—Christians shall not Judaize and be idle on Saturday, but shall work on that day; but the Lord's day they shall especially honor, and, as being Christians, shall, if possible, do no work on that day. If, however, they are found Judaizing, they shall be shut out from Christ."

"CANON 49.—During Lent, the bread shall not be offered, except on Saturday and Sunday."

"CANON 51.—During Lent, no feasts of the martyrs shall be celebrated, but the holy martyrs shall be commemorated on the Saturdays and Sundays of Lent."³

The following comment of Hefele is helpful to a full understanding of canon 16: "It was also the custom in many provinces of the ancient church to observe Saturday as the feast of creation."⁴

A careful reading of the four canons reveals that stress is laid upon "especially" honoring Sunday (canon 29), "and, as being Christians," they "shall, *if possible, do no work* on that day;" but, as "Christians," they "shall not Judaize and be idle on Saturday, but *shall work* on that day." An anathema is placed upon him who strictly rests on the Sabbath—he is to be excommunicated. On the other hand, to make the transition somewhat easier to those who feared this excommunication, Saturday is to

³ Hefele's "Councils," vol. 2, b. 6, par. 93. In all these quotations the English translator of Hefele has incorrectly used *Saturday* for "the Sabbath."

⁴ *Id.*

enjoy the same privileges as Sunday: even during Lent, bread can be offered upon it, and the memorial services of the saints may be held. Yea, being as yet observed by many as the "feast of creation," the Holy Scriptures are still to be read upon it. It is tolerated as a *holy day* on an equal footing with Sunday, but it dare not be kept as a *rest day*. Thus Sunday is elevated, and the Sabbath degraded. This furnishes another positive proof that Sunday was not regarded as the Sabbath. "Dr. Heurtley, in commenting on the words 'if possible,' observes that probably the early Christians were not masters of their own time."⁵ This tells the whole tale: a holy day in memory of the resurrection worked no hardship, since imperial law had sanctioned it as such, and it was popular even among the pagans; but a rest day at that time would have worked hardship, since the civil law had not as yet made provision for it.

This same council forbade participation in the festivities of the Jews and the pagans. About this time the council of Gangra was held. It pronounced the anathema of the church against those who, on account of their pretended asceticism, made Sunday a day of fasting (for they were not Catholics at all, but savored of the Manichean heresy), as well as against those who despised the house of God, and frequented schismatical assemblies.⁶ The great effort the Catholic Church had to put forth

⁵ Univ. Sermon on Lord's Day, p. 15, quoted by Hessey, p. 316, note 230.

⁶ Hefele's Councils, vol. 1, p. 94.

to stop fasting on Sunday is best seen from Bingham's long list of councils, church Fathers, and popes who condemned the practise, beginning with Tertullian (A. D. 200) and extending down to the Trullan council in A. D. 692.⁷ The reason for not fasting appears from the *Constitutions*:—

"Every Sabbath save one, viz., the great Sabbath before Easter, and every Lord's day, ye shall keep as a festival. For whoever fasts on the Lord's day (the day of his resurrection), or whoever makes Pentecost or the Lord's day a day of sorrow, is guilty of sin; for upon those days we ought to rejoice, and not to mourn."⁸

Cassian (360-435) gives the same reason for this, and adds that "our forefathers, out of respect to the resurrection of the Lord, have handed down the custom not to fast or to bend the knee on the Lord's day."⁹

A few more samples of the work of these councils will suffice. The fourth council of Carthage (A. D. 398) declares in canon 64: "He who fasts on Sunday is not accounted a Catholic." And in canon 65: "Easter must be celebrated everywhere at the same time."¹⁰ The council of Braga (about 411 A. D.), canon 4, "anathematizes the Cerdonians, Marcionites, Priscillianists, and Manicheans for their perverseness in this particular."¹¹ To these, the Eustathians are to be added.

While the Catholic Church spared no effort to

⁷ "Antiquities," vol. 2, b. 20, chap. 2, sec. 5.

⁸ Apostolic Constitutions, lib. 5, cap. 20.

⁹ Coll. 21 cap. 20.

¹⁰ "Konziliengeschichte," vol. 2, par. 3, p. 74.

¹¹ Bingham's Antiquities, vol. 2, b. 20, chap. 2, p. 293.

anathematize those who, true to their spiritualizing Gnostic idea, esteemed no day in particular, and refused to honor the Catholic memorial of the resurrection by not fasting, yet, as we shall see in the next chapter this same Catholic Church turned about and degraded the Sabbath by converting it into a fast-day — a day of mourning — instead of joy in the Lord. It was then and there that the Trullan council (A. D. 692, in Canon 55 or 56) reminded the Roman Church that it should revive the ancient canon which says: "If any clergyman be found to fast on the Lord's day or on the Sabbath, one only excepted, let him be deposed; if a layman, let him be excommunicated."¹²

The civil laws, however, furnish the true keynote to the changed tone in Sunday legislation. Over forty years elapse before emperors Valentinian and Valens issue the following law (A. D. 368): —

"On the day of the sun, which for some time has been considered as a good omen, we do not wish any Christian to be summoned by the exactors; this our statute forbids, under penalty of law, to those who dare to do it."¹³

In A. D. 386 these two laws were issued by Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, Sen.: —

"On the day of the sun, let none of the judges permit public shows to the people, and let him not confound the divine veneration by arranging entertainments."¹⁴

"On the day of the sun, which our forefathers rightly called the Lord's day, let all prosecutions of causes, controversial business, and disputes be wholly laid aside: let no one demand

¹² Bingham, vol. 2, b. 20, chap. 3, p. 300.

¹³ Cod. Theod., lib. 8, tit. 8, lex. 1.

¹⁴ *Iu.*, 15, 5, lex. 2.

either a public or a private debt: let there be no hearing of causes either before arbitrators appointed by law, or voluntarily chosen. And let him be accounted not only infamous, but sacrilegious also, whosoever departs from the rule and custom of our holy religion."¹⁵

In A. D. 389 another law, given by Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, confirmed all this, but its prohibition reckons as judicial holidays, exempt from business, four weeks of harvesting and four weeks of vintage, the calends of January, and the days on which Rome and Constantinople were founded; then the seven days before and after Easter, the weekly recurring day of the sun, the feast of the Nativity and of Epiphany, and the birthday of the emperor, and the anniversary of the beginning of the empire—in all, there were one hundred twenty-four judicial holidays.¹⁶

These three laws serve as an excellent comment on the gradual change in Sunday legislation. They become more stringent, and the transgressor is already "accounted not only infamous, but *sacrilegious* also," departing "from the rule and custom of our holy religion."

Theodosius (380–395) labored for the supremacy of the Catholic religion. He issued a series of laws against all heretics, and prohibited the visiting of heathen temples, under heavy fines.¹⁷ It was at this time that Gregory Nazianzen, then bishop of Constantinople, resigned (A. D. 381) the presidency of the council held there, saying: "Must we always

¹⁵ Cod. Theod., 8, 8, 1.

¹⁶ *Id.*, 2, 8, lex 2.

¹⁷ Schaff, third period, vol. 1, par. 6, p. 63.

be only derided as infallible, and be animated only by one thing—the spirit of strife?”¹⁸ “I never saw a council of bishops come to a good end.” “I salute them afar off, since I know how troublesome they are.” “I nevermore will sit in those assemblies of cranes and geese.”¹⁹

Until A. D. 386 all the legal documents used the heathen designation, “day of the sun.” Now that paganism has become the forbidden religion, and Catholicism has been established by the state, we find the adage, “which our fathers *rightly* called the Lord’s day.” Philastrius of Brescia, at the end of the fourth century, censures the heathen names of the week-days as heretical.²⁰ By the middle of the fifth century, Bishop Maximus, of Turin, writes: “The Lord’s day, called the day of the sun by the people of the world.”²¹ In consequence of this agitation, the Romanic races, where the Latin Church was predominant, adopted for Sunday the term *Dominicum*, which is *Domenica* in the Italian, *Domingo* in the Spanish and Portuguese, and *Dimanche* in the French; while the Teutonic races have retained the ancient name, Sunday, *Sonntag*, etc.; and in the Slavonic, it is called *Voskresinje*, “resurrection day.”

By the end of the fourth century, church and state combined had succeeded in elevating Sunday to the only legal weekly holiday, and placing it on a level with

¹⁸ Id., vol. 2, par. 166, p. 919. ¹⁹ Epist. 124, 136; Carm. 17, 91.

²⁰ De haer., 113.

²¹ Zeitschrift f. deutsche Wortforschung, Strassburg, 1901, p. 184.

the annual holidays, such as Easter, Pentecost, etc. But human laws can not create a divine sanctity.

The Apostolic Canons threaten excommunication to any one celebrating Easter with the Jews, or attending divine service without partaking of the Lord's supper; the synods of Antioch (A. D. 341), Toledo (A. D. 400), and the fourth synod of Carthage (A. D. 436) do the same, while, in canon 24, the last-mentioned synod adds, "Whoever leaves the church during the sermon of the priest, shall be excommunicated." In A. D. 345 the council of Sardica directly specifies that if any one neglects divine service for three Lord's days in succession, he is to be excommunicated.²² Schaff's comments are to the point: —

"Many a council here confounded the legal and the evangelical principles, thinking themselves able to enforce by threatening penalties what has moral value only as a voluntary act."²³

We have found that Tertullian already complained that the Christians would attend the heathen amusements. This had increased to such an extent by the fourth century that Chrysostom (347-395) threatened excommunication to those who would attend public games, which he styles "the conventions of Satan."²⁴ The fourth council of Carthage (canon 88) decreed: "He who neglects divine service on the

²² Hefele, "Konziliengeschichte," vol. 1, par. 56, pp. 513, 514; par. 64, p. 592; Apostolic Canons, 8, 10; Anhang, pp. 802, 803; vol. 2, par. 111, p. 71; par. 112, p. 79.

²³ Third period, par. 75, p. 382.

²⁴ Hom. 6. in Gen. T. 2, p. 53.

festivals, and goes instead to the theater, shall be excommunicated.”²⁵ The fifth Carthaginian council (A. D. 401) decreed (canon 5): “On Sundays and feast-days, no plays may be performed.”²⁶ And because “the people congregate to the circus rather than to the church,” the same council petitioned Emperor Honorius “that the public shows might be transferred from the Christian Sunday and from feast-days to some other days of the week.”²⁷

However, Honorius did not grant this petition, but he did issue (A. D. 409) a very humanitarian Sunday law, which ordained that the judges, under the penalty of a heavy fine for disobedience, should visit the prisons to see whether the jailers had denied the prisoners any office of humanity, and to give the jailer sufficient means to provide food for the poor. The inmates of the prison should enjoy the privilege of a bath or a wash outside the prison, on Sunday. The bishops were to remind the judges of their duty.²⁸

But the request of the fifth council of Carthage was granted by the successor of Honorius, in the law passed by Theodosius, Jun., and Valentinian, A. D. 425: —

“On the Lord's day (which is the first day of the whole seven), also on the feast of the Nativity, the Epiphany of Christ, and the days of Pentecost, let the people throughout all the towns be refused all the pleasure of the theaters and of the circus, and let all the minds of the Christian believers be occupied with the worship of God. And if some, through

²⁵ Councils, vol. 2, par. 111.

²⁶ Id., par. 113, p. 423. ²⁷ Neander's Church History, vol. 3, p. 404.

²⁸ Cod. Theod., 9, 3, lex. 7.

inconsiderateness of Jewish impiety or through the error of stolid paganism, are captivated by senseless entertainments, let them know that there is a time for prayer and a time for pleasure."²⁹

The following comment from Neander is significant:—

"First, in the year 425, the exhibition of spectacles on Sunday, and on the principal feast-days of the Christians, was forbidden, in order that the devotion of the faithful might be free from all disturbance. In this way, the church received help from the state for the furtherance of her ends, which could not be obtained in the preceding period. But had it not been for that confusion of spiritual and secular interests, had it not been for the vast number of mere *outward conversions* thus brought about, she would have needed no such help. The spirit of church fellowship could effect more in those ancient times than all which the outward force of political law and a stricter church discipline could now do, towards restraining or expelling such as had never been brought to feel the inward power of that spirit; and the church of those times could well dispense, therefore, with the outward support."³⁰

As a fitting conclusion to this part of the subject, we quote the law of Emperor Leo, A. D. 469:—

"We do not wish that the festival days dedicated to the highest Majesty, be occupied with pleasure, nor profaned by any vexations caused by judicial exactions. Likewise do we decree that the Lord's day be ever revered as so honorable that it should be exempted from all compulsory processes: let no summons urge any man; let no one be required to give security for the payment of a fund held by him in trust; let the sergeants of the court be silent; let the pleader cease his labors; let that day be a stranger to trials; let the

²⁹ Cod. Theod., 15, 5, lex. 5.

³⁰ Neander's Church History, vol. 3, p. 405.

harsh voice of the crier be unheard; let the litigants have breathing time and an interval of truce; let the rival disputants have an opportunity of meeting without fear — of comparing the arrangement made in their name, and arranging the terms of compromise.

"However, that the rest of this religious day be not relaxed, we suffer not that it be filled with obscene pleasures. Let nothing vindicate stage plays on that day, or games of the circus, or the lamentable hunting down of wild beasts. And if it happens that any of our birthdays fall upon Sunday, let it be changed. The loss of military rank and the forfeiting of patrimony are the penalties if any one attends these games on this feast-day, or if any officer of the judicial court, under the pretense of public or private business, dares to despise these enactments." ³¹

The following from a church historian on all the post-Constantine Sunday laws is to the point:—

"Hereafter, this outward rest from all occupation on the said day was ever confirmed by emperors and other Christian princes, and it has continued until our day — partially with increased rigor, and partially amidst many abuses — without having anywhere attained its main object, except with a few Christians." ³²

After having so fully discussed the imperial laws and the ecclesiastical canons of the fourth and fifth centuries in favor of Sunday, the statements of the church Fathers of that period remain to be considered. Following the spiritualizing method of the early Fathers, the later ones spare no effort in manufacturing new, fanciful rhetorical phrases to surround Sunday with greater luster, and to cause the Sabbath to fade out of sight.

³¹ Baron. *Annal. eccl.*, year 469, Numb. 7, 8.

³² Schröckh *Kirchengesch.* 5, 101.

Athanasius, of Alexandria (A. D. 326), gives us a fair sample. The sixth psalm is said to be upon the *Sheminith* (the eighth), an instrument for the eighth key. This is seized upon by Athanasius as a proof for Sunday: "What else could this octave be, but the resurrection day of Christ?" Then again, speaking of Ps. 118:24: "What day can this be but the resurrection day of the Lord . . . which has received its name from him, to wit, the Lord's day?"³³ A treatise ascribed to him says that the Sabbath, the end of the old creation, has deceased, and that the Lord's day, the commencement of the new creation, has set in. "The Sabbath," instead of being instituted for the sake of mere inactivity, "is the gnosis of the Creator and rest from the form of this creation," *i. e.*, rest from sin.³⁴ A passage from another work attributed to him is sometimes quoted: "The Lord has transferred the day of the Sabbath to the Lord's day." Hessey remarks: "Even admitting, which we can not, the treatise to be genuine, the words need mean, when taken with the context, no more than this: 'The Sabbath . . . is no more. The truth, and the Lord of truth, have been manifested, and are commemorated in the Lord's day.'"³⁵ Cox says that "undue importance" has often been attributed to this statement, which means to say only that Christ, by rising on the first day of the week, gave occasion

³³ Hessey, pp. 68-70; Kirchengväter, Athanasius, 2, 381.

³⁴ *De Sabbatis et Circumcisione* (Opera, tom. 2, 42, Patav. 1777).

³⁵ *Homil., de Semente* (Opera 1, 835, edition 1600), Hessey, lect. 3, p. 70.

to such a transfer being made later. "The early Fathers give no support, direct or indirect, to the notion that the Sabbath had been transferred at all; but it is not surprising that those who wrote after the enactment by Constantine that Sunday should be kept as a *sabbath*, were more apt to discover reasons for such an observance of it than their predecessors had been while the imperial edict had no existence."³⁶

Macarius, an Egyptian presbyter, A. D. 350, spiritualizes the Sabbath almost in the words of Justin Martyr: "It was a type and shadow of the true Sabbath given by the Lord to the soul." "The Lord, when he came, gave man the true and eternal Sabbath, and this is freedom from sin." "They who rest from sin, keep a true, delightful, and holy Sabbath."³⁷

Hilary, of Poitiers (A. D. 350), commenting on Psalm 92, makes the whole of this life a preparation for the eternal Sabbath of the next, just as Friday was the preparation day for the Sabbath. In his preface to the Psalms he remarks: "As there is constituted in the seventh day both the name and the observance of the Sabbath, yet we rejoice in the festivity of a perfect sabbath on the eighth day, which is also the first."³⁸

Epiphanius, of Cyprus, in A. D. 368, claims that

³⁶ Cox, I, 257.

³⁷ Homil. 35. Kirchengäter. Markarius, pp. 348, 349.

³⁸ Hilary. Opera I, col. 270. Vernon, 1730; Prolegom., par. 12, tom. I, col. 8.

the apostles instituted Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday as festivals. The Sabbath he terms the "one in the law, the small Sabbath," in contrast with the "great sabbath," which is Christ himself. The Sabbath was allegorical of rest from sin.³⁹

Basil, of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia (A. D. 370), also claims to find Sunday, that is, the first day, yet mentioned as the eighth day, in the titles of the Psalms. The Lord's day sets forth the condition of things after this life is ended, "the day never to cease." "The church prays on it standing," and also "toward the east, in recollection of Eden, as a very ancient tradition." As he dwells considerably "on the unwritten mysteries of the church," this very likely is one of them.⁴⁰

Gregory, of Nyssa (A. D. 372), caps the climax in allegorical phrases, when, in his first Easter sermon, he thus speaks of the resurrection day and the Sabbath preceding it:—

"Behold in this the blessed Sabbath of the first creation! Recognize in that Sabbath this Sabbath. Upon this the only begotten God rested indeed, when he in the gospel plan of death observed the Sabbath after the flesh, and when returning to what he was before, he raised with him everything that was lying down, and became to those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, life, resurrection, dawn, and day." "This is the day which God made; it differs from the days which God made at the creation to measure time. It marks the beginning of a new creation. Then on this day God created a new heaven and a new earth—the firmament of faith in Christ, and the good soil of

³⁹ Epiphanius *Expos. Fid. Cathol.*, c. 22, tom. I, p. 1104.

⁴⁰ Basil, *Lib. de Spiritu Sancto.*, c. 27, 3, 56, par. 1730.

the heart." "Sabbath-keeping implies inactivity with reference to evil."⁴¹

Ambrose, of Milan (A. D. 374), in his funeral oration in honor of Theodosius, makes death "the great sabbath rest, in which the saints are lifted above earthly feeling and knowing, and wholly absorbed in the knowledge of the heavenly secrets, belonging only to God. This is the rest of that Sabbath, where God really rests from *all* works of the world." He frequently speaks of Sunday as a festival — those who fast upon it are heretical, as the Manichean. In contrasting the Lord's day with the Sabbath, he gives the prerogative to the former.⁴²

Gregory Nazianzen (A. D. 372) "has a curious discussion on the qualities of the number seven," as revealed in oration 41, "On Pentecost," in Select Library 7, 379: —

"Let us reason a little about the festival, that we may keep it spiritually. Thus the veneration paid to the number seven gave use also to the veneration of Pentecost. For seven being multiplied by seven generates fifty all but one day, which we borrow from the world to come, at once the eighth and the first, or rather one and indestructible. For the present sabbatism of our souls can find its cessation there, that a portion may be given to seven and also to eight."

Jerome (A. D. 392) wants to have the law understood spiritually. We are not to be of the six days, *i. e.*, we are not to be men of this world. We are

⁴¹ Kirchengväter, Gregory, 5, Nyssa, 2, 299-321.

⁴² Kirchengväter, Ambrosius, 2, 354; Epist. 23, par 11, tom. 2, col. 936; Enarrat. ad Psalm 43, tom. 1, col. 887.

to keep the Sabbath in its true sense by abstaining from sin.⁴³ On Galatians 4, he remarks:—

“Lest the congregation of the people without good order should diminish the faith in Christ, therefore certain days were appointed, wherein we should come together: not that this day is holier than the others in which we come together, but that whatsoever day we assemble in, there might arise greater joy by the sight of one of us to another.”⁴⁴

That he thus regarded Sunday himself, appears from the way he describes his Sunday recreations, when he, as a youth, penetrated the catacombs.⁴⁵ And that Sunday was thus regarded even by pious Catholics of his time, is seen from his statement about the abbess Paula:—

“Only on the Lord’s day they went to church, lying near their dwelling. Every company followed their own matron, and, returning in like manner, they zealously continued the work apportioned to them, and made clothes either for themselves or for others.”⁴⁶

The numerous writings of Augustine (A. D. 395) are a mine of information as to the current theology of that age, including the law, the Sabbath, and Sunday. We select but a few of the most striking passages on these topics.

Concerning the Sabbath Commandment:—

“Therefore, among all the ten commandments this only that is spoken of the Sabbath is to be observed figuratively. It devolves upon us to understand the figure, but not to accustom ourselves to bodily idleness. For the Sabbath signifies

⁴³ In Isaiam, cap. 56, tom. 4, p. 656.

⁴⁴ Remains, 4, 232-3, quoted by Cox, vol. 1, 135, 136.

⁴⁵ See Hessey, pp. 74, 75.

⁴⁶ Kirchenväter, Hieronymus, 2, 128.

spiritual rest. But we must observe all the other commandments literally, as they are commanded, without any figure of speech. . . . The observance of the Sabbath is not commanded to us in a literal sense as abstinence from bodily labor, as the Jews understand it; and the very manner in which they observe the commandment according to the letter would be ridiculous, if it did not signify another rest—the spiritual.”⁴⁷

Concerning Sunday:—

“That day which we now call Sunday is the first day of the week, as is clearly seen from the Gospels. The first day of the week is thus named as the day of the resurrection of the Lord, by all the four evangelists, and it is known that this is the day which was *later* called the Lord’s day.”⁴⁸

“Sunday was not appointed for the Jews, but through the resurrection of the Lord, for Christians, and thence it began to have its festivity.” “The power of the resurrection symbolizes the eighth day, which is the same as the first because it does not do away with the rest, but glorifies it. While this spiritual signification was not as yet revealed,—but was veiled,—there was the Sabbath observance, the significance of which was foreseen by the Fathers who were filled with the spirit of prophecy: one psalm is entitled, ‘For the Octave.’ Children are circumcised on the eighth day. And in Eccl. 11 : 2 the old and new covenants are distinguished in the words, ‘Give a portion to seven, and also to eight.’”⁴⁹

“We celebrate the Lord’s day and Easter, and other Christian festivities; but because we know to what they appertain, we observe not the times, but what is signified by the times.” “The difference of the two covenants we thus judge: in one are the burdens of slaves; in the other, the glory of the free.”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ To January, epist. 119; Kirchenväter, Augustinus 7, c. 22, p. 258.

⁴⁸ To Casulanus, epist. 28; Kirchenväter 7, 149.

⁴⁹ To January, epist. 119; Augustinus 7, c. 23, pp. 259, 260.

⁵⁰ Contra Adim., tom. 10, col. 162, 4th Bass. 1797-1807.

On the Rule of Faith:—

"All such things that are not founded in the Scriptures, nor ordained in the council of the bishops, nor have attained force from the custom of the whole church, . . . can, according to my opinion, be set aside without question, as far as ever possible."⁵¹

On Sunday Fasting:—

"To fast on the Lord's day is a great scandal, especially since resembling that detestable heresy, Manicheanism, which is decidedly opposed to the Catholic faith and the divine Scriptures." "Its professors have in a way appointed it to their disciples as the regular day for fasting, and this fact makes it the more horrible to fast on that day."⁵²

On the Eternal Sabbath:—

"The course of time is divided into six ages, . . . the sixth from Jesus Christ till the end of the world. We are in the sixth age, which answers to the sixth day of the creation; it is that in which man was made in the image of God. . . . Let thus the reformation of the inner man now effect in us what the formation of the first man did then in him; and let the second creation restore us to the condition in which Adam was placed by the first. After the age in which we are will come the repose promised to the saints, and figured by the rest of God."⁵³

A passage taken from a treatise entitled *De Tempore*, which is attributed to Augustine, and is often quoted in favor of the transference of the day, is now "universally admitted by scholars to be of doubtful, and probably of later authorship." Dr. Pusey justly remarks that it is "later than the eighth

⁵¹ To January, epist. 119; Augustinus 7, c. 36, p. 273.

⁵² Epist. 36, ad Casulanum, cap. 12, tom. 2, col. 1651.

⁵³ Sermons on the New Testament, quoted in Cox, 1, 369.

century, since it incorporates a passage of Alcuin.”⁵⁴ Dr. Th. Zahn verifies this by saying that chapter 27 of the pseudo-Alcuin book *De Divinis Officiis* (Migne, ser. 2, tom. 101, p. 1226 sq.) seems to be quoted here word for word.⁵⁵ However, we shall quote it in substance, as then the forgery appears all the more glaring:—

“It appears from the Sacred Scriptures that this day was a solemn one; it was the first day of the age, that is, of the existence of our world; in it the elements of the world were formed; on it the angels were created; on it Christ rose also from the dead; on it the Holy Spirit descended from heaven upon the apostles, as manna had done in the wilderness. For these and other such circumstances the Lord’s day is distinguished; and therefore the holy doctors of the church have decreed that all the glory of the Jewish Sabbath is transferred to it. Let us therefore keep the Lord’s day as the ancients were commanded to do the Sabbath.”

Further, he admonishes them:—

“From the evening of the Sabbath to that of the Lord’s day they should abstain from their usual pursuits,—that they should not spend the day in hunting, that they should not engage even in rural occupations,—but that they should attend the public worship of God.”⁵⁶

Such a supposed transference of the Sabbath to Sunday, and such requirements concerning its observance, do not fit Augustine’s time any better than a law ascribed by a number of writers to Emperor Leo (A. D. 469): “That all, husbandmen as well as others, should forbear work on this day

⁵⁴ Hessey, p. 307, note 202.

⁵⁵ Geschichte des Sonntags, p. 77, note 48.

⁵⁶ *Augustini Opera*, vol. 10, p. 397, quoted in Cox, “Sabbath Laws,” p. 284.

of our restoration." Both of these breathe the spirit of the Middle Ages, and just as Cox and Hessey rightly assign this law to Emperor Leo the Philosopher (A. D. 910), so this passage from *De Tempore* belongs to pseudo-Alcuin of the same period.⁶⁷

How anxiously Augustine sought for supposed reasons to make Sunday honorable, is seen from the fact that he supplied a number of new reasons, "very questionable" indeed: On the first day of the week, Israel was delivered from Egypt. On it Christ was born, circumcised, worshiped by the Gentiles, baptized, performed his first miracle, and manifested his glory; and on that day "we look for his appearance again when he shall come to judgment."⁶⁸

But how little he satisfies Sunday Sabbatarians is indicated by the following words of Schaff: "Augustine likewise directly derives Sunday from the resurrection, and not from the fourth commandment."⁶⁹

Chrysostom, of Constantinople, A. D. 398, completes the list.

Concerning the Sabbath Commandment:—

"When God formed man, he implanted within him from the beginning a natural law. And what then was this natural law? He gave utterance to conscience within us, and made the knowledge of good things, and of those which are the contrary, to be self-taught." "For what purpose,

⁶⁷ Cox, I, 422; Hessey, p. 89.

⁶⁸ August. Opp., tom. 10, fol. 238b, edition 1531, quoted in Cox, I, p. 456.

⁶⁹ Church History, third period, par. 75, vol. I, p. 384.

then, I ask, did he add a reason respecting the Sabbath, but did no such thing in regard to murder?—Because this commandment was not one of the leading ones. It was not one of those which were accurately defined of our conscience, but a kind of partial and temporary one; and for this reason it was abolished afterwards.”⁶⁰

“The Jews think that the Sabbath was given them for ease and rest: its true purpose, however, is not this, but that they may withdraw themselves from worldly affairs, and bestow all their study and labor upon spiritual things.”⁶¹

The Sabbath a type of the Lord’s day:—

“Now already from the beginning God offered us instruction typically, teaching us to dedicate and separate the one day in the circle of the week wholly to employment in things spiritual.”⁶²

Comment on 1 Cor. 16: 2:—

“Paul said not, ‘Let him bring it into the church,’ lest they might feel ashamed of the smallness of the sum; but, ‘having by gradual addition swelled his contribution, let him then produce it when I am come; but for the present lay it up,’ said he, ‘at home, and make thine house a church, thy little box a treasury. Become a guardian of sacred wealth, a self-ordained steward of the poor.’”⁶³

Sunday Observance:—

“You ought not, when you have retired from the church assembly, to involve yourselves in engagements contrary to the exercises with which you have been occupied, but immediately on coming home read the Sacred Scriptures, and call together the family, wife and children, to confer

⁶⁰ Homil. on the Statues, pp. 208, 209, Oxford, 1842.

⁶¹ Homil. 35, tom. 5, p. 227.

⁶² Homil. on Statues, vol. 9, p. 209.

⁶³ Homil. to 1 Cor., p. 606, Oxford, 1839.

about the things that have been spoken, and after they have been more deeply and thoroughly impressed upon the mind, then proceed to attend to such matters as are necessary for this life." ⁶⁴

In the same year (398) Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, issued his edict about the festival of Theophany, the beginning words of which we may quote here once more: "Both custom and reason challenge from us that we honor and keep holy the Lord's day, seeing on that day it was that our Lord Jesus completed his resurrection from the dead. Therefore, in the Holy Scriptures, it is called as well the first, because it is the beginning of our life, as also the eighth day, because it has excelled the Sabbath observance of the Jews." ⁶⁵

To this age belong also the so-called Apostolical Constitutions. They enjoin assembling for worship every day, "but principally on the Sabbath day. And on the day of our Lord's resurrection, which is the Lord's day, meet more diligently, sending praise to God," etc. The object of assembling was "to hear the saving word concerning the resurrection," to "pray thrice standing," to have the prophets read, to have preaching, and also the supper." ⁶⁶ Then in book 8. par. 33:—

"I Peter and I Paul have ordained, let the servants work five days, but cease from labor and be at church on the Sabbath and on the Lord's day, that they may be taught re-

⁶⁴ Homil. on Matt., part 2, Oxford, 1844.

⁶⁵ See chap. 14, p. 13. of this work.

⁶⁶ "Apostolical Constitutions," b. 2, sec. 7, par. 59.

ligion. We declare that the Sabbath has reference to the creation, but the Lord's day to the resurrection."

They also give an idea of Sunday as a day of festivity:—

"Now we exhort you, brethren and fellow servants, to avoid vain talk and obscene discourses, and jestings, drunkenness, lasciviousness, luxury, unbounded passions, with foolish discourses, *since we do not permit you so much as on the Lord's days*, which are days of joy, to speak or act anything unseemly." ⁶⁷

The passage from chapter 9, of the longer form of Ignatius's epistle to the Magnesians, also belongs to this age:—

"And after the observance of the Sabbath, let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's day as a festival, the resurrection day, the queen and chief of all the days." ⁶⁸

Lastly, we quote the author of the Syriac Documents concerning Edessa:—

"On the first (day) of the week, let there be service, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and the oblation." ⁶⁹

Our investigation has brought us to the fifth century. The Christian religion is not only the favored religion, but the exclusive religion of the empire. The theocracy of Constantine, as Eusebius himself had to admit, resulted in indescribable hypocrisy, many giving themselves out as Christians only for temporal advantage.

As the Christian religion became, under Constan-

⁶⁷ "Apostolical Constitutions," b. 5, sec. 2, par. 10.

⁶⁸ Epist. to Magn., longer form, chap. 9.

⁶⁹ "Syriac Documents," p. 38.

tine, the favored one, the gradual change which had thus far been going on in an unobserved manner now became fully manifest, in its paganized cult. What mighty effect the change in the legal and social position of Christianity had on its forms of worship, is thus attested by Schaff:—

"In the Nicene age the church laid aside her lowly servant form, and put on a splendid, imperial garb." "She drew all the fine arts into the service of the sanctuary, and began her sublime creations of Christian architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, and music. In place of the pagan temple and altar arose everywhere the stately church and the chapel in honor of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, of martyrs and saints. The kindred ideas of priesthood, sacrifice, and altar became more fully developed and more firmly fixed, as the outward hierarchy grew. The mass, or daily repetition of the atoning sacrifice of Christ by the hand of the priest, became the mysterious center of the whole system of worship. The number of church festivals was increased; processions, and pilgrimages, and a multitude of significant and superstitious customs and ceremonies were introduced." "Not a few pagan habits and ceremonies, concealed under new names, crept into the church, or were baptized only with water, not with the fire and spirit of the gospel." "This is conceded and lamented by the most earnest of the church Fathers of the Nicene and post-Nicene age, the very persons who are in other respects most deeply involved in the Catholic ideas of cultus.

"In the Christian-martyr worship and saint-worship, which now spread with giant strides over the whole Christian world, we can not possibly mistake the succession of the pagan worship of gods and heroes, with its noisy popular festivities. Augustine puts into the mouth of a heathen the question, 'Wherefore must we forsake gods, which the Christians themselves worship with us?'" "Leo the Great speaks of Christians in Rome, *who first worshiped the rising sun, doing homage to the pagan Apollo*, before repairing to the basilica

of St. Peter. Theodoret defends the Christian practises at the graves of the martyrs by pointing to the pagan libations, propitiations, gods, and demigods." "In the Christmas festival, which from the fourth century spread from Rome over the entire church, the holy commemoration of the birth of the Redeemer is associated — to this day, even in Protestant lands — with the wanton merriments of the pagan Saturnalia. And even in the celebration of Sunday, as it was introduced by Constantine, and still continues on the whole continent of Europe, the cultus of the old sun-god Apollo mingles with the remembrance of the resurrection of Christ." ⁷⁰

This statement speaks volumes. The evil seed sown bears its harvest of tares. The policy of adapting pagan rites and festivals to Christian usages to gain large accessions, ends in an apostate church, burdened with endless feasts and ceremonies. The tendency to seek the favor of the state and to secure its support against heretics, ends in an intolerant false theocracy and Papacy. Sunday legislation only suppresses the voluntary observance of the Sabbath of the fourth commandment, and substitutes for it a forced regard paid to a merry festival based on civil and religious laws. But as even the church writers themselves had to admit, divine punishment followed in the overthrow of the Roman empire, by the inroads of the barbarians in the West, and by the conquests of the Mohammedans in the East.

The introduction of the annual pagan birth-festival of the unconquered sun as the feast of the birth of Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, furnishes

⁷⁰ Third period, par. 74. pp. 375-378.

a striking evidence of how, in the early days of Christianity, the venerable day of the sun became a weekly commemoration day of the resurrection. An ample array of facts is furnished us by the sermons preached on Christmas by Augustine, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, and especially Pope Leo the Great. Even Pope Leo had to warn against this hazardous experiment to win the pagans. But the climax of the proof is reached in the admission by this very Pope, that many of the Christianized pagans, as they ascended the steps of St. Peter's Church and reached the spacious platform, would, before entering the cathedral to honor Christ as the Sun of Righteousness, first pay obeisance to the rising sun, as they had been accustomed to do from lofty eminences while they were still pagans.⁷¹

Wilberforce, archdeacon of Westminster, thus testifies to the same evolution:—

"The evolution of this Arcadian sabbath, this Saturn's unlucky day, through the Jewish sabbath into the Christian Sunday, was obvious and simple. The early Christian church, whether wisely or unwisely is questionable, in their earnest desire to elevate pagan worship, adopted, as far as possible, the sacred days of the older cults, and grafted on to them Christian commemorations."⁷²

We have now carefully investigated all the testimonies of the Fathers until the fifth century, and we have considered the civil and ecclesiastical legislation until that time. And, with Hessey, we can

⁷¹ Kirchenväter, Leo's Reden, No. 26, p. 135; Neander, 3, 420.

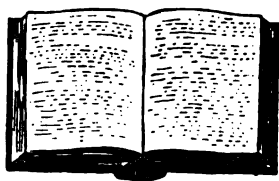
⁷² In *Sunday Circle*, London, Feb. 1, 1908.

say that there is in no clearly genuine passage of the church Fathers, or in any public document, ecclesiastical or civil, a reference to the fourth commandment as a basis for the observance of the first day of the week. There is not a single allusion to Rev. 1:10 as a reason for calling Sunday the "Lord's day." The seventh day of the week is everywhere termed "the Sabbath," as a perfectly distinct day from Sunday. When, at the instigation of the bishops, Constantine declared the venerable day of the sun to be the legal holiday of the empire, then it is only Eusebius who suggests the idea of transference of the day, but of "spiritual sabbaths according to the spiritual law," disclaiming in positive terms any relation to the "Jewish sabbath" or to the decalogue. It was reserved for the Papacy during the Middle Ages to claim an actual change of the fourth commandment by the power of the church.

As to the observance of Sunday, it was considered to be the observance of a church ordinance, enforcing attendance at the assemblies and communion, and of a legal holiday, forbidding law proceedings, and also amusements unseemly for a Christian on any day. Both placed no restrictions on agricultural work, or on the pursuance of necessary duties. Sabbath rest, in the sense of the fourth commandment, was decried as "Judaizing;" Sunday was only a "spiritual rest," the chief object of whose observance was cessation from sin.

A bishop's decree had openly declared that custom

and reason challenge us to observe Sunday. Councils and imperial edicts had set their seal to this custom, and stamped tradition as quasi-divine. The edict of Theodosius had definitely sanctioned the use of the term "*Dominicum*" for Sunday as being "rightly" applied, and the councils had adopted it; so that it thus became the term used by all the Latin races. Yea, this Theodosian decree stamped court proceedings on Sunday not only as *infamous*, but also as *sacrilegious*, because the transgressor was departing from the rule and custom of the "holy Catholic religion."



CHAPTER XIX

THE SABBATH DURING THE FIRST FIVE CENTURIES

The Sabbath in its very nature spiritual and moral—Its new luster in the gospel dispensation—Written in the heart of the true Israel—The disciples' prayer in its behalf—Dr. Zahn's testimony—Paul a Nazarene and heretic, yet true—The real issue at the council at Jerusalem—Flight to Pella—The Nazarenes—Statements of Harnack, Gieseler, Guericke, Neander—Not heretics, but the true Israel—Gnostic Sabbath fasting to spite the God of the Jews—Reason for intensified feelings against the Jews in general—Justin Martyr's weak-minded Christians—Christian Sabbath-keepers branded heretics—Sabbath a weekly festival—Augustine—Chrysostom, Ambrose, Basil, Asterius, Gregory of Nyssa, Apostolic Constitutions as proofs—The Sabbath in Egypt and Ethiopia—"False sabbaths"—Standing in prayer on the Sabbath—Communion on the Sabbath—The bishop of Rome introduces Sabbath fasting—Augustine's refutation of it—Sabbath rest from work a "superstition"—The reproach of Christ for genuine Sabbath observance.

HOLY WRIT records in the most definite language that when God had finished his six days' work of creation, he rested on the seventh day "from all his work which he had made."¹ As God is spirit,—a spiritual being in the highest sense of the word,—his Sabbath rest on the first seventh day of time was indeed a spiritual act; yea, the Scripture states that God was "refreshed."²

Engraved at first on the heart and mind of man by God's own instruction, this weekly, definite, divine Sabbath was written by God's own finger on the tables of stone as one of the ten words of the great moral standard of right,—binding on all men and at all times. The decalogue being spiritual (Rom. 7:14), the Sabbath command, as a part of this law, is likewise spiritual; and as God gave the defi-

¹ Gen. 2 : 1-3. ² Ex. 3 : 17.

nite seventh day to man as the weekly rest day for his own welfare and the honor of God, its observance forms a necessary part of the spiritual worship and of the high moral obligation that every creature owes to its Creator.

As the Sabbath was made before sin ever came into the world, and will continue when sin is no more, the prime object of Sabbath observance is not that we should cease from sin; but that man cease from his own work, and refrain from his own pleasure and ways.³ As man directs his whole mind to the contemplation of the works of God in his behalf, the Sabbath will indeed prove a spiritual delight to him, just as the first Sabbath was a delight to the great Jehovah, when he beheld the works he had wrought in man's behalf.

When the Son of man came in the fulness of time, to free man from sin, instead of abolishing the seventh-day Sabbath, which served as the great and divinely appointed memorial of the time when God had created man a sinless being, he rather freed the Sabbath from the yoke that sinful man had placed upon it by his bigotry and traditions; and, as Lord of the Sabbath — as its real maker — he set forth his divine purpose for the good of man even in paradise. He showed the spiritual, moral, and eternal nature of the Sabbath institution, and, accordingly, affirmed that every jot and tittle of the ten commandments should stand forever — even when this present heaven and earth pass away.

³ Isa. 58 : 13, 14.

The light of the seventh day as the Sabbath did not fade away when he who instituted it in Eden became flesh, nor did its brilliancy diminish; but, by his own rest and by his works of mercy and his mighty miracles upon that day, he gave to it a new luster. It was hereafter to shine forth in the full glory of the light of the gospel, as the definite weekly Sabbath of an Israel already free from sin, resting from the six days' work and toil and from their own pleasures, and delighting in the spiritual worship of that God who in Christ Jesus had cleansed, sanctified, and re-created an Israel indeed. The Sabbath would now, as never before, become a sign between God and his true Israel forever, whereby Israel should know that it was the Lord that did sanctify them, and that it was not possible for this sanctification to come through man as man, or by man as priest.

The weekly observance of the seventh-day rest of Jehovah would not simply stand on the tables of stone in the ark of the testament in the heavenly sanctuary, where Christ officiates as the true High Priest, but it should be engraved by the Spirit of God upon the hearts of the true Israel, according to the promise of the new testament, so that there would be no need of human laws and prescriptions to perpetuate this observance.

In full harmony with this divine purpose, Christ left this charge to the new-testament Israel: "Pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath day."⁴ Remembering their Master's

⁴ Matt. 24 : 20.

charge, the true Israel prayed, for forty years after his death, that his wish might be granted them, and that they might not be obliged to leave doom-stricken Jerusalem in the depths of winter, nor on the day of God's rest. And while, according to Josephus, the carnal, unbelieving Israel of his time began the siege of the castle of Antonia on the Sabbath, and set fire to the palace of the Herods on the Sabbath, and also committed treacherous attack upon the Roman troops who had found refuge behind strong towers, the real Israel of God, in striking contrast with this, and in remembrance of the bequest of their Master, still regarded the Sabbath of Jehovah, as did also the holy women and the disciples while Christ was resting in the grave.⁵

That the early Christians followed the example and the instruction of their divine Master, is thus attested by a noted First-day historian, Dr. Th. Zahn:—

"They kept up the observance of the early Jewish festivals. . . . There can be no doubt, although it is not just explicitly stated, that they observed the Sabbath in the most conscientious manner: otherwise, they would have been stoned. Instead of this, we learn from the book of the Acts that at times they were highly respected even by that part of their own nation that remained in unbelief. . . . That the observance of Sunday commenced among them would be a supposition which would have no seeming grounds for it, and all probability against it. It is possible that the eye-witnesses of the crucifixion of Christ and of the appearance of the resurrected ones, did not let any Friday

⁵ Josephus, "Jewish Wars," b. 2, chap. 19; Dächsel, "Bibelwerk," vol. 6, p. 162.

pass without thinking of his death, and no Sunday without thinking of his resurrection, more vividly than upon other days of the week. But the only thing that we can learn of the assemblies of the early Christians for divine worship is that they came together in the temple daily, and that they celebrated the Lord's supper in their houses. Thus it was in the weeks and months of the first excitement; but after this had given way to the more quiet routine of life, then the Sabbath inherited of their fathers, as well as the other holy days in Israel, would have been sufficient to answer the requirements for festivals among the Jewish Christians. Besides, the Sabbath was a strong tie which united them with the life of the whole people, and in keeping the Sabbath holy, they followed not only the example, but also the command of Jesus."⁶

As the records of early Christianity are very meager; as the apostasy made sad havoc in the true church even in the time of the apostles; and as the scanty statements concerning the genuine Israel of God can be gathered only from the distorted records of their bitter enemies, we would do well first to find our bearings from the Sacred Scriptures.

The prime efforts of Christ and his apostles during the first seven years of their ministry, were directed to gathering in the lost sheep of the house of Israel.⁷ God had not cast away his people whom he foreknew.⁸ Christ selected from among them the twelve apostles, the seventy, and Paul, the great apostle to the Gentiles. The three thousand converted on the day of Pentecost, and the five thousand, were "men of Israel." And as the gospel spread to the regions beyond the narrow confines

⁶ *Geschichte des Sonntags*, pp. 13, 14.

⁷ Matt. 10 : 6; 15 : 24; Acts 13 : 46. ⁸ Rom. 11 : 1.

of Palestine, Paul always found his first entrance among the elect of Israel, who were "sojourners of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," as well as at Thessalonica, Corinth, Rome, etc. All these were observers of the Sabbath of Jehovah, and continued to adhere to it after acknowledging Jesus of Nazareth as the promised Messiah. Yet as they were gradually collecting into a growing church of believers, the high priest of the Jews and his orator Tertullus raised the following accusation against Paul:—

"For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes: who also hath gone about to profane the temple."⁹

Paul's answer is very suggestive:—

"But this I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets."¹⁰

The apostate Jewish church, by rejecting Jesus as the Messiah, rejected the unanimous testimony of the law and the prophets. In their blindness, they styled the Israel of God, that is, the true church, a *sect*, their belief in Christ a *heresy*, and Paul a *pestilent fellow*, the *ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes*. Here we must seek our bearings for the future: the sect of the Nazarenes is none other than the genuine Israel of God, who were thus styled by apostate Israel because they accepted Jesus

⁹ Acts 24 : 5, 6.

¹⁰ Acts 24 : 14.

of Nazareth as the Messiah. The charge against Paul was that he had profaned the temple by bringing a Greek into it; but this, however, was false. Had Paul forsaken the Sabbath, or instructed his followers to do so, this charge would surely have been made; and that he in no way neglected the Sabbath of the Lord is proved by his own words to the chief of the Jews at Rome:—

“Men and brethren, though I have committed nothing against the people, or customs of our fathers, yet was I delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans.”¹¹

Very suggestive again is the reply of the Jews: “As concerning this sect, we know that everywhere it is spoken against.” We know now under what name the real Israel of God was to be found, “the sect of the Nazarenes,” and we also know that it was said to be “everywhere spoken against,” and its adherents were styled “heretics.”

But there were not only struggles from without; difficulties also arose from within. In the beginning, the apostolic church was composed of “men of Israel,” and they were “of one heart and of one soul.” The first difficulty was a national one, between the “Grecians” and the “Hebrews,” about the care of the poor. But as the seventy weeks were accomplished, and the apostles, urged by special visions, preached the gospel to the Gentiles, a more serious difficulty arose,—whether the Gentiles should also be circumcised and required to keep

¹¹ See Acts 28 : 17-22.

the law of Moses. The apostles, seeing in Christ the divine offering provided by God as "the lamb slain from the foundation of the world," no longer slew sacrifices, but they broke bread from house to house in remembrance of the offering accomplished once for all. And, as the Gentiles turned to God, the Holy Spirit in a special manner testifying of their acceptance, the apostles did not demand of them circumcision in the flesh, but required them to be baptized as an acknowledgment of Christ's death and resurrection, and of their own change from pagans without God, into fellow citizens of the commonwealth of Israel.

However, some of the believing Pharisees declared "that it was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law of Moses."¹² This led to the calling of the council at Jerusalem, where Peter stated that God, by giving the Holy Spirit to the Gentiles, made *no difference* between the Gentiles and the Jews; that the Gentile believers, having their hearts purified by faith, had no need of a yoke "which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear," and that as the Jewish Christians themselves believed that they might be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, so likewise must the Gentiles obtain salvation. James called attention to the fact that this very calling of the Gentiles was purposed of God, that they might be the building material to restore the tabernacle of David, which, by the apostasy of unbelieving Is-

¹² Acts 15 : 5.

rael, had fallen into ruins: the only requirement was that the Gentiles should abstain from blood, from things strangled, from meats offered to idols, and from fornication, which played such an important part in the pagan worship.

Just as the shadowy ceremonial law of Moses (including circumcision) met its fulfilment in Christ, its substance, so likewise national Israel, whose separate existence had been safeguarded by this law, was now to meet its antitype in the true Israel of God, born of the Spirit,—not of one nation, but of many. The new ministration was no longer that of the letter, consisting in many outward ceremonies and sacrifices, but it was to be of the spirit—a ministration of the real atonement of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary, and human lips were to proclaim that gospel which imparts life indeed to every one who will really believe in Christ. However, the glorious promises of this new covenant were not to abolish the ten words of the spiritual law of love, but the Holy Spirit would write these holy commandments on the hearts and minds of the true Israel of God.

While the fruit of faith in Christ, the test of the love wrought in his heart by the Spirit, and the seal of his acceptance into the commonwealth of Israel, would be manifested by the Gentile's keeping the decalogue and resting on the seventh day, the observance of the ceremonial law and of circumcision would be a turning aside to another gospel, a sign of Judaizing indeed. That the true import of this

question was not properly understood by the church Fathers, and that it is misunderstood by many even to-day, is evident from the fact that the observance of the ten commandments, and especially of the Sabbath of the fourth commandment, has been made a part of the question at issue.

A church was to develop where there would be neither Jew nor Gentile, neither bond nor free, but one true Israel, baptized by one Spirit into one body. 1 Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:28. The terms Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians, as designating two distinct parties in the same church, are not justifiable in the light of these scriptures; and if such a separation did occur at an early date, it is an evident sign of an early apostasy.

On the one hand, the epistles to the Galatians and to the Colossians satisfactorily prove that some of the believers gathered out from among the lost sheep of the house of Israel did not abide by the decision taken at the council in Jerusalem, so that the future history of the church has to take into account not only the Judaizing of the unbelieving Jews, but also that of some who professed to believe in Christ. On the other hand, we have also found abundant proof that at a very early date there was a movement on the part of the Gentiles to reject the *whole* of the Old Testament, and that, while this was so modified by the early church Fathers as to allow the retention of the Old Testament, still they cast aside the observance of the Sabbath of the fourth commandment, the very sign of the true Israel of God.

Our task shall be to furnish historical evidences showing that the true Israel did continue to keep "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." According to the Scriptures, this church retained its headquarters at Jerusalem until apostate Israel was about to meet its just doom in the destruction of its city and temple. Then the spiritual seed of Abraham heeded the prophetic warning of Daniel, which had been confirmed by Jesus, and fled to Pella, on the other side of Jordan, where they found a safe place of refuge, and could serve their Master and keep his Sabbath, endeared to them the more by their wonderful preservation in answer to their prayers.¹³

That this true Israel preserved the observance of the Sabbath, and that even believers from among the Gentiles joined them at first, is thus attested by a church historian:—

"While the Jewish Christians of Palestine retained the entire Mosaic law, and consequently the Jewish festivals, the Gentile Christians observed also *the Sabbath* and *the Passover* (1 Cor. 5:6-8), with reference to the last scenes of Jesus' life, but without Jewish superstition. Gal. 4:10; Col. 2:16."¹⁴

Another, Guericke, styling them Nazarenes, thus clearly testifies that they remained true to the arrangement made at the council of Jerusalem:—

"The *Nazarenes* (a name originally applied, according to Acts 24:5, to all Christians among the Jews, and which is

¹³ Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, b. 3, chap. 5.

¹⁴ Gieseler's Church History, vol. 1, chap. 2, par. 30. p. 93 (New York, 1857).

first found in Jerome, Comm. in Jesai., in this narrower application) did not assert the necessity of an observance of the ceremonial law by the Gentile Christians, recognized Paul as the teacher of revealed truth for the heathen, and departed from the doctrine of the general church in no *essential* point."¹⁵

However, Jerome uses also the term "Ebionites," which is derived from the Hebrew word "ebion," "poor." Neander fittingly remarks:—

"We know, in fact, what reproach was cast upon the Christian faith by the hierarchical party among the Jews, because none but those belonging to the ignorant and poorer class of the people would openly profess it (John 7:49); and the like objection was made to Christianity by the pagans. Thus it may be explained how the Christians among the Jews came to be designated as the poor; and this name, which was employed by them to designate the Christians generally, would afterwards naturally be employed by the pagan Christians, without any knowledge of the meaning of the name, to designate that portion of believers who were distinguished from the rest by their observance of the Mosaic law."¹⁶

Harnack, on the strength of different statements from the church Fathers, shows that the terms "Nazarenes" and "Ebionites" were used interchangeably; and he also positively points out the guilty party who broke the agreement made at the council of Jerusalem, and trampled the true apostolic church underfoot. He writes:—

"In the first century these Jewish Christians formed the majority in Palestine, and perhaps also in some neighboring

¹⁵ "Manual of Church History," translated by Shedd, Andover, 1869, par. 43, under Nazarenes.

¹⁶ Church History, vol. 2, p. 15.

provinces. But they were also found here and there in the West."

"Apart from syncretistic or Gnostic Jewish Christianity, there is but one group of Jewish Christians holding various shades of opinion, and these from the beginning called themselves Nazarenes as well as Ebionites. From the beginning, likewise, one portion of them was influenced by the existence of a great Gentile church which did not observe the law. They acknowledged the work of Paul, and experienced in a slight degree influences emanating from the great church. But the gulf which separated them from that church did not thereby become narrower. That gulf was caused by the social and political separation of these Jewish Christians, whatever mental attitude, hostile or friendly, they might take up to the great church. This church stalked over them with iron feet, as over a structure which in her opinion was full of contradictions throughout ('Semi-christiani'), and was disconcerted neither by the gospel of these Jewish Christians nor by anything else about them. But as the synagogue also vigorously condemned them, their position up to their extinction was a most tragic one. These Jewish Christians, more than any other Christian party, *bore the reproach of Christ.*"¹⁷

How this change of sentiment on the part of the so-called Catholic Church against the true Israel of God gradually came about, is set forth by Gieseler: —

"Still, however, the different parties of the Jewish Christians continued down to the fourth century, and even later. In what way the Nazarenes and the Gentile Christians still looked upon one another as orthodox, is evident from the explanations of Hegesippus on his journey to Rome, whither he arrived under Bishop Anicetus (157-161). But since the Gentile Christians looked upon the Nazarenes as weak Christians on account of their adherence to the Mosaic law, connection between them became less and less intimate, the knowledge of their creed more indistinct; but at the same

¹⁷ "History of Dogma," vol. 1, chap. 6, pp. 290, 301, 302.

time, since they did not keep pace with the progressive development of doctrine in the Catholic Church, the actual difference between the two parties was greater, until at length Epiphanius (about 400) went so far as to include the Nazarenes in his list of heretics (Haer. xxix)."¹⁸

The historical outlines of the process are before us. The chosen Israel of God not only became the sect of the Nazarenes in the eyes of the unbelieving Jews, but by the fourth century it was classed among the heretics by the so-called Catholic Church, which, true to its Roman origin, stalked over them with "iron feet."¹⁹ They surely bore the *reproach of Christ* more than any other Christian party, and those who with them follow in the humble footprints of their blessed Master are bearing this reproach to this day, and will continue to bear it until the very end of time. However, not all First-day writers agree in reckoning the despised Nazarenes, or Ebionites, among the heretics; for Walch, in his history of heresies, gives a long list of authorities who believe the contrary—that the Nazarenes should not only be excluded from the list of heretics, but that they were in reality the orthodox Christians, who remained true to the genuine doctrine of Christ. Among these authorities are Toland, Bolingbroke, Crell, Rhenferd, Huetius, Voss, Basnage, and Lequien.²⁰ And Walch also admits that, as far as the chronological order is concerned, the

¹⁸ Church History, vol. 1, chap. 2, par. 43, pp. 128, 129.

¹⁹ Dan. 2 : 40, 41.

²⁰ Entwurf einer vollst. Historie der Ketzereien, etc., Leipzig, 1762, 1, 103, 104.

first question of controversy was the observance of the Sabbath.²¹

To sum up this matter: The noted authors just quoted, whose statements we shall substantiate from the historical evidences of the church Fathers, plainly show that during the *first century* of the Christian era there existed as a united body the church of Christ, and that, too, at its very fountainhead, which, while setting aside the binding claims of circumcision and of the ceremonial law, yet still observed, as the chosen Israel of God, the seventh-day Sabbath as a part of the ten commandments. In perfect harmony with this was the result of our investigation concerning the origin of Sunday — that it was not introduced into the Christian church until the beginning of the second century.

We will next inquire what special reasons can be adduced as to why the true Israel, and with it the Sabbath as the real rest day from labor, should have been forced into the background by the so-called Catholic Church. There are several main causes which might be mentioned. Neander refers to the first cause, when he says that "opposition to Judaism early led to the special observance of Sunday in the place of the Sabbath."²² In Acts 18:2 we read that the emperor Claudius (41-54 A. D.) commanded all Jews to depart from Rome. The obstinate resistance of the Jews during the siege of Jerusalem, and their treason, only intensified the

²¹ Walch, 1, p. 96.

²² General Church History, 1, 402.

popular hatred felt against them. As to subsequent times, the Jewish Encyclopedia makes the following statement:—

"In the meantime the attitude of the Roman authorities had become intermittently hostile to the Jews; and after the rebellion under Hadrian it became a matter of vital importance for such who were not Jews to avoid exposing themselves to suspicion. The observance of the Sabbath was one of the most noticeable indications of Judaism. Hence, while during the first Christian century more or less regard and tolerance for the Jewish day were shown in Rome, even by non-Jewish Christians, in the second century the contrary became the rule. In the East, however, less opposition was shown to Jewish institutions. Saturday and Sunday were both celebrated by 'abstaining from fasting, and by standing while praying.' (Rheinwald Archæologie, sec. 62.) In the West, especially where Roman influence dominated, Saturday was turned into a fast-day."²²

The hatred of the pagan authorities toward the Jews was in a certain sense warranted by their rebellious spirit, their bigotry, and their obstinate resistance. The apostolic church would innocently suffer under the same stigma, and especially because it continued to observe the Sabbath. But the second cause is a most vital one—the rise of Gnosticism. What charges the Gnostics preferred even against the apostles, is best seen from the following words of Irenæus:—

"For all those who are of a perverse mind, having been set against the Mosaic legislation, judging it to be dissimilar and contrary to the doctrine of the gospel, have not applied themselves to investigate the causes of the difference of each

²² The Jewish Encyclopedia, New York and London, 1905, vol. 10, "Sabbath and Sunday," pp. 603, 604.

covenant. Since, therefore, they have been ~~deceived~~ by the paternal love, and puffed up by Satan, being brought over to the doctrine of Simon Magus, they have apostatized in their opinions from him who is God, and imagined that they have another god; and [maintained] that the apostles preached the gospel still somewhat under the influence of Jewish opinions, but that they themselves are purer [in doctrine] and more intelligent than the apostles. Wherefore also Marcion and his followers have betaken themselves to mutilating the Scriptures, not acknowledging some books at all; and, curtailing the Gospel according to Luke and the epistles of Paul, they assert that these are alone authentic, which they have themselves shortened." ²⁴

Gnosticism, or Oriental pagan mysticism, is the secret source from which the antinomian spirit — the spirit of lawlessness, of spite against everything Jewish — emanated and flowed into the general church until her doctrines became completely permeated with it. The Gnostics professed to teach a purer doctrine even than the apostles, to have such a correct understanding of the true teachings of Christ and of Paul as would warrant them in dropping out or mutilating such texts of the Bible as contradicted their interpretations. The God of the Jews, who created the world, gave the law, and rested upon the Sabbath, they called *Demiurgus*, or the Evil God, and placed him over against Christ, the Good God of the Christians, who redeemed the world, gave a new law, and introduced a spiritual, continual rest. Creator and Redeemer, Father and Son, Old and New Testament, law and gospel, obedience and grace, the old and the new Israel,

²⁴ "Against Heresies," b. 3, 12, p. 309.

the literal and the spiritual sabbath, were entirely opposite conceptions to them. They maintained "that the apostles intermingled the things of the law with the words of the Saviour."²⁵ Not only did they charge that the apostles had fallen back into Judaism, but they even accused the Creator of the world of having violated his own law by killing the righteous Christ, and claimed that he was therefore deprived of all his power by Christ.²⁶ Consequently, Christ had overturned the law and the Sabbath of the Creator.²⁷ To spite the Creator, the God of the Jews, Marcion made the Sabbath a fast, as is expressly stated by Epiphanius: —

"Marcion for this reason fasted on the Sabbath. For, said he, since that day is the rest of the God of the Jews, who made the world and rested on the Sabbath day, we therefore instituted fasting on that day, that we may not seem to do anything in compliance with the rites of the God of the Jews."²⁸

For a full exposition of this matter, we refer the reader to Bingham, who further names the Eustathians, the Massalians or Euchites, the Marcianists, the Sabbatians, the Lampetians, the Choreutæ, the Adelphians, and last but not least, the Roman Catholics, as having followed the practise of the Gnostics.²⁹ These Gnostic charges and theories are an all-important factor in the abrogation of the Sabbath, because the *complete reproduction of*

²⁵ "Against Heresies," 3, 2, 2.

²⁶ Harnack's Dogma, 1, 5, p. 274, note 2.

²⁷ "Against Heresies," 4, 13, 1.

²⁸ Haer., 1, 3, sec. 42.

²⁹ "Antiquities," b. 20, 3, sec. 5, p. 300.

It is to be found in the Roman Catholic Church, and, later on, in Protestantism; only Gnosticism was more consistent; it acted out its no-law and no-day theory by declaring all days alike, and misquoting Paul as its authority.

Gnosticism is thus the great second cause: in view of its popularity and vast influence as a spiritual factor, it was able to instil far and wide a hatred against Israel and Israel's God, against the decalogue and the Sabbath; and that, too, under the deceptive mask of honoring Christ all the more, and of teaching the pure Pauline doctrine, and of accelerating the victorious and onward march of the gospel among the learned and educated heathen. Gnosticism originated the doctrine that ceasing from sin is the true, continual sabbath of the new law of the loving Christ. It first instituted fasting on the Sabbath to spite the God of the Jews, as well as to do despite to the true Israel of God, which still held fast to its observance. It was Gnosticism which placed on the Sabbath and on the true successors of the apostolic church the stigmatizing epithet Jewish. And what this all meant is evident from the following statement of Harnack, in his *Dogmas* (I, 177, 178):—

"A certain antipathy of the Greeks and Romans toward Judaism co-operated here with a law of self-preservation. On all hands, therefore, Judaism as it then existed was abandoned as a sect judged and rejected by God, as a society of hypocrites, as a synagogue of Satan, as a people seduced by an evil angel, and the Jews were declared to have no farther right to the possession of the Old Testament."

Having thus found our bearings from Scripture and history, our future investigation will only serve to trace the effects of the Gnostic influence upon the church at large, which, while repudiating Gnosticism as "heresy," was yet guilty of gradually introducing and modifying the Gnostic doctrines to its wants: these theories were brought into the church one by one, as fast as it suited her purposes. Accordingly, not only the Gnostics, but also the Fathers and the church declared that resting from works on any day was "Judaizing." Further, influenced by Gnosticism, the church stalked over the steadfast, believing Israel of God "with iron feet," and finally condemned the successors of the apostolic church as "Judaizing heretics," yea, as the "very spirit of Antichrist."

While there was but one united body of believers in the first century, the second century witnessed quite a marked, although gradual change. A gulf was created between the Christians from among Israel and those who had come in from the Gentiles, the latter pushing the former more and more into the background as their numbers preponderated and their views differed. One reason for this change is given by Neander, on the strength of Eusebius and Sulpicius.³⁰ Emperor Hadrian was induced "by the insurrection of the Jews under Barkochba (132-135), to exclude them entirely from the city of Jerusalem and its circumjacent territory." As believing Israel, after the destruction of Jerusalem,

³⁰ Church History, 2. sec. 4. p. 12.

would naturally again settle around that city, this prohibition would also force them either to relinquish the Sabbath as the most notable indication of Judaism (in the eyes of the pagan) or to return to Pella, "where a strictly Jewish Christian church maintained its existence down to the fifth century." Jerusalem, now called *Ælia*, was peopled by strangers, and "when the church of the Gentiles was collected there, the first bishop after those of the circumcision was Marcus."³¹ Sulpicius Severus (363-410), after citing Hadrian's prohibition, makes the following remarkable statement:—

"This surely profited the Christian faith, because, until then, nearly all believed in Christ as God while observing the law. Without doubt this took place, God ordaining it so, in order that the servitude of the law might be removed by the liberty of faith and of the church."³²

Both the statement of Eusebius and that of Sulpicius indicate a change by which the true Israel was forced out of Jerusalem, and that in its stead a Gentile church arose which, because of some influence, was not under the stigma of being "Jewish." How much this profited the Christian faith needs to be seen.

Justin Martyr (A. D. 147) makes a still more evident change. He remarks, in his Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew:—

"'There are such people, Trypho,' I answered; 'and these do not venture to have any intercourse with, or to extend hospitality to, such persons; but I do not agree with them.

³¹ Eusebius's "Ecclesiastical History." 4, 6.

³² History, sacr. 2, 31.

But if some, *through weak-mindedness*, wish to observe such institutions as were given by Moses, from which they expect some virtue, but which we believe were appointed by reason of the hardness of the people's hearts, along with their hope in this Christ, and (wish to perform) the eternal and natural acts of righteousness and piety, yet choose to live with the Christians, and the faithful, as I said before, not inducing them to be circumcised, like themselves, or to keep the Sabbath, or to observe any other such ceremonies, then I hold that we ought to join ourselves to such, and associate with them in all things, as kinsmen and brethren.' 'But if, Trypho,' I continued, 'some of your race, who say they believe in Christ, compel these Gentiles who believe in this Christ, to live in all respects according to the law given by Moses, or choose not to associate so intimately with them, I in like manner do not approve of them. But I believe that even those who have been persuaded by them to observe the legal dispensation along with their confession of God in Christ, shall probably be saved.'"³³

In the eyes of the philosopher Justin Martyr, even the genuine apostolic Christians had become *weak-minded* because they still wished to perform "the eternal and natural acts of righteousness and piety." Yet he was at least so condescending to these poor, despised followers of Christ that he would "associate with them in all things, as kinsmen and brethren." He conceded a probability of salvation to those who had been induced by them to observe the law along with their confession of God in Christ.

Justin Martyr applied no name to either of the two parties mentioned. However, from weak-mindedness to heresy, there is but one step. Irenæus,

³³ Chap. 47. p. 147.

THE SABBATH

The term "Ebionites," already places
the sect among the heretical schools.²⁴ Concerning this,
the text remarks:—

The less was known of the Ebionites from personal observation, the more confidently they were made out to be heretics who denied the divinity of Christ and rejected the canon. The denial of the divinity of Christ and the birth from the Virgin was, from the end of the second century, regarded as the Ebionite heresy *par excellence*.²⁵

Hegesippus, on the other hand, who according to Eusebius was a convert from the Hebrews, although he enumerates the sects among both the Gentiles and the Jews, does not mention the Ebionites.²⁶ His explanations of the manner in which he was everywhere received on his journey to Rome clearly show that the Nazarenes and the Gentile Christians considered each other as orthodox.

With every new writer on heresies, the confusion of terms and alleged heresies only increase. Tertullian and others even claim that there was a heretic named Ebion, from whom the term Ebionites is derived; but this is evidently a fiction. Some distinguish between the Nazarenes and the Ebionites; others again, like Origen, classify even the Ebionites, while others confound them all. Theodoret condemns the Ebionites for joining the observance of the Sabbath after the law of the Jews, with that of the Lord's day after the manner of Christians. As Epiphanius (A. D. 400), the patriarch of ortho-

²⁴ "Against Heresies," 1, 26, 2; also books 3-5.

²⁵ Dogmas, 1, chap. 6, p. 299, note 3.

²⁶ Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," 4, 22.

doxy and of heresy hunters, gives quite a lengthy description of the Nazarenes, we quote from him, although he is noted for his boundless credulity and his many contradictions:—

“But we shall now especially consider heretics, who, having set aside the name of Jesus, call themselves neither as those of Jesse, nor do they retain the name of Jews, nor do they go by the name of Christians, but, taking their name from that place, they call themselves Nazarenes; they are mainly Jews and nothing else. They make use not only of the New Testament, but they also use in a way the Old Testament of the Jews; for they do not forbid the books of the law, the prophets, and the Hagiographa, which the Jews term the Bible, so that they are approved of by the Jews, from whom the Nazarenes do not differ in anything, and they profess all the dogmas pertaining to the prescriptions of the law and to the customs of the Jews, except that they believe in Christ. Farther, they believe that the dead are to be raised, and that all things were created by God. They preach that there is but one God, and his Son Jesus Christ. But they are very learned in the Hebrew language; for they, like the Jews, read the whole law, then the prophets and the Hagiographa. . . . However, . . . they differ from the Jews because they believe in Christ, and from the Christians in that they are to this day bound to the Jewish rites, such as circumcision, the Sabbath, and other ceremonies.

“Otherwise, this sect of the Nazarenes thrives most vigorously in the state of Berœa, in Cœle-Syria, also in Decapolis, around Pella, and in Bashan, which is called Cocabe by the people, but is Chochabe in the Hebrew. For, after they departed from Jerusalem, they made their start from here, as all the disciples dwelt in Pella, having been admonished by Christ to leave Jerusalem and emigrate because of imminent danger. Because of this it happened that they left for Perea, in the regions above named.” ³⁷

³⁷ Adv. Haeres, lib. 1, tom. 2; Haeres 29, sec. 7.

Though we can gather the history of the Nazarenes, or Ebionites, only from books written against the heretics, yet the historical evidence has been fully supplied to establish their identification with the apostolic church, the circumstances and the location testifying to it. We have traced the Sabbath-keeping remnant of the apostolic church down to the fifth century. In conclusion, we shall now hear from the mouth of a church Father at the close of the fourth century exactly the same charge preferred against them as was brought forward against the apostles by the Gnostics of the second century: —

"The Ebionites believing in Christ have been anathematized by the church Fathers for this only, because they have intermingled the ceremonies of the law with the gospel of Christ, and so whilst they confess the new, they have not omitted the old."³⁸

Does not this prove that by this time the Catholic Church had gradually accepted a modified form of Gnosticism, while the Nazarenes had remained true to their apostolic origin? Where was, therefore, the apostasy? and who were the real heretics,—those who, as the true Sabbath-keeping followers of the Lord, were called upon to bear the reproach of Christ to a greater extent than any other Christian party, or those who stalked over these humble disciples with iron feet because of their simple faithfulness to their Master?

To the Bible testimony that the apostolic church observed the seventh-day Sabbath "according to

³⁸ Jerome Ad August., 122, chap. 13.

the commandment," we have added ample historical proof taken from the writings of bitter opponents to show that for five centuries the successors of the apostolic church earnestly contended for the faith once delivered to the saints, in the face of the fiercest opposition from all parties. We have a solid foundation indeed: Christ, who instituted the Sabbath and magnified its sanctity by his own example while on earth, is the chief corner-stone; the apostles and prophets, whose Sabbath observance rests on inspired evidence, are the sure foundation; and the descendants of the apostolic church for centuries afterward form the superstructure. But the Christian observance of the seventh day is by no means confined to a remnant of the stock of Israel in Syria. This would make its observance national, while in the very nature of things, the service of the true Israel must be universal. Thus far we have used only the distorted statements culled from the history of heresies in our efforts to follow the trail of the real Israel of God, and to demonstrate that the heretics were in reality the true church, and that their opponents were the apostates. But that there was a more general observance of the Sabbath on the part of Christians of Gentile origin, is fully proved by the fact that general councils, and, later on, the popes, hurled their anathemas against them; indeed, the historical evidences of their existence are so plentiful that Sunday historians are utterly confounded by them. Dr. Th. Zahn states the point in his history of Sunday:—

"From the middle of the fourth century onward, testimonies are forthcoming for the Christian observance of the Sabbath, and, moreover, at once in great abundance (cf. Zacagni, coll. monum. veterum. praef. 78 sqq. Bingham, orig. eccl. i, 13, 9, 3; 20, 3)." "This seemingly sudden appearance of the Christian sabbath observance remains a riddle."³⁹

In looking up Bingham's "Antiquities," to which Zahn refers, we find a number of large folio pages covered with reliable testimonies to this effect. Chapter 3, of book 20, bears this significant heading: "Of the observation of the Sabbath, or Saturday, as a *weekly festival*" by the Christian church. The entire chapter is devoted to this subject, and he adduces as unquestionable testimony a letter from Augustine to Jerome, from which "it is plain that all the Oriental churches and the greatest part of the world observed the Sabbath as a festival. The Greek writers are unanimous in their testimony."⁴⁰ In section 3, he lets Cave answer the puzzling question, "Why the ancient church continued the observance of the Jewish sabbath, when they took it to be only a temporary institution given to the Jews only." Cave's answer is of interest. Its substance is: "The Jews being generally the first converts to the Christian faith," and having a great reverence for the Sabbath as divine and celebrated by their ancestors for so many ages, it was an act of prudence "to indulge the humor of that people, and to keep the Sabbath as a day for religious offices; viz., public prayers, reading of the Scriptures,

³⁹ Geschichte des Sonntags, pp. 72, 75.

⁴⁰ "Antiquities," vol. 2, b. 20, 3, p. 298.

preaching, celebration of the sacraments, and such like duties." ⁴¹

Bingham, feeling a lack in this answer, tries to supply it by continuing, in substance:—

"But when any one pretended to carry the observation of it farther, either by introducing a doctrinal necessity, or pressing the observation of it precisely after the Jewish manner, they resolutely opposed it, as introducing Judaism in the Christian religion. For this reason the Ebionites were condemned; against such the council of Laodicea pronounces anathema; and in this sense we are to understand what Gregory the Great says, that Antichrist will renew the observation of the Sabbath. He must needs mean the observation of it after the Jewish manner: only with this difference, that the Latins kept it a fast, and the Greeks a festival." ⁴²

Gnosticism had left only the mere Sabbath idea, — the whole life being a Sabbath according to the new law,—while it entirely destroyed the Sabbath institution, and to this end ordained fasting on the Sabbath of the Jews. But its misinterpretation of Paul's writings in reality did away with any definite day sanctioned by either divine or ecclesiastical law. Its popularity lay in the seeming liberty it granted to the masses to work on all days and to rest on any day, and it thereby became a mighty instrument in tearing down the literal rest of the seventh day. But in the course of time its strong point appeared as a weakness; for, by depriving man of the blessings of a definite rest day, it prevented the introduction of others to satisfy the human

⁴¹ Primitive Christian., I, 7, p. 174.

⁴² "Antiquities," vol. 2, p. 300.

cravings for stated festivals. This was foreseen by the penetrating eye of the coming Catholic Church. The hatred of anything seemingly Jewish was its legacy from Gnosticism, and, guided by expediency, its policy was to accomplish in the course of time what Gnosticism could not bring about — to abrogate the Sabbath, and to satisfy the desires of the natural heart by the gradual introduction of its own church festivals. It met the Sabbath-keeping element for a time by forbidding the Gnostic fast on the Sabbath, as well as on Sunday. It even regulated Sabbath worship; but all the while it was using the strong arm of the state, and, as soon as Sunday (along with a multitude of other holidays) became established, the church carefully adopted the Gnostic tactic of Sabbath fasting in its efforts to obliterate the Sabbath. But in this the church of the West was foiled by the resistance of the church of the East, where the Sabbath is still nominally regarded as the memorial of the creation.

As long as the general church was itself persecuted by paganism, it of necessity had to tolerate distasteful practises. But as soon as it secured the power, it used the civil arm of the state to elevate the definite day of its own production, and, soon afterward, it brought in the aid of its ecclesiastical arm to strike the first blow at Sabbath-keeping, by pronouncing its anathema at the council of Laodicea. That a general council should feel called upon to enact this canon against Judaizing on the Sabbath, is ample proof that the masses regarded it as a fes-

tival, and that many still considered it as the rest day "according to the commandment." Bishop Hefele confirms this by adding: "It was also the custom in *many provinces* of the ancient church to observe Saturday as the feast of creation."⁴³ Such a general observance of the Sabbath at a time when the civil law had already declared in favor of Sunday, can only be understood as definitely pointing back to the example of the apostolic church; and the fact that it was necessary to pronounce anathema to do away with this resting from work, proves the inherent strength in the divine commandment forbidding such work.

The great hold the Sabbath still had on the popular mind, and even on the church in general, is best seen by the three canons issued by the council of Laodicea to regulate its observance as a festival in the future. In these, the Sabbath appears on an equal footing with Sunday. There is no lack of testimony on this point.

As disturbances had occurred in a certain church on the Sabbath, Gregory of Nyssa (A. D. 372) thus censures them: —

"With what eyes can you behold Sunday, if you desecrate the Sabbath? Don't you know that these days are brethren? He who little esteems the one, disregards also the other."⁴⁴

Asterius, bishop of Amasa, in the beginning of the fifth century calls Sabbath and Sunday "the

⁴³ Councils, 2, 6, 93.

⁴⁴ De Castig., tom. 2, 744. Paris, 1615.

mothers and 'nurses of the church," "a beautiful span."⁴⁶

That Sabbath services were customary in Augustine's day in the West, appears from the fact that he preached on the Sabbath, and in one of his sermons made this remark:—

"On this day, which is the Sabbath, mostly those are accustomed to meet who are desirous of the Word of God."⁴⁷

Basil, of Cæsarea, made it one of his communion days:—

"I indeed communicate four times a week, on the Lord's day, on Wednesday, on Friday, and on the Sabbath."⁴⁸

Ambrose certifies that "besides Sunday every Sabbath, except the great Sabbath before Easter, was observed as a festival and a day of relaxation."⁴⁸ Chrysostom testifies in various places that "on Friday, Sabbath, Sunday, and on the day of holy martyrs always the same sacrifice is offered;" viz., the communion.⁴⁹ Augustine states the matter in its true light in his epistle to Januarius, chap. 2: "In some places the communion takes place daily, in some only on the Sabbath, and in some only on Sunday."

The Apostolic Constitutions, purporting to be a collection of church laws and usages in vogue during the second and third centuries, contain the following passages:—

⁴⁶ Asterii Amas homil. ed. Rubenius Antw., 1615, p. 61.

⁴⁷ Sermon 128, tom. 7, 629.

⁴⁸ Epistle 93, ad Bened., 3, 186.

⁴⁹ Ambros. de Elia et Jejuniis, cap. 10.

⁵⁰ Hom. 5, 3, on 1 Tim.; hom. 11 and 25, on John.

"Consider the manifold workmanship of God, which received its beginning through Christ. Thou shalt observe the Sabbath, on account of him who ceased from his work of creation, but ceased not from his work of providence: it is a rest for meditation of the law, not for idleness of the hands."⁵⁰

"Assemble yourselves especially on the Sabbath day, and on the day on which the Lord rose, the Lord's day, to praise God, who created all things by Jesus, to hear the prophets and the Gospels read, to offer the oblation, and to partake of the holy supper."⁵¹

"Every Sabbath, save one, the great Sabbath during which the Lord lay in the grave, and every Lord's day, make your assemblies and rejoice."⁵²

"But keep the Sabbath and the Lord's day festival; because the former is the memorial of the creation, and the latter of the resurrection."⁵³

"O Lord Almighty, thou hast created the world by Christ, and hast appointed the Sabbath in memory thereof, because that on that day thou hast made us rest from our works, for the meditation upon thy laws." "For Sabbath is the ceasing of the creation, the completion of the world, the inquiry after laws, and the grateful praise to God for the blessings he has bestowed upon men. All which the Lord's day excels, and shows the mediator himself, the provider, the lawgiver, the cause of the resurrection, the first-born of the whole creation."⁵⁴

"I, Peter, and I, Paul, have ordained: Let the slaves work five days; but on the Sabbath day and the Lord's day let them have leisure to go to church for instruction in piety: on the Sabbath in regard to the creation; on the Lord's day in regard to the resurrection."⁵⁵

While the Apostolic Constitutions are by no means what they purport to be, yet they are valuable inasmuch as they clearly show that in the centuries

⁵⁰ B. 2, chap. 36.

⁵¹ Id., chap. 59.

⁵² B. 5, chap. 20.

⁵³ B. 7, chap. 23.

⁵⁴ Id. 7, chap. 36.

⁵⁵ B. 8, chap. 33.

following the apostolic age (during which age the Sabbath alone was observed), Sunday observance was gradually connected with, and finally excelled, Sabbath observance. And this observance of Sabbath and Sunday is perpetuated to this day by the Abyssinians, who embraced Christianity in the fourth century. The Egyptian monks went there during the fifth and sixth centuries, and that these also celebrated Sabbath and Sunday is thus attested by Cassian:—

“They had no public assemblies on other days, besides in the morning and at evening, except on the Sabbath or on the Lord’s day, when they met at the third hour, *i. e.*, at nine o’clock in the morning, to celebrate the communion.”⁵⁶

That there were religious services in the churches of Egypt on the Sabbath, Cassian thus affirms:—

“But on the day of the Sabbath and on the Lord’s day, they read both lessons from the New Testament.”⁵⁷

That the Sabbath was kept by some Christians in Alexandria at the time of Origen, seems evident from the following record of one of the discourses attributed to him:—

“But what is the feast of the Sabbath except that of which the apostle speaks, ‘There remaineth therefore a Sabbatism,’ that is, the observance of the Sabbath, by the people of God? Leaving the Jewish observances of the Sabbath, let us see how the Sabbath ought to be observed by a Christian. On the Sabbath day all worldly labors ought to be abstained from. If, therefore, you cease from all secular works, and execute nothing worldly, but give yourselves up

⁵⁶ Instit., 3. 2.

⁵⁷ Id., 2. 6.

to spiritual exercises, repairing to church, attending to sacred reading and instruction, thinking of celestial things, solicitous for the future, placing the Judgment to come before your eyes, not looking to things present and visible, but to those which are future and invisible, this is the observance of the Christian sabbath."⁵⁸

Origen knew that all about him the Sabbath, as well as Sunday, was kept as a Christian festival; and that he was also well aware that Christians still observed it "according to the commandment," he thus admits in his writings against Celsus:—

"Let it be admitted, moreover, that there are some who accept Jesus and who boast on that account of being Christians, and yet would regulate their lives like the Jewish multitude, in accordance with the Jewish law; and these are the twofold sect of the Ebionites, who either acknowledge with us that Jesus was born of a virgin, or deny this."⁵⁹

To this period belongs also the longer epistle to the Magnesians, the statements of which closely coincide with those of the Apostolic Constitutions:—

"Let us therefore no longer keep the Sabbath after the Jewish manner, and rejoice in days of idleness: for 'he that does not work, let him not eat.' For say the (holy) oracles, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread.' But let every one of you keep the Sabbath after a spiritual manner, rejoicing in meditation on the law, not in relaxation of the body, admiring the workmanship of God, and not eating things prepared the day before, nor using lukewarm drinks, and walking within a prescribed space, nor finding delight in dancing and plaudits which have no sense in them. And after the observance of the Sabbath, let every friend

⁵⁸ Origen's Opera, tom. 2, p. 358. Paris, 1733.

⁵⁹ B. 5. 61.

of Christ keep the Lord's day as a festival, the resurrection day, the queen and chief of all the days." ⁶⁰

The following statement from one of the writings attributed to Athanasius, likewise belongs here: —

"We are assembled on the day of the Sabbath, not because we are infected with Judaism, for we have never appropriated to ourselves false sabbaths; but we approach the Sabbath to adore Christ, the Lord of the Sabbath." ⁶¹

What is meant by the expression "false sabbaths," is explained by the use Cyril and Theodoret make of it. The Jews of this period had become so wanton in their Sabbath observance that Cyril and Theodoret apply the words of Amos 6: 3-6 to them. Augustine uses their desecration of the Sabbath as a proof that the real intent of Sabbath observance for the Christian is not literal, but spiritual: —

"A Jew would do better to work in his field at some useful labor than to spend his time at the theater in a seditious manner; and their women had much better spin on the Sabbath than spend the whole day on their new moons in immodest dancing. Therefore God commands thee to observe the Sabbath spiritually — not as the Jews do, in carnal rest to satisfy their vanity and luxury." ⁶²

All these quotations invariably agree that while the Sabbath ought to be regarded as holy, and as a weekly festival, yet it must not be observed in the "Jewish manner," in "carnal rest," but spiritually. And as Sabbath and Sunday were regarded as "breth-

⁶⁰ Epistle to the Magnesians (longer form), chap. 9.

⁶¹ Pseudoathan. de semente. tom. 1, p. 885.

⁶² De decem Chordis, cap. 3, tom. 9, p. 269.

ren," Augustine's saying in connection with his treatment of the desecration of the Sabbath by the Jews, that "it is better to plow than to dance,"⁶³ was, in his mind, just as significant for the observance of Sunday.

The only outward difference between the observance of Sabbath and Sunday was that prayer was performed in a standing posture on Sunday, "as Christ, by his resurrection, had raised up fallen man again to heaven." But even this mere traditional honor was also accorded to the Sabbath, as appears from the following censure of Tertullian's:—

"In the matter of *kneeling* also, prayer is subject to diversity of observance, through the act of some few who abstain from kneeling on the Sabbath; and since this dissension is particularly on its trial before the churches, the Lord will give his grace that the dissentients may either yield or else indulge their opinion without offense to others."⁶⁴

These "few" in north Africa who stood in prayer on the Sabbath, were Christian observers of the Sabbath. As Neander clearly states, it was through the influence of the Christian Sabbath-keepers "that the custom became general in the Eastern Church of distinguishing this day, as well as Sunday, by the exclusion of fasts, and by the standing position in prayer."⁶⁵ Accordingly, we read in "Johann. Monach. Canonarium:" "On *all Sabbaths*, Lord's days, and festivals of the Lord, not to kneel in prayer."⁶⁶

⁶³ On Psalm 91, tom. 6, col. 235.

⁶⁴ On Prayer, chap. 23.

⁶⁵ Church History. 1, sec. 3, p. 404.

⁶⁶ Ap. Morinus de Poenit., p. 616 sq. Venice, 1702.

Not only was there a difference between the East and Rome in the manner of prayer on the Sabbath, but they also differed in the matter of celebrating the communion, as we find from Socrates, a church historian of the fifth century: —

“For although almost all of the churches throughout the world celebrate the sacred mysteries on the Sabbath of every week, yet the Christians of Alexandria and at Rome, on account of some ancient tradition, refuse to do this.” ⁶⁷

Sozomen, his contemporary, extends this even to the matter of assembling: —

“The people of Constantinople, and several other cities, assemble together on the Sabbath, as well as on the next day; which custom is never observed at Rome, or at Alexandria.” ⁶⁸

Not only was Rome the very place where the Sabbath day first ceased to be honored; it was the Roman Church, which, following in the wake of Gnosticism, first dishonored the Sabbath of the Lord by fasting upon it. Alaspinaeus (*Observ.* i, 13) quotes Tertullian to prove that the church at Rome did not as yet fast regularly each Sabbath in his time. Tertullian, as a Montanist, fasted in the two weeks of the xerophagies in the year, Sabbaths and Sundays excepted. Therefore the Roman bishop charged him with “Galaticizing,” being an “observer of seasons.” Tertullian retaliates by censuring them for at times depriving the Sabbath of its due honor, by continuing their fast “even over the Sabbath,—

⁶⁷ B. 5, 22.

⁶⁸ B. 7, 19.

a day never to be kept as a fast except at the Pass-over season, according to a reason elsewhere given."⁶⁹

Neander ascribes the exclusion of fasting on the Sabbath in the East to the strong influence of those who observed it. The so-called Apostolic Canons, an ancient collection of church ordinances, declares (canon 66): —

"If any clergyman be found to fast on the Lord's day or on the Sabbath, let him be deposed; if a layman, let him be excommunicated."

To introduce fasting on the Sabbath would prove hostile to the Sabbath observers. The real motive actuating the introduction of Sabbath fasting by the Catholic Church is given vent to in the following expression of Bishop Victorinus at the close of the third century: —

"Let the fasting on Friday be extended, lest we should appear to observe any Sabbath with the Jews, which Christ, himself the Lord of the Sabbath, says by his prophets that 'his soul hateth;' which Sabbath he in his body abolished."⁷⁰

Thus by the end of the third century we find the very same words in the mouth of a Catholic bishop that we found in the mouth of the Gnostic Marcion at the beginning of the second century; the same hatred produced kindred action. Neander thus states where this was first manifested: —

"While in the Western, and especially in the *Romish Church, where the opposition against Judaism predominated,*

⁶⁹ On Fasting, chap. 14.

⁷⁰ Ante-Nicene Library, vol. 18, p. 390, "On the Creation of the World."

the custom, on the other hand, grew out of this opposition, of observing the Sabbath also as a fast-day. As early as the beginning of the third century the learned Hippolytus was led to write on this controversy between the Eastern and the Western Church."⁷¹

Hippolytus was a decided antagonist of the aspiring claims of the Roman bishops. According to Jerome, he wrote a treatise against fasting on the Sabbath as it was practised by the Roman Church.⁷²

According to Cardinal Damian, Pope Sylvester, of Rome (314-335), first publicly sanctioned fasting on Sabbath in the Roman Church by the following sentence:—

"If every Lord's day, on account of the resurrection of the Lord, is to be kept and honored, it is but equitable that every Sabbath day, on account of the burial, now be given to fasting; so that we, bewailing with the apostles the death of Christ, rejoice with them over the resurrection. If every Lord's day be adorned with the glory of the resurrection, so every Sabbath day, which antecedes it, is to be a fast in mourning over the burial."⁷³

This same Sylvester is also said legally to have sanctioned the term *feriæ* as the proper term for the week-days. The Roman Breviary (*lect. 6 in festis S. Sylvestri*) remarks, under Pope Sylvester:—

"Retaining the names Sabbath and the Lord's day, and distinguishing the remaining days of the week by the term *feriæ*, he wished them to be called what the church had already previously commenced to name them, whereby was signified that the clergy should daily call upon the one God, after having set apart the worship of other things."

⁷¹ Church History, 1. 404. 405.

⁷² Jerome, *epist.* 71. 6.

⁷³ Migne 145. 803; Damiani Opera. Paris. 1743. 3. chap. 3.

Although this treatise of Hippolytus is not extant, still we have Augustine's treatment of the whole issue and its true status at that time (354-430). An anonymous person living in Rome had sent Cassulanus a treatise urging all to fast on the Sabbath. We give the following epitome of Augustine's refutation of this doctrine in his epistle to Cassulanus:—

"It is not without reason that the church takes no small offense at whoever singles out this as a special fast-day; for in such things as the Scriptures have ordained nothing definite, the custom of the people of God and the usages of their forefathers should be regarded as law." "To be sure, 'the life of the sheep depends on the judgment of the shepherd.' But if a Roman speaks thus, then the people at Rome, depending on the judgment of their shepherd, fast on the Sabbath with their bishop. He ought not to urge you to praise Christian Rome for fasting on the Sabbath, for this would force you, on the other hand, to condemn the whole Christian world, which dines on the Sabbath." "If he claims that 'Peter as the chief of the apostles had thus taught them,' have the other apostles in opposition to Peter instructed the whole world to dine on the Sabbath? The opinion that before his dispute with Simon Magus, Peter first fasted with the church on the Sabbath, is quite extensively circulated, and yet even most of the Romans consider it a fiction." "If he farther claims that 'all old things have passed away, and in Christ all things have become new,' this is true. Therefore, we do not abstain from work on the Sabbath as do the Jews; nevertheless, in commemoration of this rest that is prefigured by that day, we lessen the rigor of that fast, and yet adhere to Christian sobriety and temperance. The correct understanding of this is that the carnal Sabbath has given way to the spiritual, whatever the manner be — whether some dine or some fast on that weekly recurring Sabbath. Longing after the eternal and true rest on that spiritual sabbath, the temporal abstinence from work

on that day is *already considered superstitious*. We all fast on the sixth day, because Christ then suffered; but concerning the Sabbath, during which Christ lay in the grave, just as God rested from all his works in the beginning of the world, it is here that the different colors of the garments of the king's daughter apply, as some fast, and others do not. We all fast on Easter Sabbath — even those who otherwise dine; fasting on this Sabbath commemorates the mourning of the disciples; partaking of food on all other Sabbaths shows forth the joy of the acquired rest." "When I was a candidate for baptism at Milan, my mother, who then visited me, was in serious doubts as to whether she should fast on the Sabbath according to their usual custom at home, or dine in harmony with the usage at Milan. I therefore consulted Ambrose, bishop of Milan. He referred to his own experience: 'When I am here, I fast not on the Sabbath; when I am at Rome, I fast on the Sabbath: and to whatever church I may come, and to whatever church you may come, observe the custom of the place, if you would neither give offense to others, or take offense from them.'"⁷⁴

This epistle throws considerable light on the whole controversy. It shows that as late as the end of the fourth century the bishop of Rome and some of the churches in the West, differed from all the rest of the world in the matter of Sabbath fasting. While Rome urged its universal obligation, Ambrose and Augustine regarded it as a matter of minor importance, believing that the church, the true King's daughter, might, as such, wear a garment of different colors, and yet be one in all important matters. And in this question they were united on the main issue — that the carnal Sabbath of the Jews had given way to the spiritual sabbath of the Chris-

⁷⁴ August., epist. 86, ad Casul. See also epist. 118, ad Januarium.

tians, and that it was superstitious to abstain from temporal works on that day. And what they believed about abstaining from work on the Sabbath, they also held with reference to abstaining from work on Sunday. Abstaining from work came into consideration only so far as upon it depended attendance at the services on Sabbath or on Sunday.

This chapter has fully substantiated the fact that the example of the apostolic church in the observance of the Sabbath in honor of Christ as Creator and Redeemer, was faithfully followed by the true Israel of God even into the fifth century, whence we shall trace its observance in the following chapters. Seeing the need of grace to enable them to keep the commandments of God, they were willing to have the Holy Spirit write his law in their minds and hearts, although for this faithfulness they had to bear the reproach of Christ more than any other Christian party. While mystic Gnosticism swayed the general body of the church from one extreme to the other, they, guided by the Holy Spirit, kept to the golden mean. And while the tradition-laden Sabbath of the Jew was mystified into the spiritual sabbath of the Gnostic, the faithful Israelite kept the Sabbath in the spirit of his Master, true to its benevolent and Edenic design. Though the Gnostic degraded the Sabbath of Jehovah into a fast-day to spite the God of the Jews; though the Roman bishop followed in his wake; though church councils anathematized genuine Sabbath observance as Judaizing; though the unbelieving Jew

desecrated the Sabbath of his forefathers by his wantonness; though the large body of the church gradually preferred the popular day of the heathen world, and made both days merely festivals (to which were added almost an innumerable number of others), and called abstinence from work merely a superstition, still the seventh-day Sabbath, blessed of the Creator in the beginning, remained the only delight of the true Israel of God. Persecuted as Nazarenes by the unbelieving Jew, despised as Jewish by the idolatrous pagan and the mystic Gnostic, anathematized as heretics by the general church, discriminated against as lawless by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, yet they kept the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus,—“heretics,” and yet the true church; “Jewish,” and still the genuine Christians; persecuted, and yet victorious. In closing this chapter, we know of no more fitting words than the following from Pollock’s “Course of Time:”—

“Sure sign, whenever seen,
That holiness is dying in the land:
The Sabbath was profaned and set at naught.”

CHAPTER XX

SUNDAY HOLINESS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

The rise of the Papal See — The eldest son of the church — Character of the Franks — Dr. Zahn on how Sunday holiness became established among the half-heathen tribes — Council of Orleans and Judaizing on Sunday — Stripes for Sunday desecration — Sunday penalties fixed under divine inspiration at Macon — The implacable anger of the clergy for Sunday work — The statute of Childebert — The miracles of Gregory of Tours — Divine judgments upon Sunday work fabricated — Perpetual slavery for continued Sunday work — First appearance of scrolls from heaven in favor of Sunday — The first English Sunday laws — Canons of English councils — Marriage forbidden, under penance, on the Lord's day — Boniface's Sunday laws — Loss of right hand for working on Sunday — A Sunday scroll condemned by the Pope — Charlemagne the standard-bearer of St. Peter — Forced conversions — Alcuin the first to bring forth the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday — Carolingian capitularies regarding Sunday — Council of Paris implores the imperial arm to punish Sunday desecration — Leo the Philosopher's criticism on Constantine's Sunday law — Stealing on Sunday worse than on other days — Sunday legislation in Hungary — Olaus, king of Norway — Souls relieved in purgatory on Sunday — The holy Sunday commandment — Chronologists record its approval — Innocent III — New Sunday miracles — Letters from heaven still for sale — Neglect of church attendance fined — Gregory IX's Decretals on feast-days — Indulgences for Sunday work granted — Inconsistencies of Sunday legislation.

BY the end of the fifth century, Sunday stood firmly embodied as a weekly holiday, in the Theodosian code of the empire and in the canons of general councils and synods; but it was by no means thereby so indelibly engraved on the depraved hearts of the Romans. The imperial theocracy of the West met its just doom in A. D. 476, when it became an easy prey to the heretical barbarians. The time foreseen by the prophet Daniel had come, "when out of the chaos of the northern migrations and on the ruins of the Roman empire

gradually a new order of states should arise, whose central point was the Papal See,"—the little horn from among the ten kings; or, as Stanley puts it: "When the barbarians broke upon Italy, the Pope thus became the representative of the ancient republic."¹ Already when the gates of imperial Rome were opened to the victorious Attila and Genseric, it was Leo, the Roman bishop, who averted the worst. He justly bears the name of "The Great," if greatness depends upon the conception of the papal idea; for when this was once pronounced, it was only a matter of time until the imperial theocracy, which had hitherto summoned councils, presided over them, and given their canons the force of universal law, should be replaced by the papal hierarchy, which would proudly dictate her laws to emperors and kings, and hold the whole world in fear by her anathemas.

But before the Papacy could assume such power, there was first to be made room for it among the kings. Arianism had not only played an important part at the Byzantine court, but the barbarians had become attached to it. The Goths, the Vandals, the Burgundians, the Suevi, etc., were all Arians. When the Western empire fell, the bishop of Rome became the political subject of Arian kings. Odoacer and Theodoric, though heretics in the eyes of the Catholics, decided the heated contest between rivals for the papal chair.

"In the midst of the greatest distress the church

¹ "The Eastern Church," lect. 6, p. 206.

was gladdened by the conversion of the Franks, whose king, Clovis, was baptized after the battle of Zuelpich," are the suggestive words of the Roman Catholic historian.² "The Salian Franks were the first among the Teutonic tribes which were converted to Catholic or orthodox Christianity. Hence the sovereign of France is styled by the popes, 'the oldest son of the church,' and Rheims, where Clovis was baptized, is the holy city where most of the French kings down to Charles X (A. D. 1824) were consecrated. The conversion of the Franks prepared the way for the downfall of the Arian heresy among the other Germanic nations, and for the triumph of the Papacy in the German empire under Charlemagne."³

As Clovis was going down into the water, the bishop exclaimed, "Behold the new Constantine!" Pope Anastasius, learning that Clovis, with three thousand of his men, had been baptized, sent a message: "The Chair of St. Peter rejoices that so many people flow unto him; may you be an iron pillar for his church in this present hour of her afflictions!" As he was the only Roman Catholic ruler in the world, Clovis was claimed at once as the patron and protector of the Papacy. He should be the "common sun to which all the nations would be attracted; the church would take the deepest interest in his success; if he should go to war, she is victorious." Legends of miraculous help supplied

² Dr. H. Brueck, *Kirchengeschichte*, sec. 78, p. 247.

³ Schaff, fourth period, par. 22, 1, 80.

all that was lacking; for Gregory of Tours reports, in his history of the Franks, that St. Martin sent a hind to show Clovis the passage through the Vienne, that St. Hilary went before him in a cloud of fire. Now the Pope could cry out in the words of Baronius: "When the Roman Church seemed about to perish, the kings, not of the East, but from the North, came to the cradle of Christ, as in times of old." ⁴ And Pope Gregory II could write to the emperor of the East: "All they of the West have their eyes bent on our humility; they regard us as a god on earth." ⁵ The following from Bonifacius shows what help the Franks were to the Catholic Church:—

"Without the patronage of the Frankish ruler, I can neither govern the people nor defend the presbyters, deacons, monks, or handmaidens of God; nor even could I forbid the pagan rites and sacrilegious idolatries in Germany without his mandate and the fear of his name." ⁶

But what "sad Christians" the Franks were, and how much the second Constantine was like the first, is thus stated by Montalembert:—

"Their incredible perversity was most apparent in the domestic tragedies, the fratricidal executions and assassinations, of which Clovis gave the first example, and which marked the history of the son and grandson with an ineffaceable stain. Polygamy and perjury mingled in their daily life with a semi-pagan superstition, and in reading these bloody biographies, scarcely lightened by some transient

⁴Gregory II to the emperor Leo the Isaurian; "History of the Popes," Leopold Ranke. London, 1843, p. 9.

⁵Epist. 12, ad Danielelem episc.

gleams of faith or humility, it is difficult to believe that, in embracing Christianity, they gave up a single pagan vice or adopted a single Christian virtue."⁶

It was among such "sad Christians" that Sunday became sanctified by "divine command" and "judgments." And in what manner, Dr. Th. Zahn describes:—

"It was reserved to the lawgivers of the German states to rigorously enforce upon the unmanageable, half-heathen tribes, the celebration of Sunday, the principal object of which was the cessation from labor. Whether the civil authorities offered to see to the enforcement of the laws, or whether it was entrusted to the bishops, if in one instance traveling by water and by land was allowed, while it was most strictly forbidden in another; whether there should be inflicted only a money or property penalty; or whether it might be increased to depriving the free-born of liberty, and to the amputation of the right hand of the slave,—the spirit of these laws was ever the same,—that of the Old Testament. This legislation is accompanied by a *new* theological doctrine of Sunday, or it is founded upon such from the beginning. That this Christian celebration of Sunday is identified with the Sabbath observance commanded of God through Moses, was an unheard-of doctrine in the ancient church.

"At first this doctrine seems to have raised its head but timidly; however, it must have been already active, when, in A. D. 538, the council of Orleans opposed as a Jewish superstition the idea that it should be unlawful to ride and drive, to prepare food, to clean house, or to bathe on Sunday. At that time there were people in France who began to apply to Sunday the Mosaic ordinances concerning the observance of the Sabbath. Scarce half a century had passed before the synods accepted the very principle they had rejected at Orleans. Henceforth it became the rule to emphasize as the characteristic of Sunday observance the omission of 'servile

⁶ Montalembert, 2, 235, in Schaff, fourth period, 1, 83.

labor' in all the decrees of the synods and in the civil laws, and to appeal to the Mosaic Sabbath law as a command still binding upon the Christian. It was declared that the ancient doctors of the church had transferred all the glory from the Jewish sabbath to Sunday, and in this manner had made the somewhat moderated Sabbath law the basis for Christian Sunday observance. Then, too, the people were told dreadful stories of divine judgment against Sunday work. The intention to have a most powerful effect upon the people and princes, had begotten this new Sunday doctrine. It made a much deeper impression upon them if they could be pointed to an express, divine command; and the church was glorified if credence was given to its assertion that it had supplanted the letter of the old law of God by a new and no less divine law, by virtue of its own full and perfect power, through which it also instituted other festivals of greater sanctity and made them binding on the conscience of Christendom."⁷

Canons of councils, statutes of the civil law, and statements from ecclesiastical writers fully bear out this testimony from Dr. Zahn, as we shall see; for beginning with the sixth century, they alter their tone (frequently contradicting one another), but are all the time bent on gradually identifying Sunday with the Sabbath. We shall begin with the Western councils, where the sentiment of the Roman bishop is most plainly voiced. The first national council of Orleans (A. D. 511) decreed:—

"Canon 26. On Sundays lay members must attend the whole mass, and are not to leave ere the benediction. If any leaves, he shall be publicly censured by the bishops."

"Canon 31. A bishop, unless he is ill, must not fail in attendance at divine service on Sunday in the church which lies nearest to him."⁸

⁷ Zahn's *Geschichte des Sonntags*, pp. 42-44.

⁸ Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, 2, sec. 224.

Thus even bishops had to be urged to attend the Sunday services. That which at times occupied them is revealed to us by canon 41, of the council of Arragon (A. D. 516): —

"No bishop or presbyter shall sit in judgment on Sunday. They may, however, settle quarrels on other days, with the exception of criminal cases."⁹

But the real status of Sunday observance at the beginning of the sixth century is set before us by the twenty-eighth canon of the third council of Orleans: —

"Because people are persuaded that they ought not to travel on the Lord's day with horses, oxen, and carriages, nor to prepare anything for food, nor to employ themselves in any way conducing to the cleanliness and adornment of their houses or persons (which is proved to belong rather to *Jewish superstition* than to Christian observance), we ordain that those things are lawful to be done, as they have *heretofore* been *lawful*. Moreover, we decide to abstain from rural work, plowing, pruning of vines, or vintage — frequently at least — that one may be more easily at leisure to attend church on account of the sermon. If any be found engaged in the above-named occupations, which are forbidden to them, they shall be brought to obedience in some way — not through the severity of laymen, but by priestly reproof."¹⁰

This canon positively declared that up to that time rural work had been allowed, and it did not even prohibit labor then because any divine law would be transgressed, but rather to facilitate church attendance in this way. Rural work was not absolutely forbidden, but it was "frequently at least;"

⁹ Id., sec. 229.

¹⁰ For the Latin text, see Labbe, 9, 19.

and as yet fines were not imposed -- it was only reproof at the hands of the clergy. However, some were already identifying Sunday with the Sabbath, and urged a very strict observance of it; but this council condemns such as "Jewish superstition."

And the civil law quickly followed in the footprints of the ecclesiastical. In A. D. 554 King Chilbert issued a law against those who persisted in retaining heathen idols on their estates, and against Sunday desecration. That part of the law referring to the latter subject reads: —

"Complaint has reached us that many sacrileges happen among the people, by which God is grieved, and the people become a prey to death on account of their sins. The night vigils are spent in drunkenness, sport, and rioting; and dancing girls roam about in the villages, even on holy days, like Easter, Christmas, and other festivals, or on the accompanying Lord's day. All this, whereby God is manifestly offended, we shall henceforth by no means permit. If any one, after the admonition of the priest and of this our command, shall dare to perpetrate the same sacrilege, he shall receive a hundred stripes, if a slave; but if free-born, or perhaps a more honored person, he shall be condemned to rigid imprisonment. Because such despise wholesome words intended to bring them back from the danger of death, and they should be placed under penance that it may strengthen them, crucified at least in the body, to restore health according to the desire of the spirit."¹¹

The council of Auxerre (A. D. 578) decreed in canon 16: —

"It is not allowed to yoke up oxen on the Lord's day, or to perform other work — except for the reason stated."¹²

¹¹ For the text, see Dr. Trunscher's collection of civil and ecclesiastical ordinances for Christian Sunday observance, Erlangen, 1839, pp. 8, 9.

¹² Id., sec. 65.

The second council of Macon (A. D. 585) went much further, and, as Bishop Grimelund fittingly remarks, "by its severe prohibition and hard punishment," it "had already stamped the seal of the law upon Sunday, and that, too, by ecclesiastical authority." To restore the neglected observance of the Lord's day, the first canon enjoined: —

"Notice is taken that Christian people thoughtlessly abandon the Lord's day to contempt, giving themselves to continuous work, as on other days. Therefore we decree by this our synodal epistle that every one of us admonish the people under his charge in the holy churches. Whoever heeds this admonition will reap the benefits; whoever does not makes himself liable to the penalties fixed upon by us under *divine inspiration* (*divinitus*). Therefore, all ye Christians who do not bear this name in vain, listen to our advice, knowing that we are concerned for your good, and have power to restrain you from evil-doing: Keep the Lord's day, the day of our new birth and deliverance from all sin. Upon it let no one be inflamed by lawsuits; let no one collect fines; let no one create such a necessity as would seem to force him to place the yoke upon the necks of his cattle. Let all be occupied, mind and body, in the hymns and praise of God. If there be a church near by, hasten to it, and there on the Lord's day place yourself in the proper frame of mind through prayers and tears. If your eyes and hands are extended to God during this whole day, then it is to you a perpetual day of rest; this, prefigured by the shadow of the seventh day, is recognized in the law and the prophets. It is therefore but just for us to unanimously celebrate this day, through which we are made what we were not; for formerly we were the servants of sin, but through it we are made servants of righteousness. Let us offer a free service unto God, by whom we are renewed through piety and set free from the prison-house of error: not because our Lord desires us to celebrate the Lord's day by abstaining from bodily work; but he seeks obedience by which he mercifully leads us to heaven, after

we have trampled earthly tendencies under foot. If with some of you this wholesome exhortation weighs but little, or is treated contemptuously, be it known unto him that he will be chiefly punished of God according to his just deserts, besides having immediately drawn upon him the *implacable anger* of the clergy. If he has a case in court, he shall irreparably lose it; if he be a farmer or a slave, he shall be scourged with severer blows of the lash; if he be a clergyman or a monk, he shall be shut out from the society of his brethren for six months. For all this restores unto us the forgiving mind of God, as well as keeps the plagues of sickness and sterility far from us."¹³

These punishments were to be executed by the ecclesiastical authorities; to give the whole matter his royal sanction, King Guntram issued "a most glorious precept to the bishops and judges of his realm," on Nov. 4, 585. In this lengthy decree, which covers several pages, he solemnly charges the ecclesiastical and civil authorities to enjoin upon the people this very canon of the council concerning Sunday observance; otherwise, they would make themselves guilty of the divine wrath, which would surely fall upon them. Then he continues:—

"On the strength of this decree and in the light of this general definition, be it therefore ordained that on all Lord's days on which we honor the mystery of the holy resurrection, or on any of the other festivals when, according to custom, the religious assembly of the whole people is studiously called together to revere the oracles of the temples, all corporeal work be suspended except that necessary in the preparation of food, and that in particular there be no court proceedings, from any cause whatsoever."¹⁴

¹³ Id., sec. 66; Conc. Gall., coll. 1, pp. 1295-1298; Mansi, 9, 949.

¹⁴ Irmischer, sec. 11; Baluz., 1, 9-12.

Canon 4 of this same council of Macon "enjoins all believers, men and women, to bring an oblation of bread and wine every Sunday."¹⁵ Canon 4 of the council of Narbonne (A. D. 589) enjoins this abstinence from work upon everybody:—

"No man, free-born or slave, Goth, Roman, Syrian, Greek, or Jew, shall do any kind of work on the Lord's day, nor shall they yoke up cattle excepting in case of necessity. But if any one should presume to do it, the free-born shall pay the magistrate six solidi (a solidus is about twelve shillings, or three dollars), and the slave shall receive one hundred stripes."¹⁶

A civil statute of King Childebert was issued in the same year, to this effect:—

"Likewise we ordain to regard the Lord's day. If a free-man should presume to do any work save what pertains to cooking or to eating, he shall be fined fifteen solidi if he be a Salian, and seven and a half if he be a Roman; but a slave should either give three solidi, or have it taken out of his hide."¹⁷

What a wonderful change was brought about by this sixth century! At its close, the most cruel ecclesiastical and civil laws enjoin that which was regarded as "Jewish superstition" at its beginning. What wrought such wonderful changes? Dr. Loening furnishes the key to this in his work on ecclesiastical law. At first neither the church in general nor the state dreamed of punishing work done on Sunday and on holidays, but "miraculous stories were set afloat as an evidence of how divine punish-

¹⁵ Conciliengesch., 3, sec. 286.

¹⁶ Irmischer, sec. 67.

¹⁷ Id., sec. 12.

ment would follow immediately and relentlessly on the heels of all work, even the most necessary." Then he continues:—

"Gregory of Tours is especially productive of this kind of narrations. Hist. x, 30; 'De Miraculis S. Juliani,' c. 40; 'De Miraculis S. Martini,' 3, c. 3, 7, 29, 55 (4, c. 45; 'Vit. patrum,' 7, c. 5; 15, c. 3). At one time it is a peasant who gathers in his hay on Sunday because of the threatening rain; another time it is a peasant on his way to church, who, seeing cattle in his field, hastily repairs the hedge, that his year's work may not be in vain; then again, it is a girl, combing her hair: all have to feel the wrath of the saints, and are punished with some physical ailment in return."¹⁸

An English preacher, Francis West, gravely adduces one of these miracles in support of Sunday sacredness:—

"Gregory of Tours reporteth that a husbandman, who upon the Lord's day went to plow his field with an iron, the iron stuck so fast in his hand that for two years he could not be delivered from it, but carried it about continually, to his exceeding great pain and shame."¹⁹

Gregory of Tours again and again expresses his intense hatred against the Jews, forgetting the admonition of Paul in Rom. 11: 19, 20, as well as the royal law of love toward all. In his history of the Franks, which abounds with all sorts of miracles, he relates the following:—

"Near the town of Lemovicinia there were several destroyed by the heavenly fire, because they had worked publicly on the Lord's day, and thus desecrated it. For this day that

¹⁸ Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenrechts, 2, 455-458.

¹⁹ "Historical and Practical Discourses on the Lord's Day," p. 174. Chester 1805.

first saw the newly created light in the beginning is holy, and it shines forth as a witness of the resurrection; therefore it must be kept by the Christians in all faithfulness, and no public work is to be performed on that day. Also many have been devoured of this fire in Touraine, but not upon a Sunday." ²⁰

This story tells its own tale at the end — many others were struck by lightning who had not worked on Sunday! Even at the present day, how many are the tracts written by religious societies, which, for want of better evidence, produce such tales in behalf of the sacredness of Sunday!

But about this time yet other means began to be employed by the monks and the clergy, to impress upon the superstitious nations only partly reclaimed from paganism the sanctity of Sunday, and to make them believe that the decalogue now demanded the keeping of the first day of the week instead of the day which had been observed by the despised Jews. Scrolls said to have fallen from heaven, and attributed to Christ, were produced. And thus the lack of a divine precept was to be supplied by human forgeries. The first recorded instance of such a forgery dates from this very time, and the evidence is to be found in the correspondence between two Spanish bishops, mentioned by Fabricius in his *Apocryphal Codex of the New Testament*, under "Writings Attributed to Christ." About A. D. 585, Bishop Vincent, of Yvica, sent to Bishop Licinian, of Cartagena, such a scroll, the

²⁰ " *Historia Francorum*," 10, 30.

contents of which are quoted to some extent in the answer of Licinian. The latter answers:—

“Your letter has much grieved us, because, according to your statement, you have accepted said epistle, and even proclaimed it from your pulpit to the people.” “I am astonished at your credulity, and hardly know how you, having the predictions of the prophets, the Gospels of Christ, and the epistles of the apostles, can believe the said epistle, fabricated under the name of Christ, although it lacks elegance of speech and sound doctrine. In the beginning we read that the Lord’s day is to be kept. What Christian does not keep this day in greater honor, not because of its own merits, but because Christ rose from the dead on it? As far as I am able to discern, the new idea of this preacher is to compel us to *Judaize*, for, according to him, one is not permitted to prepare the necessary food or to take a walk on this day. Your holiness can judge how bad this would be. We would that if the Christian people do not attend church on that day they might do something useful instead of dancing and distorting their well-formed, God-given bodies, and singing lewd songs to encourage immorality. Be it far from your holiness to believe that now epistles are sent to us from Christ.” “Has perhaps the new name pleased you so much because, as the impostor claims, this epistle fell from heaven upon the altar of Christ in the church of St. Peter? Know that this is a deception of the devil, and that the divine Scripture, the epistle or epistles, are heavenly, and have not been sent to us from heaven.”²¹

This furnishes positive evidence that by the end of the sixth century, such supposed heavenly scrolls began to be circulated, and that even then already some bishops went so far as to read them from their pulpits. But other bishops, true to the decision of

²¹ Codex Apocryphus, Hamburg, 1702, pp. 308, 309; J. S. de Aguirre coll. max. concilior. Hispaniæ, 2, 428.

the council of Orleans based on the church Fathers condemned their tendency as "Judaizing."

The eighteenth canon of the council at Chalons (A. D. 644) reads:—

"It is generally admitted by all Catholics who fear God that it behooves them to observe the Lord's day (which is the first day of the week), as has been decreed in all former canons: we institute nothing new, but renew the old—that no one conceive of the idea of performing rural work on the Lord's day, such as plowing, mowing, gathering in the harvest, breaking up new land, or doing anything else pertaining to rural labor. If any one should be found doing this, he shall be straightened out by severe discipline of all sorts." ²²

To this century belongs also the so-called Alemanian law, which has the following Sunday ordinance:—

"Let no one perform servile work on Sunday, because this law prohibits it, and the Holy Scripture is altogether contrary to it. If any slave be found guilty, he is to be beaten with rods. The freeman may be arrested until the third offense; if he still continues, he shall lose the third part of his inheritance; if he yet persists, he should be brought and convicted before the diet, and, after the duke has ordained it, he shall be made a slave: because he would not have leisure for God, he shall remain in perpetual slavery." ²³

The oldest Anglo-Saxon document mentioning Sunday is a Penitential written about A. D. 668 by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, the eleventh article of which reads:—

"If any one works on the Lord's day, the Greeks accuse him the first time, the second time they take something from

²² Irmischer, sec. 68.

²³ Id., sec. 13.

him, the third time they take the third part of his goods, or scourge him, or make him fast seven days. But if any one fasts from negligence on the Lord's day, he is to abstain from food the whole week; if again, twenty days; and if afterwards, forty days."²⁴

The earliest mention of Sunday in an English law is the following:—

"I, Ine (A. D. 688–726), king of the West Saxons, with the advice of Cenred, my father, and Hedde and Erkenwald, my bishops, with all my aldermen and most distinguished sages, and also with a large assembly of God's servants, considering of the health of our souls and the stability of our realm, . . . made several enactments, of which this is the third: If a bondman work on Sunday by his lord's command, let him be free; and let the lord pay thirty shillings' fine (*wite*); but if the bondman went to work without his knowledge, let him suffer in his hide, or pay a ransom. But if a freeman work on that day without his lord's command, let him forfeit his freedom, or sixty shillings; if he be a priest, double."²⁵

King Withred, of Kent, and canons 10–12 of the council of Berkhamstead (A. D. 697) enjoin:—

"If a bondman do any servile work contrary to his lord's command, from sunset Saturday till sunset Sunday, let him pay a fine of eighty shillings to his lord. But if he does it at his own accord, let him pay six shillings or his hide. But if a freeman at the forbidden time do this, let him be liable in his 'heals fang' [a fixed amount of the value placed on a person]; and the man who detects him, let him half the fine and the work."²⁶

The law enjoins the latter penalty also on the people who still make offerings to devils. These

²⁴ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, etc.*, Oxford, 1871, 3, pp. 173–213.

²⁵ *Id.*, p. 214.

²⁶ *Id.*, 235.

strangely graduated penalties are likewise found in the Constitutions of Egbert, archbishop of York, 749; and the council of Clovishoff (A. D. 747) charges the abbots and presbyters "to remain on this most holy day in their monasteries and churches, read mass, avoid all secular business, and not to travel unless in special need."²⁷ Pope and archbishop even forbade marrying on Sunday, as Dr. Binterim thus affirms:—

"Some may be perhaps surprised to learn that Gregory III (A. D. 731-741) and Egbert of York (A. D. 784) forbade marriage on Sunday, and imposed a penance. Gregory III says, in his *Judiciis Poenitent.*: 'Whoever marries on the Lord's day, shall ask God for mercy and do penance from one to three days.'—*Harduin.*, tom. 3, p. 1877. And Egbert extends the penance to seven days. *Id.*, p. 1970."²⁸

Some of the collections of canons from synods held on the Continent belong also to this period. In canon 23, enacted under Boniface (A. D. 680-755), we read: "If a freeman yokes up his oxen on Sunday, he shall lose his right ox."²⁹ On what basis Boniface enjoined Sunday already in his time, is seen from his fifteenth sermon on the renunciation of the devil in baptism, where he reminds the heathen converts of what they have renounced. After speaking of the commandments they should keep, he continues:—

"Keep the Sabbath and go to church — to pray, but not

²⁷ Irmischer, sec. 70.

²⁸ Denkwürdigkeiten, 14, 142.

²⁹ Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, 3, sec. 376.

to prattle. Give alms according to your power, for alms extinguish sins as water does fire."³⁰

Thus the heathen converts were taught that Sunday was the Sabbath required in the commandments, and its observance was enjoined by the most stringent laws. The aforementioned canon appears in the so-called Bavarian law, which seems to belong to this period:—

"If a freeman has done servile work on the Lord's day, that is, if he has yoked up oxen, and driven about with a cart, he shall lose the right oxen. But if he makes hedges, mows hay, or cuts or gathers grain, or performs any other servile work on the Lord's day, he shall be arrested once, and twice. But if he does not reform, his back shall receive fifty stripes. If he persists, he shall lose his liberty, and be sold as a slave, because he would not be free on the Lord's holy day.

"But the slave shall also be whipped for such a crime, and if he persists, he shall lose his right hand. If any one travels by cart or by boat, which is forbidden, he shall rest until the second *feria*. And if he does not want to regard the precept of the Lord, that he should not perform any servile work on the holy day, neither his servant, etc., then he shall be fined twelve solidi. And if he frequently transgresses, he shall be subject to greater punishment."³¹

During this period we find a further trace of these so-called "heavenly letters," which were so widely circulated in the Frankish empire that not only general synods, but even a council at Rome, had to take action condemning them as forgeries. As the letter we wish to consider is quite long, we shall content ourselves by simply quoting in part:—

³⁰ Quoted in Schaff, fourth period, vol. 1, 97, sec. 25.

³¹ Irmischer, sec. 14.

"Here begins the epistle of our Lord Jesus Christ, which fell from heaven, Michael himself having carried it. It was found at the gate of Efre by a priest named Eros. He handed it to Leopas, who carried it to Cappadocia, and there its writing was made known unto the priests, and many people who were gathered together to seek God, as follows: On the Lord's day there are to be no court sessions and no chase; the milk is not to be collected from the flocks, except as a gift to the poor; and the cattle are not to be yoked up. In case you do not observe the Lord's day, the judgments of God will fall upon you. The only work allowed, is to go to church, to hear mass, and to attend to works of charity. Do penance in sackcloth and ashes as the Ninevites, better your lives, ere the wrath of God come upon all the inhabitants of the earth, because you transgress my commandments and dishonor the holy Lord's day. If you do not hearken, I will send upon you hot stones of great weight, causing fire and destruction. If you watch and pray, give alms, return not evil for evil, and keep the Lord's day, then you shall reign with me in eternity. Such as still secretly sacrifice at fountains, trees, rocks, or sepulchers, as well as those who do not observe the Lord's day, I anathematize. Remember the tables of Moses my servant, and preach the law that the people may fear it. I admonish you by this epistle, that if any dare to chatter, to prattle, to sit about in church, or to leave the mass ere it is finished, he is anathematized. Wash not your clothes, cut not your hair or your beard upon this day, else I will send upon you locusts and ravenous wolves. If any one, instead of attending church on the Lord's day, rather trades, goes to the woods, rests, sits in the streets, or prattles, I will bring upon him the unbelieving heathen. In the beginning, after I had rested on and sanctified the Lord's day, I gave it to you. If you do not observe it, I will bring fiery serpents among you, O ye women, which shall devour your breasts; yea, I will bring worms, fire flame, etc., and as I shall judge the world, it will be but a great ruin. This epistle is to be announced to all people." ³²

³² Fabricius's Codex Apocryphus, pp. 310-314.

Can we hear in all this anything save what was then everywhere proclaimed from the pulpits? If "saints" pretended miracles to enjoin better Sunday observance, why should not some "sinner" think it a devout act to give such a document general circulation for the same purpose? A comparison of this text with that quoted in the acts of the council of Rome shows that different letters were in circulation. Adelbert and Clement, two British bishops, are condemned for its circulation, first by Boniface in the council at Liftinæ (A. D. 745), and then at Rome under Pope Zacharias, in a council held there the same year.³³ Walch, however, in his "History of Heretics," questions their guilt, because other epistles of like character are mentioned in the Capitularies of Charlemagne later on, and yet no reference whatever is made to these men. In the council of Aken (A. D. 789), canon 77 reads:—

"False writings, such as the letter which is said to have fallen from heaven last year, shall not be read, but burned." ³⁴

Thus such letters kept falling from time to time; though their contents might differ in words, their aim was the same—to misapply the fourth commandment in order to clothe Sunday with the lacking sanctity in the eyes of the half-converted heathen, whom Boniface reproves for still keeping pagan festivals in honor of their Woden and Thor.³⁵

³³ Hefele, 3, pp. 529-543, secs. 366, 367.

³⁴ Hefele, 3, 670, sec. 393.

³⁵ Hefele, 3, 501-513, sec. 362.

The great protector of Boniface was Pepin, who reigned A. D. 741-768, and it was his donation that laid the foundation for the "patrimony of St. Peter." His policy was closely followed by Charlemagne (A. D. 768-814), whose chief ambition was to found a Christian theocracy, he to be the temporal, while the Pope should be the spiritual, head of Continental Christendom. Dante has fitly characterized this in "Paradiso," 6, 94-97:—

"And when the tooth of the Lombards had bitten
The holy church, then underneath the wings
Did Charlemagne victorious succor her."

In the Lateran there is a mosaic picture of the ninth century, which represents Peter in glory bestowing the priestly stole upon the Pope, and the standard of Rome upon Charlemagne, who kneels to the left. As founder of the holy Roman empire, Charlemagne, aided by his learned men, issued the first great law book of the French and Germans, which, from its division into chapters, was called the *Capitularia*. Many of the laws are directly mentioned as precepts of the pontifex, while others are ascribed to his admonition.³⁶ Alcuin, Charlemagne's prime minister and his great teacher, positively taught that "the observation of the former Sabbath had been transferred very fitly to the Lord's day, by the custom and consent of Christian people."³⁷ On the other hand, he gave this sound

³⁶ Schaff, fourth period, I, 391, note 4, sec. 90.

³⁷ Quoted in Hessey, Sunday, p. 89.

advice to the emperor: "A person may be compelled to submit to baptism, but this can be of no use in the work of faith;" and also, that "after the profession of faith and baptism, respect must be had to the necessities of weak minds, in the exposition of the divine commandments."³⁸ However, in spite of this, the emperor drove the Saxons into the Elbe with the carnal sword, that they might be properly immersed, and the most severe ecclesiastical and civil laws were issued to force the half-converted pagans to keep Sunday. How far this doctrine of the transference of Sabbath to Sunday influenced the wording of imperial Sunday laws, is best seen from the manner in which they are introduced. Not only do they directly mention the Sabbath commandment as applying to Sunday; but the detailed specification of works forbidden on Sunday suggests the forty, less one, Sabbath precepts of the Mishna, which the following demonstrates:—

"We do ordain, as it is required in the law of God, that no servile works be performed on the Lord's days, . . . that men abstain from works of husbandry, *i. e.*, working in the vineyards, plowing in their fields, cutting grass or making hay, fencing or hedging, grubbing or felling trees, digging in the mines, constructing houses, working in the garden, going to law, or hunting. Only in three instances is carting allowed on the Lord's day, *i. e.*, in time of war, for provisions, and if it proves very necessary, to carry a corpse to the grave. Farther, women should not weave, dress cloth, do embroidery work, card wool, beat hemp, wash linen publicly, or shear sheep: in order that in all things the honor and the rest of the Lord's day be served. But the people shall everywhere

³⁸ Neander's Church History, vol. 5, pp. 98, 99, third period, sec. 1.

go to church, to attend the holy mass, and shall praise the Lord for all those good things which he has conferred upon us on this day."³⁹

To what extent the regulations concerning Sunday were an imitation of those concerning the Sabbath, is seen from the fact that the Capitularies demand that "the Lord's day be kept from vesper unto vesper," that is, from Saturday eve until Sunday eve.⁴⁰ This also finds expression in canon 19, of the synod at Frankfort (A. D. 794). They also forbid the holding of markets and court sessions, which requirements we find embodied in the sixteenth canon of Arles (A. D. 813) and in the thirty-seventh canon of Mayence (A. D. 813). Although Charlemagne seconded the efforts of the Roman Church by issuing minute Sunday laws, still their enforcement and the infliction of the penalties remained in the hands of the church. That the church tried to influence Charlemagne and his successors to step in with secular penalties, we shall definitely show. In A. D. 826, the great council held at Rome under Eugene II, decreed in canons 30 and 31:—

"No work nor trading is allowed on the Lord's days. Only the sale of provisions to travelers is permitted. Arrests are also allowed."⁴¹

The thirty-fifth canon of the same council is significant, as to the conditions that then existed in Rome:—

³⁹ Irmischer, sec. 20.

⁴⁰ Id., secs. 19, 23, 27, 31.

⁴¹ Hefele, 4, sec. 426, p. 50.

"Certain persons, especially women, come to church on Sunday and holidays, not with the right intention, but in order to dance after the services, and to sing improper songs and chants, after the manner of the pagans. Such return home laden with greater sins than they brought to church with them. If they persist, they shall be excommunicated. The priests ought to admonish the people to come to church only for prayers." ⁴²

This was followed by the council at Paris, A. D. 829, where the desire for direct civil legislation in behalf of Sunday observance is most positively expressed: —

"That the Christian religion does not with reverence and veneration care for the Lord's day on which the Author of life arose from the dead, and accept it as a day handed down by the holy Fathers upon the authority of the church, by no means agrees with divine authority. For while it appears that its veneration is guarded by some lords, on the other hand it is found that it is very seldom kept with the honor due to it by the slaves oppressed by their servitude. It was also the custom of the pagans to observe days in memory and reverence of their gods, and farther, it is the custom of the carnal Jews to observe the Sabbath carnally. But the custom arising from Christian devotion (which is believed to have come down from the tradition of the apostles, but is rather by the authority of the church) has become firmly established, to observe the Lord's day as venerable and honorable, in memory of the Lord's resurrection. For on this day God instituted the light of the world, Christ arose from the dead, and sent his Holy Spirit, the Comforter, to his apostles from heaven; and on this day, as is handed down by certain church Fathers, manna fell from heaven: these and similar things clearly demonstrate that this day is more noted and more venerable than the others. It is therefore evident that, although the Christian religion excels all others,

⁴² Id.; see also Baron. Annal. Eccl. Year 826. num. 6.

yet, just as the people have been overcome by worldly love and pleasure, and by diversions peculiar to mankind, and by very depraved, yea, by very dangerous usages which are regarded even as law, and thus there has been a declension among them, so also has there been to a great extent a like declension in the veneration accorded so honorable a day by the usages of Christianity. For many of us have seen, and many others heard, that some, following their husbandry on this day, have been killed by lightning; others have been seized of convulsions in their joints; and others have had punishment visited upon them in the form of visible fire, which has devoured their body and bones, and reduced them into ashes. And many other terrible judgments shall fall, and do fall until this time, whereby God declares his displeasure at the desecration of this great day. Therefore it seems good to us all, that first the priests, then the kings and princes and all the faithful, should do their utmost that the observance due this great day (which is now mostly neglected) shall henceforth be exhibited by Christianity in a more marked and devoted manner. If the Jews, who carnally observe the yoke of the law on that day, although no earthly power demands it of them, abstain from rural work until now, how much more fitting is it that those who have been redeemed by the greater grace of Christ should abstain from the aforementioned things, and make reparation by being filled only with spiritual joys, and songs and hymns, and heavenly praises, the whole heart bent upon resting on that day on which the Author of life arose and conceded unto them the hope of the resurrection? Wherefore the imperial priests do specially and humbly urge the higher powers that they use the power ordained unto them of God to instil in all a fear with regard to the reverence and honor of this great day, that upon this holy and venerable day they may no longer presume to hold markets or courts, or to perform any rural work or any cartage, under any condition whatever. For those who do this offend Christian decorum; and while they profess to give a place to the name of Christ, yet they detract much more from it by their blasphemies. It is therefore becoming that the Christian should on this

day take time for divine praises, but not for the performance of rural work."⁴³

This statement of a general council furnishes unquestionable authority to sustain all we have thus far sought to demonstrate. For centuries the Roman Church had tried, by preaching and teaching, by severe ecclesiastical canons, by recounting all sorts of miracles, to instil into the minds and hearts of its members the observance of a day resting on tradition,—yea, on the authority of the church,—but all in vain! Even the faithfulness of the despised Jew is held up as a reproach. But instead of turning to the divine Sabbath, they appealed to the civil arm, and Pope and emperor tried their best to make the people believe that the Sabbath command has something to do with Sunday. But, as Dr. Hinschius, an authority on ecclesiastical law, attests, Charlemagne and his successors were not willing to interfere by imposing also civil penalties.⁴⁴

The exemption granted by Constantine to agricultural labors in the East, which had been embodied in the code of Justinian, was not repealed until A. D. 910, when Emperor Leo, the philosopher, reversed and censured it in the following manner:—

"We ordain, according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghost and of the apostles thereby directed, that on the sacred day, wherein our own integrity was restored, all do rest and surcease labor; that neither husbandman, nor other, on that day put their hands to forbidden works. For if the

⁴³ Mansi, 14, pp. 568, 569.

⁴⁴ *Katholisches Kirchenrecht*, 4, 291.

Jews did so much reverence their Sabbath, which was but a shadow of ours, are not we which 'inhabit the light and truth of grace, bound to honor that day which the Lord himself hath honored, and hath therein delivered us both from dishonor and from death? Are we not bound to keep it singular and inviolable, well contenting ourselves with so liberal a grant of the rest, and not encroaching upon that one day which God hath chosen to his own honor? Were it not wretchless neglect of religion to make that very day common, and to think we may do with it as with the rest?"⁴⁵

In the West, council after council enjoins additional canons to stop pleadings and markets on Sunday, and every additional canon is simply increased evidence that the former canons were not carried out even by the judges themselves. Canon 18 of the council at Aken (A. D. 835) forbids pleadings, markets, and marriages on Sunday.⁴⁶ A synod held at Soissons (A. D. 853) forbids "pleadings on the Lord's days in holy places;" a council held in Rome under Leo IV affirms the former Sunday ordinances; and yet the council at Tribur (A. D. 895) enjoins in canon 35:—

"On the Lord's days and the other festivals no duke of civil magistrate shall conduct pleadings or force the people to attend such; for God's wrath would be kindled, because the people are asked to desist from their holy service and attend to strife and contentions. No duke shall hereafter summon any penitent on that day, or be present himself."⁴⁷

That stealing on Sunday or on a festival was considered a greater crime than on an ordinary day, is seen from the following law of Alfred the Great:—

⁴⁵ Leo. Constit., 54, quoted in Cox, i, 422.

⁴⁶ Irmischer, sec. 84.

⁴⁷ Id., sec. 85.

"He that stealeth on Sunday night, or on Christmas, etc., our will is that he make satisfaction twofold."⁴⁸

In a convention between Edward the Elder and Guthrun the Dane (A. D. 906) there appears the following addition to the law of Ina:—

"If any one presumes to trade on the Lord's day, he forfeits the purchase, besides a fine of twelve oere if a Dane, and thirty solidi if an Englishman."⁴⁹

King Athelstan issued a similar law in A. D. 929, forbidding markets and pleadings; while King Edgar the Peaceable decreed, in A. D. 958: "Keep holy day every Sunday from noontide of Saturday to Monday's dawn."⁵⁰ The Latin version renders it (Cancian. 4, 272), "the festival of the day of the sun be celebrated," etc. The laws of the Northumberland presbyters enjoin:—

"We prohibit trading everywhere on the day of the sun, and every convention of people, and all work, and all travel, be it in carts, on horses, or with burdens."⁵¹

The seventeenth canon of King Ethelred's synod, called at Enmha in 1009, reads:—

"The festival of the day of the sun is to be kept zealously as is becoming, and they should abstain diligently from trading and from conventions of the people and from hunting and secular works on the holy days."⁵²

Canute the Great (A. D. 1017-1035) collected the former laws in chapters 14, 15, and 42. The last adds, however:—

⁴⁸ Johnson's Coll., I, 321.

⁴⁹ Hessey, note 256, p. 319.

⁵⁰ Id., 4, 297.

⁴⁹ Irmischer, sec. 50.

⁵¹ Cancian. 4, 286.

I a criminal guilty of death can be apprehended, never kill him on the festival of the day of the sun, except he flees or resists; but apprehend him and keep him until the festival is past."⁵³

After Hungary had embraced Christianity, King Stephen issued a Sunday law (A. D. 1016), which was adopted with a few additions at the national council in Szaboles (A. D. 1092). We append its substance as given by Hefele:—

"Whoever neglects to attend his parish church on Sunday or high festivals, shall be scourged. If a lay member hunts on that day, he shall lose a horse, which he may redeem with an ox. If any one of the clergy goes hunting, he shall be deposed until he renders satisfaction. If he neglects to attend church or carries on a trade, he shall lose a horse. If he erects a stall in which to trade, he has either to tear it down or pay fifty-five pounds. If a Jew works on Sunday, he shall lose the tool wherewith he labors."⁵⁴

Nor did the Sunday festival fail to gain a footing in Scandinavia. The following is related of Olaus, king of Norway, A. D. 1028:—

"Olaus, while seriously engaged in thoughts on the Lord's day, whittled with his knife on a small walking stick, which he carried. Having been told by the way of jest, that he had thereby trespassed against the Sabbath, he carefully gathered the chips, put them upon his hand and set fire to them, so that he might revenge that on himself, what unawares he had committed against God's commandment."⁵⁵

As to Spain, a council held at Coy in 1059 enjoins, in canon 6:—

⁵³ Id., 4, 302, 307.

⁵⁴ Hefele, 5, 205, 206, sec. 59c.

⁵⁵ A. Cranzius Metropol., 4, 8, in Volbeding Thesaurus, 1, 5.

"All believers must go to church on Saturday eve, and on Sunday hear the *matutinæ*, the mass and the *horaries*. No servile work or travel, except in case of necessity, is to be performed on this day."⁵⁶

The doctors of the church were not wanting in efforts to strengthen the sacredness of this venerable day in the minds of the people. Peter Damianus (A. D. 1007-1072), who systematized and popularized a method of meritorious self-flagellation with the recital of psalms, each of which was accompanied by a hundred strokes of a leathern thong, for personal benefit or for the release of souls in purgatory, wrote:—

"That every Lord's day the souls in purgatory were manumitted from their pains, and fluttered up and down the lake Avernus in the shape of birds."⁵⁷

Morer, in his *Dialogues*, page 68, thus refers to this superstition:—

"Yet still the others went on their way; and to induce their proselytes to spend the day with greater exactness and care, they brought in the old argument of compassion and charity to the damned in hell, who during the day have some respite from their torments, and the ease and liberty they have is more or less according to the zeal and degrees of keeping it well."

Characteristic indeed is the great effort of the eleventh century to stop the bloody feuds of those times from Wednesday evening until Monday morning, by the so-called "Truce of God." The terrible famine and the increased crime and untold

⁵⁶ Hefele, 4. 757. sec. 546.

⁵⁷ Epist. ad Dominicum, c. 5.

misery of those days moved the French clergy not only to declare this "truce" in their own territory, but to write (A. D. 1041) an encyclical letter to the Italian clergy, in which these statements occur:—

"We believe that this truce has been given to us by divine grace sent from heaven, because everything was in such a terrible condition. Not even Sunday was celebrated, but all kind of servile work was performed. We have now dedicated unto God four days, to observe peace, namely, on Thursday in honor of Christ's ascension, on Friday on account of his crucifixion, Saturday in memory of his burial, and Sunday in memory of his resurrection, so that on these days no agricultural work is to be performed, and no foe needs to fear the other. All who love this truce of God we bless and absolve; but those who oppose it we anathematize."⁵⁸

That the rolls from heaven again played a part, and that they were even produced by bishops, Schaff attests thus in note 2, on page 340, just referred to:—

"Balderich, in his chronicle of the bishops of Cambray, reports that in one of the French synods a bishop showed a letter which fell from heaven and exhorted to peace."

Another means to increase Sunday holiness in England, was the circulation of this report concerning an apparition which King Henry II (A. D. 1157-1189) is said to have had:—

"Of him it is reported that he had an apparition at Cardiff, which from St. Peter charged him that upon Sundays, throughout his dominions, there should be no buying or selling, and no servile work done."⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Schaff, fourth period, 340, 341, sec. 78; Hefele, 4, 700, sec. 536.

⁵⁹ Morer, p. 288; Heylyn, part 2, chap. 7, sec. 6.

Besides this apparition in behalf of Sunday observance, miracles are brought forward in England, as had been done centuries before in France. Of their effect and the circumstances attending them, we find a very detailed account by the English historian Hoveden, and, as he lived at the time, we have the words of an eye-witness. He informs us that in A. D. 1200 Eustace, the abbot of Flaye, in Normandy, came to England, and that his preaching was attended by many wonderful miracles. That Sunday observance was the great burden of his teaching, and that he met considerable opposition even from the clergy, is thus attested by Hoveden:—

“At London also, and many other places throughout England, he effected by his preaching, that from that time forward people did not dare to hold market of things exposed for sale on the Lord’s day.” “However, the said abbot, on *being censured by the ministers of Satan*, was unwilling any longer to molest the prelates of England by his preaching, but returned to Normandy.”⁶⁰

Thus censured and opposed by the English clergy for preaching such a strict Sunday observance, Eustace returns to the Continent to supply the lacking proof for his heavenly commission. One year’s sojourn suffices, as the further account of Hoveden shows:—

“In the same year (A. D. 1201) Eustace, abbot of Flaye, returned to England, and preaching there in the word of the Lord from city to city, and from place to place, forbade any person to hold a market of goods on sale upon the Lord’s day. For he said that the commandment under-written,

⁶⁰ Roger de Hoveden’s Annals, Bohn’s edition, vol. 2, p. 487.

as to the observance of the Lord's day, had come down from heaven:—

"THE HOLY COMMANDMENT AS TO THE LORD'S DAY,

which came from heaven to Jerusalem. . . . The Lord sent down this epistle, which was found upon the altar of S. Simeon, and after looking upon which three days and three nights, some men fell upon the earth, imploring mercy of God. And after the third hour, the patriarch arose, and Acharias, the archbishop, and they opened the scroll, and received the holy epistle from God. And . . . they found this writing therein:—

"I am the Lord who commanded you to observe the holy day of the Lord, and ye have not kept it, and have not repented of your sins, as I have said in my gospel, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away." . . . Once more, it is my will that no one, from the ninth hour on Saturday until sunrise on Monday, shall do any work except that which is good.

"And if any person shall do so, he shall with penance make amends for the same. And if you do not pay obedience to this command, verily I say unto you, and I swear unto you, by my seat, and by my throne, and by the cherubim who watch my holy seat, that I will give you my commands by no other epistle, but I will open the heavens, and for rain I will rain upon you stones, and wood, and hot water in the night, that no one may take precautions against the same, and that so I may destroy all wicked men. . . . I will send unto you beasts that have the heads of lions, the hair of women, the tails of camels, and they shall be so ravenous that they shall devour your flesh, and you shall long to flee away to the tombs of the dead, and to hide yourselves for fear of the beasts; and I will take away the light of the sun from before your eyes, and will send darkness upon you, that not seeing, you may slay one another, and that I may remove from you my face, and may not show mercy upon you. For I will burn the bodies and the hearts of you, and of all those who do not keep as holy the day of the Lord. . . .

“Depart from evil, and show repentance for your sins. For, if you do not do so, even as Sodom and Gomorrah shail you perish. Now, know ye, that you are saved by the prayers of my most holy mother, Mary, and of my most holy angels, who pray for you daily. . . .

“I gave unto you a law in Mount Sinai, which you have not kept. I gave you a law with mine own hands, which you have not observed. For you I was born into the world, and my festive day ye knew not. Being wicked men, ye have not kept the Lord's day of my resurrection. By my right hand I swear unto you, that if you do not observe the Lord's day, and the festivals of my saints, I will send unto you the pagan nations, that they may slay you. And still do you attend to the business of others, and take no consideration of this? For this will I send against you still worse beasts, who shall devour the breasts of your women. I will curse those who on the Lord's day have wrought evil.”⁶¹

The introduction of this roll, which was said to have fallen from heaven, is confirmed by accredited historians.⁶² As a historical fact, therefore, its use can not be questioned; and we have all the less ground to question it because we have already referred to copies of such rolls, and, beginning with the end of the sixth century, we have adduced the authentic records of synods and even of a council at Rome, mentioning and condemning them as forgeries. That these rolls were edited from century to century appears from the fact that they take into consideration the surrounding circumstances

⁶¹ Hoveden, vol. 2, pp. 526-528.

⁶² See Matthew Paris's *Historia Major*, pp. 200, 201, edition 1640; Binius's *Councils*, ad ann. 1201, vol. 3, pp. 1448, 1449; Wilkins's *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hibernae*, vol. 1, pp. 510, 511, London, 1737; Spelman, *Conc.* 1, 128; Dalrymple's *Historical Memorials*, pp. 7, 8, edition 1769; Heylyn's *History of the Sabbath*, part 2, chap. 7, sec. 5; Morer's *Lord's Day*, pp. 288-290; Hessey's *Sunday*, pp. 90, 321; Gilfillan's *Sabbath*, p. 399.

and issues at the time. The roll mentioned in the days of Boniface described the heathen practises as they then existed; in this roll, the Lord's day is to be kept from "the ninth hour on Saturday until sunrise on Monday," the very time enjoined in the law of Edgar and Canute.

However, there is one great difference, if the following account given by Matthew Paris, the most noted English chronologist of the Middle Ages, is to be relied upon. This time the Pope and bishops give their sanction to it. As Matthew Paris was monk and rector of the renowned convent of St. Albans from A. D. 1217 to 1259, he had every opportunity to know the facts, and, being a Catholic himself, he had no reason to record a biased story. Quoting the text of this roll, he thus continues:—

"But when the patriarch and clergy of all the holy land had diligently examined the contents of this epistle, it was decreed in a general deliberation that the epistle should be sent to the judgment of the Roman pontiff, seeing that whatever he decreed to be done, would please all. And when at length the epistle had come to the knowledge of the lord Pope, immediately he ordained heralds, who, being sent through different parts of the world, preached everywhere the doctrine of this epistle, the Lord working with them and confirming their words by signs following. Among whom the abbot of Flaye, Eustachius by name, a devout and learned man, having entered the kingdom of England, did there shine with many miracles." ⁶³

Pope Innocent III (A. D. 1198-1216) filled the chair of St. Peter at that time, and the following extracts set forth his aims and success:—

⁶³ Matthew Paris's *Historia Major*, p. 201.

"Innocent was perfectly well qualified to raise the papal power and authority to the highest pitch, and we shall see him improving, with great address, every opportunity that offered to compass that end."⁶⁴

"The external circumstances of his time also furthered Innocent's views, and enabled him to make his pontificate the most marked in the annals of Rome; the culminating point of the temporal as well as the spiritual supremacy of the Roman See."

"His pontificate may be fairly considered to have been the period of the highest power of the Roman See."⁶⁵

The darkness of the Middle Ages covered the earth, and the power of the Pope was then supreme. As Catholic chronologists record that even then Pope Innocent III favored the circulation of this roll, we have good reason to set this down as a further step of papal usurpation in the matter of Sunday observance.

What success Eustace this time had in his mission, and what further opposition he met as he forbade the further use of the churches for the sale of goods and for sessions of the courts, is recorded by Hoveden. Eustace came to York, in the north of England, and, meeting an honorable reception,—

"preached the word of the Lord, and on the breaking of the Lord's day and the other festivals, and imposed upon the people penance, and gave absolution upon condition that in future they would pay due reverence to the Lord's day and the other festivals of the saints, doing therein no servile work."

"Upon this, the people who were dutiful to God at his preaching, vowed before God that, for the future, on the

⁶⁴ Bower's History of the Popes (three-volume edition), vol. 2, p. 535.

⁶⁵ M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopedia, vol. 2, pp. 590, 592.

Lord's day they would neither buy nor sell anything, unless, perchance, victuals and drink to wayfarers."

"Accordingly, through these and other warnings of this holy man, the enemy of mankind being rendered envious, he put it into the heart of the king and of the princes of darkness to command that all who should observe the before-stated doctrines, and more especially all those who had discountenanced the markets on the Lord's day, should be brought before the king's court of justice, to make satisfaction as to the observance of the Lord's day."⁶⁶

To confirm the authority which forbade work from the ninth hour on Saturday until sunrise of Monday, and to neutralize the opposition of the king, some very extraordinary prodigies were reported, the substance of which we give:—

"One Saturday a carpenter of Beverly, who after the ninth hour was making a wooden wedge, fell to the earth, struck with paralysis. A woman weaving after three o'clock Saturday afternoon was struck with the dead palsy. A man that baked a loaf of bread at the same time, when he came to eat it on Lord's day morning, blood flowed from it. Corn ground by a miller, also after the ninth hour, was turned into blood, and the mill-wheel stood immovable, against the force of the waters. A Lincolnshire woman put her paste into the heated oven at this time, and although she kept it there until Monday morning, yet she found it raw dough. But another woman, who in harmony with the advice of her husband, kept her paste wrapped up in a linen cloth till Monday morning, then found it already baked without any fire of the material of this world."⁶⁷

The historian laments that the people feared the king more than God, and so they, "like a dog to his vomit, returned to the holding of markets on the Lord's day."

⁶⁶ *Id.*, pp. 528, 529.

⁶⁷ Hoveden, vol. 2, pp. 529, 530.

That this roll was again brought forward two years later in a council of Scotland, and with better effect, is affirmed by Morer:—

“To that end it was again produced and read in a council of Scotland, held under (Pope) Innocent III, . . . A. D. 1203, in the reign of King William, who . . . passed it into a law that Saturday from twelve at noon ought to be accounted holy, and that no man shall deal in such worldly business as on feast-days were forbidden. As also that at the tolling of a bell, the people were to be employed in holy actions, going to sermons and the like, and to continue thus until Monday morning, a penalty being laid on those who did the contrary. About the year 1214, which was eleven years after, it was again enacted, in a parliament at Scone, by Alexander III, king of the Scots, that none should fish in any waters from Saturday after evening prayer till sunrise on Monday, which was afterward confirmed by King James I.”⁸⁸

Starting with the miracles reported by Gregory of Tours as a judgment against Sunday labor, we have traced similar reports down to the thirteenth century; and we can but second the wish expressed by Johnson (Coll: 2, 95), who ends his summary of the miracles mentioned by Eustace by concluding:—

“I wish no Protestants had vented the like tales.”⁸⁹

We have traced the pretended heavenly rolls from the end of the sixth to the thirteenth century. That their circulation was still continued in favor of Sunday is seen from the use the Flagellants made of them in Germany and Switzerland during the fourteenth century. Yea, even in Protestant north-

⁸⁸ Dialogues, etc., pp. 290, 291.

⁸⁹ Hessey, p. 321, note 261.

ern Germany such an epistle is in circulation which is said to have fallen from heaven near Magdeburg in 1783. This document threatens the most terrible punishments, such as "war, famine, and many plagues," upon all those who work on Sunday. As a confirmation of what we have said, and as a proof that such letters are still even sold to pilgrims in Jerusalem at the present day, we quote from Hauck's *Realencyclopedia*: ---

"Likewise the wonderful apocryphal 'letter of Christ from heaven,' which, as it seems, first appeared in the Orient in the sixth century, then was circulated by Adalbert in western France (740), and condemned as a forged document by a decree of the council at Rome (745), later came to honor again through the Flagellants in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, yea, even to the present time is still offered for sale to the Catholic pilgrims at Jerusalem as an effective amulet."⁷⁰

The writer himself purchased one of these, but as an "effective amulet" against the observance of a day which, by such means, was ingratiated into the favor of, and enjoined upon, our forefathers during the Middle Ages. May all those who believe in the sacredness of the first day of the week because their forefathers believed in it, carefully ponder these facts that demonstrate by what means Sunday sacredness was instilled into their minds.

While this Sunday reform movement was being carried forward by such questionable means in England and Scotland, the council at Paris (A. D. 1212) enjoined in canon 18: —

⁷⁰ Hauck-Herzog, 18, 523, article, "Sonntagsfeier."

"We also prohibit the bishops from permitting the dancing of women in cemeteries or in holy places, even where it has been allowed hitherto: farther, they shall see that on the Lord's days no servile work be performed by the mechanic, or in tilling the soil, or any other work of like character, which we also forbid them to do."⁷¹

The council at Toulouse (A. D. 1229) decreed:—

"*Canon 25*.—The parishioners, especially the man and wife of each household, must attend church on the Lord's days and on holidays, and remain until the close of the services. If, for good reasons, the one can not be present, the other must. But if one remains away without a good reason, he is to be fined twelve Turin denarii, half of which falls to the manor of the place, the other half to the priest of the church. Canons 26 and 27 enumerate some thirty holidays, and enjoin that on these all servile work must likewise cease."⁷²

Although such strict Sunday laws were everywhere enforced, yet the general council at Rome (A. D. 1215) clearly reveals the condition of the clergy. In canon 17 we read that the clergy and even the prelates spent half of their nights in feasting and chatting, some reading mass only four times a year, others not at all, and even those who did attend mass paid no regard to the service, but talked with the laymen, and it forbade such conduct thereafter, under pain of suspense from office.⁷³

What a multitude of canons and ordinances existed at the beginning of the thirteenth century with regard to the proper observance of Sunday! How vastly they differed from one another in defi-

⁷¹ Mansi, 22, 843.

⁷² Id., 5, 886, 887, sec. 647.

⁷³ Hefele, 5, 983, sec. 655.

ning even the time when Sunday should begin and end, or in specifying what work was to be allowed and what forbidden! To bring order into this chaos of ecclesiastical legislation, Pope Gregory IX (A. D. 1227-1241) created a standard law-book — the *Decretals*. By the papal bull *Rex pacificus*, he submitted them to the universities at Bologna and Paris; and as neither the universities nor any ruler questioned the authority of the laws decreed by the Pope himself (as he was infallible), they were final, as far as the Roman Church is concerned. In book 2, tit. 9, c. 1-3, we find under *De Feriis* (Concerning Festivals) the sum total with reference to Sunday observance: —

"*Chapter 1.*— We decree that all Lord's days be observed from vesper to vesper with all due veneration, and that unlawful work be abstained from, so that on them trading and legal proceedings shall not be carried on, or any one be condemned to death or punishment, or any oaths be administered, except for peace or other necessary reason."

"*Chapter 2.*— Whereas in part we wish to control your understanding by a definite decision, and whereas it is written 'from evening to evening shall ye celebrate your Sabbaths,' therefore, the beginning and end of feasts, besides their quality and besides the custom of various regions, are to be looked after, and therefore it seems good to us that as the magnitude of the days to be celebrated demands, so, according to just computation, they be commenced earlier and terminated later. And, farther,—

"*Section 1.*— That there be no bending of the knees whatever on the Lord's day and on other principal feast-days (save between Easter and Pentecost) except some one wish to do it secretly, from devotion."

"*Section 2.*— Also, in the consecration of the bishops and of the clergy, the consecrator and the consecrated shall bend

their knees only to the extent demanded by the ritual of consecration."

"Chapter 3.—While we admit that both the Old and New Testaments have especially set aside the seventh day for human rest, and though the church decreed that it, as well as the other days set aside to the highest majesty (but not the birthdays of the holy martyrs), shall be observed, yet we to whom is committed the government of the church by the provider of all, are bound also to properly provide for the faithful ones of Christ what necessity demands, therefore we will that, in case it should happen that such as are not intent on doing servile work (*i. e.*, on acts of sin), but who are rather very intent upon seeking necessary food and raiment—that such cases have accorded to them the usual mercy through the providence of the apostolic chair. Hence, if one be in a place such as is your region, not abounding in fruits, and the sea from which the people are accustomed to draw the greater part of their support has been more sterile than usual, from various causes, we, recognizing this by the authority of St. Peter and ours, grant indulgence, so that our parishioners may be permitted on the Lord's days and on other festivals (excepting the high festivals of the year), in case the herrings are nearing the shore, to be intent upon their capture from urgent necessity, but they shall do this under the condition that, having made the capture, they shall give the surrounding churches and the poor of Christ their due portion. This rule also holds for those who, living upon other days on bread and water because of a self-imposed penance, and not having the bread whereby they can nourish themselves, but having fishes and other food whereby they can be revived, make use of this food with moderate discretion, because it serves them not as a delicacy, but as necessary sustenance."⁷⁴

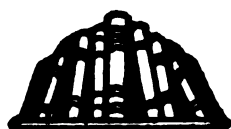
Beginning with the law of Constantine and ending with the various statutes of the rulers of the

⁷⁴ *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Leipsig, 1881, part 2, pp. 270-272. This indulgence was first granted by Pope Alexander III (A. D. 1159-1181) to the Catholics in northern Europe.

East and West, we now have before us the Sunday legislation from the fourth to the thirteenth centuries. A review of the civil legislation reveals to us that, while Constantine allowed agricultural work and introduced markets on the venerable day of the sun, Emperor Leo the Philosopher charges his "saintly" predecessor with "*wretchless neglect of religion* to make that very day common." And we find the differences none the less if we consider the ecclesiastical legislation. That which the council of Laodicea condemns as Judaizing in connection with the Sabbath, and the council of Orleans calls Judaizing in regard to Sunday, is enforced by the councils of the Middle Ages under the most cruel penalties; and the implacable anger of the clergy demands even the loss of the right hand. Yea, miracles are manufactured, and divine judgments are threatened, to impress the sanctity of Sunday upon the ignorant people.

While the church Fathers to a man make the Sabbath rest of the New Testament spiritual, the cessation from sin, yet the prelates and the clergy of the thirteenth century feast in sin, and enjoin abstinence from servile work by the most literal and petty canons. Although the Fathers never apply the fourth commandment to Sunday, yet Alcuin introduces this doctrine, and Bernard of Clairvaux bases the observance of the church festivals on this commandment, and the lacking divine evidence is furnished by pretended rolls from heaven. But the climax is reached when Gregory IX not only applies

the Sabbath command of the Scriptures to Sunday, but even transfers to it the time of the beginning of God's holy day, and then, giving the high festivals the preference, by virtue of the authority of St. Peter, he grants indulgences for any servile work performed on Sunday. Consistency, thou art a jewel! but in the crown of sanctity with which human efforts attempted to glorify Sunday during the Middle Ages, thou art sadly lacking!



CHAPTER XXI

THE SABBATH DURING THE DARK AGES

The apostasy manifest — Gregory's epistle to the Romans — Sabbath-keepers in Rome — The preachers of Antichrist — The fallible Pope — Traces of the Sabbath in the British church — Their suppression by the Papacy — Sabbath-keepers on the Continent — The anathema of Laodicea repeated — The council of Friul — Italian peasants observe the Sabbath — The questions of the Bulgarians — Sabbath fasting causes final separation between East and West — The Pasingini — Papal bulls against them — How their Sabbath arguments were met — The papal anathema and the imperial interdict at Verona — Inquisition set at work — Still the truth spreads — Frederic II interdicts — Ethiopia holds to the Sabbath of Jehovah — The Jesuits at work — Sabbath-keepers in China — The Nasrani — The Sabbath in the East Indies — The Inquisition active — The Jacobites — Sabbath fasting — The Sabbath dedicated to the Virgin Mary — Wonderful fulfilment of God's prophecies.

AT the council of Laodicea, the apostate church of the fourth century had already pronounced the anathema against the observance of the true Sabbath of Jehovah; and we shall now prove how, by the end of the fifth century, the bishop of Rome himself declared its further enjoinder the work of Antichrist. The time had indeed come when the apostasy had developed to such a degree that the man of sin might be plainly seen sitting in the temple of God; for these proud words were now an acknowledged fact: "The Roman bishop is above every human tribunal, and is responsible only to God himself."¹

After the Papacy had once gained its first royal convert and ardent supporter in Clovis, the prom-

¹ Schaff, third period, 325. sec. 64.

ising king of the rising West, the emperor of the East did not delay to acknowledge the Roman bishop as the head of all the churches. This marks the date when the saints, the times, and the laws of the Most High were to be given into the hands of the papal power symbolized by the little horn, for "a time and times and the dividing of time," or, as the revelator states it, for 1260 days; these, being prophetic,—a day for a year,—would give us 1260 years during which the papal power should cast down the truth to the ground.² The people of God, being persecuted by this power, should retire more and more to places of obscurity and seclusion, or, in the words of the Apocalypse, "The woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God."³ The difficulty of tracing the genuine followers of Christ through this dark period is well set forth in the following language of a church historian:—

"As scarcely any fragment of their history remains, all we know of them is from accounts of their enemies, which were always uttered in the style of censure and complaint; and without which we should not have known that millions of them ever existed. It was the settled policy of Rome to obliterate every vestige of opposition to her doctrines and decrees, everything heretical, whether persons or writings, by which the faithful would be liable to be contaminated and led astray. In conformity to this, their fixed determination, all books and records of their opposers were hunted up, and committed to the flames. Before the art of printing was discovered in the fifteenth century, all books were made with the pen; the copies, of course, were so few that their con-

² Dan. 7 : 25.

³ Rev. 12 : 6, 14.

cealment was much more difficult than it would be now; and if a few of them escaped the vigilance of the inquisitors, they would soon be worn out and gone. None of them could be admitted and preserved in the public libraries of the Catholics, from the ravages of time, and of the hands of barbarians with which all parts of Europe were at different periods overwhelmed." ⁴

The true Israel, keeping the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus, has been traced down to the fifth century in chapter 19, in our treatment of the Nazarenes. Their name, places of abode, and Hebrew education are evidences, as Dr. Ritschl demonstrates, "that the Nazarenes are derived from the first generations of the church at Jerusalem." ⁵ The anathema of the general council at Laodicea reveals that during the fourth century many Christians rested from all their work on the seventh day according to the commandment. The preaching of the Word, and the celebration of the communion services on the Sabbath in the church at large even down to the fifth century, are ample proof that there still lingered in the minds of many a true appreciation of the divine command, "Remember the Sabbath day," although the evil one had tried his best to pervert the meaning, and to spiritualize away the practise, of this holy precept. But that, in spite of all the efforts of the Roman bishop to the contrary, the Sabbath honored by Peter and by Paul was still observed and preached by faithful Christian men in Rome itself, down to the begin-

⁴ Benedict's Hist. of the Baptist Denomination, p. 50, edition 1849.

⁵ Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche, Bonn, 1857, p. 152.

ning of the seventh century, Pope Gregory I (A. D. 590-604) bears witness in his epistle against such, which he himself addressed to the citizens of Rome, as follows:—

“Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to his most beloved sons the Roman citizens. It has come to my ears that certain men of perverse spirit have sown among you some things that are wrong and opposed to holy faith, so as to forbid any work being done on the Sabbath day. What else can I call these but preachers of Antichrist, who, when he comes, will cause the Sabbath day as well as the Lord’s day to be kept free from all work. For, because he pretends to die and rise again, he wishes the Lord’s day to be had in reverence; and, because he compels the people to Judaize that he may bring back the outward rite of the law, and subject the perfidy of the Jews to himself, he wishes the Sabbath to be observed.

“For this which is said by the prophet, *‘Ye shall bring in no burden through your gates on the Sabbath day’* (Jer. 17: 24,) could be held to as long as it was lawful for the law to be observed according to the letter. But after that the grace of Almighty God, our Lord Jesus Christ, has appeared, the commandments of the law which were spoken figuratively can not be kept according to the letter. For, if any one says that this about the Sabbath is to be kept, he must needs say that carnal sacrifices are to be offered: he must say, too, that the commandment about the circumcision of the body is still to be retained. But let him hear the apostle Paul saying in opposition to him, *‘If ye be circumcised, Christ profiteth you nothing.’* Gal. 5: 2.

“We therefore accept spiritually, and hold spiritually, this which is written about the Sabbath. For the Sabbath means rest. But we have the true sabbath in our Redeemer himself, the Lord Jesus Christ. And whoso acknowledges the light of faith in him, if he draws the sins of concupiscence through his eyes into his soul, he introduces burdens through the gates on the Sabbath day. We introduce, then, no burden through the gates on the Sabbath day if we draw no

weights of sin through the bodily senses to the soul. For we read that the same our Lord and Redeemer did many works on the Sabbath day, so that he reproves the Jews, saying, *'Which of you doth not loose his ox or his ass on the Sabbath day, and lead him away to the watering?'* Luke 13: 15. If, then, the very Truth in person commanded that the Sabbath should not be kept according to the letter, whoso keeps the rest of the Sabbath according to the letter of the law, whom else does he contradict but the Truth himself?

"Another thing also has been brought to my knowledge; namely, that it has been preached to you by perverse men that no one ought to wash on the Lord's day. And indeed if any one craves to wash for luxury and pleasure, neither on any other day do we allow this to be done. But if it is for bodily need, neither on the Lord's day do we forbid it. For it is written, *'No man ever hated his own flesh, but nourisheth it and cherisheth it.'* Eph. 5: 29. And again it is written, *'Make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.'* Rom. 13: 14. He, then, who forbids provision for the flesh in the lusts thereof certainly allows it in the needs thereof. For, if it is sin to wash the body on the Lord's day, neither ought the face to be washed on that day. But if this is allowed for a part of the body, why is it denied for the whole body when need requires? On the Lord's day, however, there should be a cessation of earthly labor, and attention given in every way to prayers, so that if anything is done negligently during the six days, it may be expiated by supplications on the day of the Lord's resurrection.

"These things, most dear sons, being endowed with sure constancy and right faith, observe, despise the words of foolish men, and give not easy belief to all that you hear of having been said by them; but weigh it in the scale of reason, so that while in firm stability you resist the wind of error, you may be able to attain to the solid joys of the heavenly kingdom."⁶

⁶ Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, vol. 13, b. 13, epist. 1, p. 336 (Oxford and New York, 1898).

A careful perusal of this epistle will furnish positive evidence that, according to the Pope himself, there were at the beginning of the seventh century no less than three distinct parties at Rome: (1) Some who forbade to do any work on the Sabbath day; (2) some who insisted on a strict observance of Sunday as the Lord's day; (3) the Pope and his party, who, in harmony with the theology of the church Fathers, influenced by Gnosticism and philosophy, taught that the commandments are not to be kept according to the letter, that the Sabbath precept is to be understood spiritually, and that its real meaning is, to cease from sin. Very striking, indeed, is the idea of Pope Gregory about Antichrist: as Antichrist would pretend to die and rise again, he would wish the Lord's day to be had in reverence; but on the other hand, in order to attract "the perfidious Jews" unto himself, he would wish the Sabbath to be observed, *i. e.*, to compel the people to Judaize. The logical conclusion of his theory of Antichrist is, Those who preached the literal observance of the Sabbath were "the preachers of Antichrist." Indeed, even those who forbade taking a bath on Sunday were "perverse men." However, there should be cessation from earthly labor on Sunday to give time for prayers, that these Sunday supplications may *expiate* the sins of the six working days!

But while this Pope makes the true Israel of God to be the preachers of Antichrist for observing the Sabbath of Jehovah, he unwillingly attests that

they *did not circumcise* nor offer sacrifices. By accusing them of inconsistency for teaching the observance of the Sabbath and not the observance of circumcision and sacrifices, he furnishes positive proof that the Christian Sabbath-keepers at Rome did not practise circumcision. Though the decalogue was written in the human heart at creation; though the ten commandments were engraved on the tables of stone with God's own finger; though ministers preach this decalogue to their youth; and though they even misapply the Sabbath commandment to enjoin Sunday observance without ever dreaming of associating with it the need of circumcision,—nevertheless, the moment one begins to keep holy the Sabbath day, they cry out with this Pope: "If any one says that this (commandment) about the Sabbath is to be kept, he must needs say that carnal sacrifices are to be offered, . . . that the commandment about the circumcision of the body is still to be retained."

With Paul, with that Israel of God who followed his teachings, with this true church at Rome, yea, with the Christian Sabbath-keepers of all times, we say, "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." We also say, "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God."⁷ And there is where the Pope erred, in spite of his pretended infallibility, and there is where any one else will err — by an attempt to associate circumcision with

⁷ Gal. 5 : 1 Cor.2; 7 : 19.

the observance of the Sabbath of the fourth commandment. While the writers on "heretics" generally try to fasten upon the Christian Sabbath-keepers the stigma of "Jewish," by charging them with circumcision, Pope Gregory most unwittingly testifies to the falsity of such a charge. And by this very epistle he reveals the wrong ideas entertained by him and the Roman Church until that time, as to the observance of the decalogue, teaching that its precepts are not to be observed according to the letter, but spiritually. How far he was given to spiritualizing is illustrated by his threefold exposition of the book of Job, which Schaff calls "an exegetical curiosity."

As the Sabbath was honored in memory of the creation throughout the East and in parts of the West as late as the fifth century, and as we find observers of the Sabbath at Rome even as late as A. D. 600, we would certainly find many traces of its observance among the nations who divided Western Rome among themselves as their spoil, were it not that, as the epistle of Gregory shows, the Roman bishops had done their utmost to stamp out this "antichristian heresy," and to wipe out every trace of it. However, a few strong incidental references still survive.

The gospel must have been proclaimed in England as early as the second century, for at the close of that century Tertullian declared "that places in Britain not yet visited by Romans were subject to Christ." But through the downfall of the Roman

empire and the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons, the British Christians were lost sight of until the sixth century, when we find a zealous, active church in Ireland, which sent its missionaries (generally in groups of twelve with an additional leader) to Scotland and to the Continent. This church had no connection with the Papacy; its missionaries were not bound by vows of celibacy, it did not agree with the Roman computation of Easter, and its forms were simpler — more like those of the apostolic church.

One of the earliest companies sent out was that of Columba, which settled on the western coast of Scotland and on the small island of Hy, and, with its monastery Iona, this body soon became a powerful factor in the conversion of northern Scotland, for Columba and his monks preached by example as well as in word. Schaff thus extols their work: —

"By the labors of Columba and his successors, Iona has become one of the most venerable and interesting spots in the history of Christian missions. It was a lighthouse in the darkness of heathenism. We can form no adequate conception of the self-denying zeal of those heroic missionaries of the extreme North, who, in a forbidding climate and exposed to robbers and wild beasts, devoted their lives to the conversion of savages."⁸

D'Aubigne says that Columba esteemed the cross of Christ higher than the royal blood which flowed in his veins, and that precious manuscripts were brought to Iona, where a theological school was

⁸ *Medieval Christianity*, i, 67, sec. 18.

founded and the Word was studied. "Erelong a missionary spirit breathed over this ocean rock, so justly named 'the light of the Western world.'"⁹ British missionaries carried the light of the gospel to the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Germany, yea, even into Italy, and did more for the conversion of central Europe than the half-enslaved Roman Church.

Thirty years later forty Roman monks, under Augustine's leadership, landed in southern England, where they labored with success among the Anglo-Saxons. Dr. A. Ebrard says of their mission, which was supported by Pope Gregory I:—

"Gregory well knew that there existed in the British Isles, yea, in a part of the Roman dominion, a Christian church, and that his Roman messengers would come in contact with them. By sending these messengers, he was not only intent upon the conversion of the heathen, but from the very beginning he was also bent upon bringing this Irish-Scotch church, which had hitherto been free from Rome, in subjection to the papal chair."¹⁰

Augustine left no means untried to subject this church to the papal yoke. As they would not yield, he and his successors took pains to see that his bloody prophecy that they should receive their stroke of death from the Anglo-Saxons, should become true.¹¹ In A. D. 715 the noble monks of Iona were expelled, and more and more oppressed; but that this early Celtic church held fast to the

⁹ Hist. of the Reformation, b. 17, chap. 1, par. 21.

¹⁰ Bonifacius, p. 16, Guetersloh, 1882.

¹¹ D'Aubigne, b. 4, chap. 2, par. 12.

Sabbath of Jehovah until the time of Queen Margaret, in the middle of the eleventh century, is thus attested by Andrew Lang:—

"They worked on Sunday, but kept Saturday in a Sab-
batical manner."¹²

These Culdees (as they were called later), after an active crusade had been carried on against their institutions, entirely disappear from the records of history, no trace of them being found since A. D. 1332.

Yet even the Roman Catholics, who wiped out this noble missionary church of the North, honor Columba as a saint, and Dr. A. Butler thus describes his death:—

"Having continued his labors in Scotland thirty-four years, he clearly and openly foretold his death, and on Saturday, the ninth of June, said to his disciple Diermit: 'This day is called the Sabbath, that is, the day of rest, and such will it truly be to me; for it will put an end to my labors.'"¹³

These words plainly reveal that Columba believed Saturday to be the Sabbath of the Bible, and, as he made this statement with evident satisfaction in the face of approaching death, it is, of itself, sufficient proof that it had been to him also a day of sacred rest during his life; for a First-day observer on his death-bed would hardly refer with pleasure to the fact that Saturday is the Sabbath of the Scriptures, if he had never observed it. The fol-

¹² History of Scotland, 1, 96. Queen Margaret, an English Catholic princess, persevered until the Celtic church succumbed.

¹³ Butler's Lives of the Saints, article, "St. Columba," A. D. 597.

lowing review of the papal charges against the Culdean church, by W. T. Skene, brings out the point at issue:—

“It certainly can not be said to be very consistent with modern theories to find the Roman Church reproving the so-called pure Culdean church for celebrating the eucharist without communicating, and for desecrating the Sabbath.

“Her next point was that they did not duly reverence the Lord's day, but in this latter instance they seemed to have followed a custom of which we find traces in the early monastic church of Ireland, by which they held Saturday to be the Sabbath on which they rested from all their labors, and on Sunday on the Lord's day, they celebrated the resurrection by the service in church. Thus Adamnan tells us that St. Columba, on the last Saturday of his life, said to his attendant Diermit: ‘This day in the Holy Scriptures is called the Sabbath, which means rest, and this day is indeed a sabbath to me, for it is the last day of my present laborious life, and on it I rest after the fatigues of my labors; and this night, at midnight, which commenceth the solemn Lord's day, I shall, according to the sayings of the Scripture, go the way of our fathers.’”¹⁴

This statement of Skene's fully substantiates what one would infer from the dying words of Columba. The Roman Church charged the Culdean monks with Sunday desecration because they rested on the Sabbath of the Bible from all their labors, and on Sunday held only a service in honor of the resurrection. And, according to Skene, this custom is traceable to the early monastic church of Ireland. The dying words of Columba, the charges of the Roman Church against the Culdeans, and the positive statement of Skene refuting these charges, form

¹⁴ Adamnan Life of St. Columba, 1874, p. 96.

a strong chain of evidence to show that the early church in the British Isles kept the Sabbath of Jehovah.

Gilfillan (page 389) twists this statement of Columba's, to make it apply to Sunday. But the editor of the best biography of Columba, says in a foot-note: "Our Saturday. The custom to call the Lord's day Sabbath did not commence until a thousand years later."¹⁵

We shall find still further evidences of the correctness of our position as we follow the history of these British missionaries who went to the Continent. As early as A. D. 612 the first company of twelve, under the leadership of Columbanus, left for the Continent, and a number of other companies followed, the same century, as pioneers of the gospel in Bavaria, Thuringia, Friesland, Switzerland, etc. Boniface, the papal legate, did not receive his commission to Christianize central Europe until A. D. 718, and when he arrived, he found these free missionaries from the North nearly everywhere. Neander thus states the objects of his mission:—

"The object for which he was sent was not merely the conversion of the heathen, but the recovery of those who had been led astray by heretical teachers, their restoration to orthodoxy, and conformity to the discipline of the Romish Church."¹⁶

Thus we read in one record adduced by Neander: "That you proceed across the Alps, and, in those

¹⁵ Adamnan's Life of Columba, Dublin 1857, p. 230.

¹⁶ Vol. 5, third period, p. 62.

parts where the heresy has sprouted up the most, eradicate the same by the root, through wholesome doctrine." In his forty-fifth epistle to the German dukes and bishops, Pope Gregory II warns them "against admitting the doctrine of the Britons arriving amongst them, or of false priests and heretics." Thus the same conflict was enacted here as in Britain. Those missionaries who labored without papal authority were denounced by Boniface as false prophets, seducers of the people, idolaters, and (because they married) adulterers, and with the aid of the Papacy and the princes, several were charged by Boniface, and excommunicated or even imprisoned without a hearing.

The Roman Church took good care that we possess only "vague and uncertain accounts" of all the points at issue, and yet we do know that this liberal-minded Irish-Scotch clergy would not submit to the servitude of papal rule, nor to the unscriptural practise of celibacy. And while we find it only hinted that one of the charges was Judaizing, a papal anathema in connection with their case, and the place of their labors, furnishes us, again, the necessary and definite proof. The minutes of the council of Liftinae, Belgium, A. D. 745, give us specific information. Boniface attended this council, and Dr. Hefele states that "the third allocution of this council warns *against the observance of the Sabbath*, referring to the decree of the council of Laodicea."¹⁷

¹⁷ Conciliengesch., 3, 512, sec. 362.

The proofs adduced against the observance of the Sabbath were: (1) That the church Fathers command to work on the Sabbath; (2) that the Saviour, by healing on the Sabbath, had shown that the Sabbath was not to be observed according to the letter; (3) therefore, it should only be observed spiritually, by not stealing, murdering, etc.¹⁸ Here we have the final link in the chain of evidences to prove that these faithful missionaries who were the first to carry the gospel truth to the pagans in the far North, as well as on the Continent, ceased from their work on the Sabbath of Jehovah, and taught their converts to do so. And the anathema of Laodicea, repeated by this council at the end of the eighth century, shows that the Roman Church even bound itself under oath (as we know positively from Boniface) to stamp out this "antichristian heresy," and to bring everybody under the subjection of the Papacy.

Right here, while we are considering the Sabbath among these northern nations who became heirs to the Roman dominion of the West, the following incidental inference concerning King Theodoric of the Goths (A. D. 454-526) might be mentioned: Sidonius, in speaking of this king, says:—

"It is a fact that it was formerly the custom in the East to keep the Sabbath in the same manner as the Lord's day, and to hold sacred assemblies: wherefore Asterius calls Sabbath and Sunday a beautiful span, and Gregory of Nyssa calls these days brethren, and therefore censures the luxury and

¹⁸ Mansi, 12. 378.

the Sabbatarian pleasures; while on the other hand, the people of the West, contending for the Lord's day, have neglected the celebration of the Sabbath, as being peculiar to the Jews. So also Tertullian in his apology: 'We are only next to those who set apart the day of Saturn for rest and luxury.' It is therefore possible for the Goths to have thought, as the foster-sons of the discipline of the Greeks, that they would keep the Sabbath after the manner of the Greeks." "I would also not refrain from telling about that Sabbatarian luxury, for how is it possible to conceal that in public characters?"¹⁹

The Goths represent one of the three horns plucked up at the instigation of the little horn, or the Papacy; and we know that the Roman bishop did his utmost to pluck out Arianism by the roots.

To stamp out the knowledge of the Sabbath among the nations even the Jews were forbidden to rest on it. The Spanish national council at Toledo, A. D. 681, sanctioned the twenty statutes which Eringius, king of the Western Goths, had issued against the Jews. In tit. 12, it decreed —

"that the Jews shall not be permitted to keep their Sabbaths and festivals; but they must so far at least observe the Lord's day as to do no manner of work on it, whereby they might express their contempt of Christ or his worship."²⁰

But we shall now produce definite proof that the Sabbath was kept by Christians as late as A. D. 791, in Italy. We shall also see how Sunday came to be regarded in the West by that time. Canon 13 of the council at Friaul reads as follows:—

¹⁹ *Apollinaris Sidonii Epistolae*, lib. 1, 2. Migne, 57, 448.

²⁰ Hefele, 3, 318. "Dialogues on the Lord's Day," p. 267.

"We command all Christians to observe the Lord's day with all reverence and due devotion, commencing Saturday evening at the sounding of a bell, which marks the hour of the vesper service to be held not in honor of the past Sabbath, but on account of that holy night of the first of the week called the Lord's day. First of all, abstain from all sin and all works of the flesh, and from all cohabitation and all agricultural work, and let nothing else take up your time but to go to church, hear the sermon with the greatest of devotion, ceasing from all clamor of lawsuits, rendering thanks unto God the Father and praising his only begotten Son from the heart, who has sanctified this day by his glorious resurrection, and sing hymns unto the Holy Spirit, which has blessed it by his miraculous descent, when it came down in fiery tongues upon the happy apostles. For it is believed that on this most holy day nearly all the spiritual gifts have been imparted to the world. On this very day after the resurrection, the Lord breathed upon his disciples the Holy Spirit for the forgiveness of sins. On this day the Lord fed five thousand people with five loaves in the desert. On it manna first rained from heaven in the desert, and many other spiritual blessings have been bestowed on this day, which would be too numerous to mention in order. It is therefore that delightful Sabbath of which it is written: Whosoever does any work, *i. e.*, sin, on it, he shall die. Further, when speaking of that Sabbath which the Jews observe, the last day of the week, and *which also our peasants observe*, He said only Sabbath, and never added unto it, 'delight,' and 'my.' But because he wanted to make a difference between that and this, which is the Lord's day, he therefore added 'my;' as to say, my — not your — delight, not polluted by your old observances. Therefore, let us honor and keep it with all reverence."²¹

Bishop Hefele summarizes the essential part of this canon in these words:—

"The celebration of Sunday begins with Saturday evening.

²¹ Mansi, 13, 851.

It is enjoined to keep Sunday and the other church festivals. The peasants kept Saturday in many cases."²²

This lengthy canon proves positively that the country people in northern Italy, where the district of Friaul is located, kept the Sabbath as late as the beginning of the ninth century. It also further shows what arguments were used to convince people of their duty to observe the first day of the week. The time had come when the texts pertaining to the true Sabbath and setting forth its honorable character were so twisted by the clergy as to make them seemingly apply to Sunday.

How the Sabbath question stood in the East is clearly seen from the circumstances in connection with the conversion of the Bulgarians. Occupying the plains between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains, they came in contact with Eastern Christianity by their invasions of the Byzantine empire. The sister of the ruling prince, Bogaris, embraced Christianity during her captivity in Constantinople. After her return she won her brother, who was baptized in A. D. 863, and he immediately entered upon a correspondence with Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote him an elaborate letter, expounding to him the essential points of Christian doctrine. But the Greek priests did not make the most favorable impressions. "Teachers of various nations and from distant regions also came to Bulgaria, preaching very dif-

²² Conciliengesch., 3, 720, sec. 404.

ferent doctrines, so that the people hardly knew what to believe." ²³ In this extremity, Bogaris addressed (A. D. 865) a letter to Pope Nicolas I, in which he propounds one hundred six questions concerning Christian doctrine. Nicolas sent two bishops and an elaborate reply, from which we quote the following answers to the questions asked:—

"*Ques. 6.*—Bathing is allowed on Sunday. *Ques. 10.*—One is to cease from work on Sunday, but not *also on the Sabbath*. Then enumerating, in *Ques. 11*, the days of the saints, he continues in *Ques. 12*: On these days there are to be no law proceedings or execution of prisoners. *Ques. 63.*—On the whole of Sunday (day and night) there is to be no cohabitation." ²⁴

Mansi, ix, 406, thus gives the answer to question 6, more in detail:—

"You would also like to know whether it be permitted to perform any work on the Sabbath or on the Lord's day. This Pope Gregory often refers to, when he writes in his epistle to the Romans, etc."

This answer furnishes positive evidence that at that time there were teachers in Bulgaria who taught that, according to the Bible, no work should be performed on the Sabbath of Jehovah. Nicolas, by quoting the epistle of Gregory (A. D. 600), indorses his statement that such persons are indeed the "preachers of Antichrist." Thus we have produced historical evidence of the existence of Sabbath-keepers, in the West and in the East, until the ninth century.

²³ Neander, fourth period. vol. 6, 53.

²⁴ Hefele, 4, 346-352, sec. 478.

For the time being, Rome gained the victory, and the Greek priests were sent out of Bulgaria. But this only aggravated the personal controversy already existing between Nicolas and Photius. In A. D. 858, when Ignatius was deposed as patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, an able lay member, was elected as his successor. The case had been appealed to Nicolas, and he pronounced sentence against Photius in a council at Rome, A. D. 863. Photius seized upon this interference of Rome in the Bulgarian affairs, and in A. D. 867 called a counter synod, which, in turn, deposed Pope Nicolas. In his encyclical letter to the patriarchs, he thus accused the Papacy:—

“Wicked and vile men, having risen out of darkness (the West), came down on Bulgaria like a tempest and an earthquake, destroying the vineyard of the Lord like wild boars, enticing the still tender plants away from the true faith, and introducing accursed customs, contrary to the law.” “Against the canons they induced the Bulgarians to fast on the Sabbath.”²⁸

These words show that when the Pope persuaded the Bulgarians to submit to him, one of the first things he did was to introduce the Sabbath fast, in opposition to the true Sabbath. In a letter to Hincmar, dated Oct. 23, 867, Pope Nicolas tries to justify this measure, by asserting that it “had not been controverted since the days of St. Sylvester.” However, that was a falsehood, for the Trullian council held at Constantinople (A. D. 692) in con-

²⁸ Photius, von Kard. Hergenröther, I. 643.

formity with the sixty-sixth apostolical canon, condemned the custom of the Roman Church, whereby "fasting in Lent was extended also to the Sabbath." Though Ignatius was for a time reinstated, yet in A. D. 871 the Roman bishops in Bulgaria had to give way to the Greeks. The contention which had been kindled, continued to smoulder.

The patriarch Cerularius, in connection with the Bulgarian metropolitan Leo of Achrida, in A. D. 1053 addressed a letter to John, bishop of Trani, in southern Italy (which was under Greek jurisdiction), and through him to the Pope, charging that the churches of the West followed the practise of the Jews, and went contrary to the usage of Christ, because in the eucharist they employed unleavened bread; that they fasted on Saturday during Lent; that they ate blood, and things strangled, etc. The following year, Nicetas, a learned monk, attacked the Roman Church for fasting on the Sabbath, for celibacy, etc.; this was refuted by the Pope and by Cardinal Humbert. Pope Leo IX sent to Constantinople, under the imperious Humbert, three legates with counter-charges: that Cerularius arrogated to himself the title "ecumenical" patriarch; that, like the Nicolaitans, they permitted their priests to live in wedlock; and finally —

"Because you observe the Sabbath with the Jews and the Lord's day with us, you seem to imitate in such observance the sect of the Nazarenes, who in this manner accept Christianity, in order that they be not obliged to leave Judaism." ²⁸

²⁸ Migne, 145, 936; Photius, 3, 746.

The end of this controversy was that the Roman legates excommunicated the patriarch and his adherents (July 16, 1054), and the patriarch answered by a synodical counter-anathema against the papal legates, accusing them of fraud. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem adhered to the See of Constantinople, and thus the schism between the East and the West was completed. The Sabbath observance played an important part indeed in this controversy, which ended in final division. And the words called forth by this controversy are a striking proof that as late as the eleventh century the true Israel was still existing under their old name, keeping the Sabbath of Jehovah; or the cardinal would not have mentioned them as a definite sect, differing from the Jews as well as from the Catholics.

Still farther to the east there is a body of Christian Sabbath-keepers mentioned from the eighth to the twelfth century. They are called Athingians ("touch not") because they abstained from things unclean and from intoxicating drinks,—the translator of Neander styles them Athinginians,—as the following shows:—

"This sect, which had its principal seat in the city of Amorion, in upper Phrygia, where many Jews resided, sprung out of a mixture of Judaism and Christianity. They united baptism with the observance of all the rites of Judaism, circumcision excepted. We may perhaps recognize a branch of the older Judaizing sects." ²⁷

²⁷ Neander, fourth period, 6, 428.

Cardinal Hergenröther says that they stood in intimate relation with Emperor Michael II (A. D. 821-829), and testifies that they observed the Sabbath.²⁸ As late as the eleventh century Cardinal Humbert still referred to the Nazarenes as a Sabbath-keeping Christian body existing at that time. But in the tenth and eleventh centuries, there was a great extension of sects from the East to the West. Neander states that the corruption of the clergy furnished a most important vantage-ground on which to attack the dominant church. The abstemious life of these Christians, the simplicity and earnestness of their preaching and teaching, had their effect. "Thus we find them emerging at once in the eleventh century, in countries the most diverse, and the most remote from each other, in Italy, France, and even in the Harz districts in Germany." Likewise, also, "traces of Sabbath-keepers are found in the times of Gregory I, Gregory VII, and in the twelfth century in Lombardy."²⁹

During the twelfth century, the Latin records of the Inquisition often mention the name of the Pasaginians. The name is spelled several ways in Latin: *Pasagii*, *Pasagini*, *Passagerii*, *Passagii*, *Passageres*, *Passagieri*. They are first mentioned in the records of the council of Verona (A. D. 1184). In general, the church historians derive their name from the wandering, unsettled life of these people — from *passagium*, "passage," or, in other words, they were

²⁸ Kirchengeschichte, I, 527.

²⁹ Strong's Cyclopedia, New York, 1874, I, 660.

passengers, travelers. Persecuted and hunted down like wild game by the Romish Church, their only half-way safe retreat was in the solitude of the majestic Alps. Jas, on the other hand, derives the word from the Greek *Pas-agios*, "entirely holy." Some assert that this last-mentioned term led to another appellation, *Circumcisi*; while others try to explain this word to mean that they were circumcised. Dr. U. Hahn, who has written an extensive history of the so-called heretics of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, claims:—

"The name of Pasagini was used in a twofold sense, viz., a definite Jewish-Christian sect was thus named; then it was also the general application for all the heretics, who all moved back and forth more or less, but chiefly the Cathari and Waldensians. This they did partly to spread their doctrines, and partly to escape the snares of their enemies."³⁰

As to their origin, most church historians suppose them to have come from the East. Neander expresses himself as follows:—

"Among the sects of Oriental origin belongs, perhaps, besides those already mentioned, the Pasagii or Pasagini." "The name of this sect reminds one of the word *passagium* (passage), which signifies a tour, and was very commonly employed to denote pilgrimages to the East, to the holy sepulcher,—crusades. May not this word, then, be regarded as an index, pointing to the origin of the sect as one that came from the East, intimating that it grew out of the intercourse with Palestine? May we not suppose that from very ancient times a party of Judaizing Christians had survived, of which this sect must be regarded as an offshoot? The way in which they expressed themselves concerning Christ as being the

³⁰ Geschichte der Ketzer, 3. 5.

first-born of creation, would point also, more directly, at the connection of their doctrine with some older Jewish theology, than at that later purely Western origin." ²¹

What Neander supposes, we have demonstrated by a regular and connected chain of evidence. The mighty crusades brought the West into closer contact with the East: there were Sabbath-keepers everywhere in the East; and it would be but natural that the crusaders would come in touch with the Sabbath-keepers of the East: in fact, we have presented definite evidence of that in the case of the Bulgarians. And these so-called "Judaizing Christians" were none other than the Nazarenes mentioned by Cardinal Humbert during this very century — the true Israel of God, who, amid all the persecutions through which they had passed, bore the reproach of Christ more than any other Christian party, wandering about everywhere as "pilgrims and strangers," to preach the faith of Jesus and the commandments of God.

The papal bulls, especially those of Gregory I, and Gregory VII, and Nicolas I, are our chief source of information concerning the Pasagini. Aside from these, we have but two leading notices in Catholic histories of heretics. One is found in the writings of Bonacursus against the heretics, entitled "Against the Heretics, Who Are Called Pasagii." Its contents are as follows: —

"Not a few, but many know what are the errors of those who are called Pasagini, and how nefarious their belief and

²¹ Church History, fifth period, 8, pp. 403, 404.

doctrine are. But because there are some who do not know them, it does not annoy me to write what I think of them, partly from precaution and for their salvation, and partly for their shame and confusion, in order that their foolishness might become more widely known, and that they might be the more condemned and despised of all. As we ought to know the good in order to do it, so likewise should we know the evil that we might shun it.

"Let those who are not yet acquainted with them, please note how perverse their belief and doctrine are. First, they teach that we should obey the law of Moses according to the letter — the Sabbath, and circumcision, and the legal precepts still being in force. They also teach that Christ, the Son of God, is not equal with God, and that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit — these three persons — are not one God and one being. Furthermore, to increase their error, they condemn and reject all the church Fathers, and the whole Roman Church. But because they seek to base their errors upon the witness of the New Testament and the prophets, let us slay them with their own sword by the aid of the grace of Christ, as David once slew Goliath."²²

The following report is found in a work written by Gregorius, of Bergamo, about A. D. 1250, against the Cathari and Pasaginians: —

"After what has been said of the Cathari, there still remains the sect of the Pasagini. They teach Christ to be the first and pure creature; that the Old Testament festivals are to be observed — circumcision, distinction of foods, and in nearly all other matters, save the sacrifices. The Old Testament is to be observed as literally as the New — circumcision is to be kept according to the letter. They say that no good person before the advent of Christ descended into the lower regions; and that there is no one in the lower regions and in paradise until now, nor

²² D'Achery, *Spicilegium* 1, f. 211-214. Muratory, *Antiq. med. aevi*. 5, f. 152. Hahn, 3, 209.

will there be until sentence has been rendered on the day of Judgment." ³³

This is all we possess concerning the doctrines taught by the Pasaginians. Their bitter enemies, biased by deep-rooted prejudice, are our only source of information. But let us closely study the brief notices we do have. At all events, they founded their belief on the Bible, for they proved their teachings from the Old and New Testaments. On the other hand, they condemned and rejected the writings of the church Fathers and the Roman Church, for which they certainly had excellent reasons, because the latter treated them as heretics for choosing to follow the Bible rather than the teachings of man and tradition. In this, they were centuries in advance of the Reformers. As to their belief in Jesus Christ, they were again on Biblical grounds, for Christ declares, "The Father is greater than I." While the Word of God teaches unity of purpose in the Godhead, it nowhere states that the Father and the Son are one being; on the contrary, it declares in positive language that the Son is the express image of the Father, and, consequently, he must be another being. John 17: 20; Heb. 1: 2. With regard to the state of the dead, they were likewise on Scriptural ground. Concerning the observance of the Sabbath, they surely had a "Thus saith the Lord" for that, while the Roman Church could meet clear, definite Scripture texts only with the most absurd spirituali-

³³ *Collectio Rer. Occitan.* in the Royal Library of Paris, doc. 35, quoted in Döllinger's *History of the Sects*, vol. 2, p. 375.

zing. Dr. Hahn adduces a few examples: If the Pasaginians referred to Ex. 20: 8, the Roman priests answered, Those were no natural days, but the six working days represented the six thousand years of the world's duration, and the Sabbath symbolized the eternal rest of the saints. As to Jer. 17: 21, it was a prophetic mystery — whoever believed not on Christ carried a burden on the Sabbath. Finally, their explanation of Num. 15: 32 was: The man gathering sticks on the Sabbath represents him who would be found laden with carnal works on the Judgment-day, and whose lot would be death.³⁴

As to their practise of the rite of circumcision and keeping the ceremonial law, there exist good reasons to lead us to believe that this was simply ascribed to them by their opponents. The epistle of Gregory furnishes a good illustration: because the Christians believed that the Sabbath and the ten commandments were to be observed, the Pope declared that they ought also to offer sacrifices and practise circumcision. What one holds to be consistent, he easily imputes to his religious antagonist whether it be so or not. The Sabbath-keepers in the seventh century did not circumcise, nor did they in the ninth, or else Pope Nicolas I would not have quoted the epistle of Gregory unaltered. When we come to consider the Sabbath-keepers during the Reformation, we shall find that even Luther charged them with practising circumcision, while their own words still extant in quotations prove the contrary. Erbkam, in

³⁴ Ketzergeschichte, 3. 8. 9.

his criticism of Hahn's history, thus vindicates the correctness of our position: —

"We also believe that the reports about the Pasaginians rest partly upon misunderstanding; as, for example, that circumcision is said to have been practised among them. They rightfully belong to those sects who believed the Bible." ³⁵

"The account of their practising circumcision is undoubtedly a slanderous story forged by their enemies, and probably arose in this way: because they observed the seventh day, they were called, by way of derision, Jews, as the Sabbatarians are frequently at this day; and if they were Jews, it followed of course that they either did, or ought to, circumcise their followers. This was probably the reasoning of their enemies; but that they actually practised the bloody rite is altogether improbable." ³⁶

Having fully established the fact that the Pasaginians were indeed the true Israel of God, believing all the Scriptures and exercising faith in Christ, and having the entire law of God written in their hearts by the Holy Spirit according to the fulfilment of the promise, we shall now see how they were treated by the Roman Church and by the Catholic rulers. Our first clue in this direction is given us by the famous decree against heretics, promulgated by Pope Lucian III, in the presence of, and with the support of, Frederic Barbarossa, at the council of Verona (A. D. 1183). Both the Pasaginians and the Waldensians (here referred to under the name of the "poor of Lyons") are mentioned for the first time, as follows: —

"To abolish the malignity of divers heresies which are lately sprung up in most parts of the world, it is but fitting that

³⁵ Reuter's Reportorium, 56, 38.

³⁶ History of the Baptist Denomination, 2, 414

the power committed to the church should be awakened, that by the *concurring assistance* of the imperial strength, both the insolence and malapertness of the heretics in their false designs may be crushed, and the truth of Catholic simplicity shining forth in the holy church, may demonstrate her pure and free from the execrableness of their false doctrines." "More particularly, we declare all Catharists, Paterines, and those who call themselves 'the poor of Lyons,' the Passagines, Josephists, Arnaldists, to lie under a perpetual anathema."⁷

Bishop Hefele and Mr. W. Jones give the following detailed account of the contents of this decree, and the manner in which it was promulgated. We quote the substance as given by Hefele: —

"For this purpose a solemn assembly of all the eminent men, both ecclesiastical and civil, was called on the fourth of November, in the cathedral at Verona. First the interdict of the emperor was proclaimed, whereupon he himself arose and confirmed it by a symbolical action, pointing with extended arms to the four corners of the earth, and with threatening mien casting his glove to the ground. Next the imperial law was promulgated against the heretics; hereupon the Pope proclaimed the ecclesiastical decree, in which all were placed under anathema — especially those who presumed, under a form of godliness, to preach publicly or privately without the authority of the Apostolic See, as well as those who are not afraid to hold or teach any notions concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus, baptism, the remission of sins, matrimony, etc., in any way differing from what the holy Church of Rome doth preach and observe. All entertainers and defenders of these heretics are to be liable to the same sentence. If a clergyman or a monk be convicted of these errors, he shall be immediately deprived of all the prerogatives of the church orders, divested of all offices and benefices, and delivered to the

⁷ Decree of Lucian, c. 9. 10 de hæreticis v. 7, quoted by W. Jones in *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1824, 2, 13, 14.

secular power to be punished according to his demerits. If a layman be found guilty, unless he makes immediate satisfaction by abjuring this heresy, he shall be left to the sentence of the secular judge. Even those suspected of this heresy shall be liable to the same sentence, if they can not clear themselves upon their examination before the bishop. If any one relapses into his abjured heresy, he shall without any further hearing be delivered to the secular power, and his goods shall be confiscated to the use of the church. This excommunication shall be repeated by all the bishops, and renewed on all chief festivals and on any public solemnity, and if any one be found wanting or slow therein, he shall be suspended from his episcopal dignity and administration for three years.

"Furthermore, once or twice a year every bishop shall either personally or through his commissioner visit the parish in which it is reported that heretics dwell, and there cause two or three men, or, if need be, the whole neighborhood, to swear what they know about said heretics. Any one thus accused shall be summoned before the bishop or his commissioner, and punished, if he does not clear himself, or has relapsed (commencement of episcopal inquisition). All earls, barons, governors, etc., in pursuance of the communion of the respective bishops, shall promise under oath, that they will in all these particulars powerfully and effectually assist the church against the heretics and their accomplices, and endeavor faithfully to execute the ecclesiastical and imperial statutes. If they refuse, they shall be deprived of their honors and charges and be involved in the sentence of excommunication, and their goods be confiscated to the good of the church. If any city refuses to yield obedience to this decree, or contrary to the episcopal communion they shall neglect to punish opposers, we ordain the same to be excluded from all commerce with other cities, and be deprived of the episcopal seat. All favorers of heretics, as men stigmatized with perpetual infamy, shall be incapable of being attorneys or witnesses, or bearing any public office whatsoever." ³⁸

* Conciliengeschichte. 5. pp. 726, 727; Jones, 2, 13-17.

This decree speaks volumes for the past, as well as for the time being. Papal anathema and the imperial edict were pronounced against the Pasa-ginians; and they were not only directed toward the observers of the Sabbath, but also against other companies of believers, as enumerated above. Though differing in name and in their views with reference to the understanding of God's Word, like the various Protestant denominations of the present time, yet they all had one mutual aim, viz., to teach the gospel and to resist the abomination of the Papacy. They all dated the fall of the Roman Church from the days of Constantine and Sylvester; they thought the Pope to be the Antichrist, and the Roman Church to be Babylon the Great. They taught that the true church consisted only of believers, and in that sense it had existed unchangeable. They highly valued the translations of the Bible in the respective languages, so that every one might read "in his own tongue the wonderful doings of the Lord." They studied God's Word so diligently that many knew large portions of it by heart. Even their adversaries had to give them credit for their great knowledge of the Bible. Thus Reiner says that he met a simple, unlearned farmer who could repeat the whole book of Job word for word, and this knowledge of the Scriptures is what gave them the patience of Job in all their terrible persecutions. He found several that knew the entire New Testament by heart.³⁹ With the sword of the Spirit

³⁹ Contra Waldenses in Max. Bibl., 25, f. 263.

in their hands, and the love of God in their hearts, it is no wonder that they spread everywhere, in spite of such terrible decrees. Dr. Hahn, who, to our regret, styles them only heretics, says of their propaganda and success:—

“The spread of heresy at this time is almost incredible. From Bulgaria to the Ebro, from northern France to the Tiber, everywhere we meet them. Whole countries are infested, like Hungary and southern France; they abound in many other countries. In the rest of France we find them in Armorica, Paris, Orleans, Rheims, Gascogne, etc.; in Germany, in Goslar, Cologne, Treves, Metz, Strassbourg; in Italy, at Verona, Bologna, Florence, Milan, Placentia, Viterbo, Faenza, Treviso, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara, etc., yea, even in the papal dominions; in the Netherlands at Arras, Cambray, etc. Edicts are necessary against them in Catalonia and Aragonia, and even in England they put forth their efforts.”⁴⁰

Their wide diffusion called for different leaders in various places; this explains the many terms under which the papal and imperial edicts mention them. The following new name, however, is found in the edict of King Alfonso of Aragonia (A. D. 1192):—

“Whosoever, therefore, from this day forward, shall presume to receive the said Waldenses and Inzabbati, or any other heretics of whatsoever profession, into their houses, or to be present at their pernicious sermons, or to afford them meat or any other favor, shall thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God, as well as ours, and have his goods confiscated, without the remedy of an appeal, and be punished as if he were actually guilty of high treason.”⁴¹

The term Insabbati, or, as in other places less

⁴⁰ *Gesch. der Ketzer*, 1. 13, 14.

⁴¹ *Jones*, 2, 18.

frequent, Sabbati, Sabbatati, Insabbatati, causes considerable trouble to historians. Some derive it from the wooden shoes which they wear, called sabot or zabot; others again say that they were called Inzabbatati because they kept no festivals and only rested on Sunday; while some think the word comes from Sabbath, and was applied to them because they observed the Sabbath. Thus Goldastus, a learned historian (A. D. 1576-1635), says:—

“They were called Insabbatati, not because they were circumcised, but because they kept the Sabbath according to the Jewish law.”⁴²

As various as the explanations of this term may be, we have established the fact that some did keep the Sabbath of Jehovah. Rome spared no efforts to urge the princes to assist in the extinction of the heretics, and to prevent their spreading. When the princes of southern France could not consent to butcher thousands of industrious and orderly people, Pope Innocent III ordered a general crusade against the heretics, and full indulgence for their sins to such as would engage in this holy warfare.⁴³

King Louis VIII of France, and the Pope, exhorted:—

“Unite your sword, which you have received of God to punish the evil-doers and for the praise of the just, with ours, that we might take vengeance together on these wicked and inhuman evil-doers. In Moses and Peter, the fathers

⁴² Deutsche Biographie, article, “Goldast.” 9, 327.

⁴³ Bal. II, epist. 26, 27, f. 147-149.

of both Testaments, you may see symbolized the union of the civil and spiritual power." ⁴⁴

In like manner he appealed to the princes, to the clergy, and to the whole French nation. He stirred up the crusaders by these words:—

"Go on, ye brave warriors of Christ, resist the predecessors of Antichrist, fight with the servants of the old serpent. Perhaps you have hitherto fought for corruptible honor; fight now for eternal glory! Fight against the beasts of the desert, who, like locusts, overrun the surface of the earth." ⁴⁵

Myriads were killed, sometimes under the greatest cruelties, and the garden of France was changed into a desert. But the army of the crusaders was followed by something even worse—the Inquisition. How many observers of the Sabbath lost their lives under the tortures of the Inquisition, only the day of Judgment will reveal. Wherever the popes could do so, they forced promises from princes to aid them in the extinction of the heretics, as, for example, when Emperor Frederic II was crowned by Pope Honorius (A. D. 1220). Hefele says.

"But Frederic proclaimed on the day of his coronation, these laws demanded by the Pope: . . . 5. We condemn to perpetual infamy and put under ban the Puritans, Paternines, Speronists, Leonists, Arnoidists, Circumcised, and all other heretics, and ordain that their goods be confiscated. 6. All magistrates are bound under oath to drive out the heretics." ⁴⁶

The observers of the Sabbath are classified here

⁴⁴ Bal. II, epist. 28, f. 149, 150.

⁴⁵ Hahn I, pp. 205, 206.

⁴⁶ Concliengeschichte 5, 915.

as Circumcised. King Louis IX published (A. D. 1229) the statute *Cupientes*, in which he charges himself with the duty to clear southern France from heretics, and in order to bring this about he offers rewards for their discovery.⁴⁷ In the same year the council of Toulouse was held, where a number of canons were passed concerning the extinction of heretics. We quote samples:—

"*Canon 3.*—The lords of the different districts shall have the villas, houses, and woods diligently searched, and the hiding-places of the heretics destroyed. *Canon 4.*—If any one allows a heretic to remain in his territory, he loses his possession forever, and his body is in the hands of the magistrates to receive due punishment. *Canon 5.*—But also such are liable to the law, whose territory has been made the frequent hiding-place of heretics, not by his knowledge, but by his negligence. *Canon 6.*—The house in which a heretic is found, shall be torn down, and the place or land be confiscated. *Canon 14.*—Lay members are not allowed to possess the books of either the Old or the New Testaments."⁴⁸

Again we hear of Frederic II, this time in Germany, of whom Hefele states:—

"His second decree against the heretics repeats word by word parts 5 and 6 of the first decree; . . . in his third he places the Dominicans under his special protection as inquisitors for all Germany against heretical perverseness, recommends them to the faithful, and speaks of the heretics in stronger language than one might expect from Torquemada. He acknowledges it as a holy duty to persecute the children of the serpent of falsehood, and not to let these malicious people live any longer. All condemned by the church and handed over to the civil power shall be punished (be burned);

⁴⁷ Hefele, 5. 979.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5. 981, 982.

in case they should repent from fear of death, they should be kept in constant imprisonment." ⁴⁹

Although the Pope and the emperor were by this time bitter enemies, yet they were agreed in persecuting the heretics, as the decree of Pope Gregory IX (A. D. 1236) proves; it begins as follows: —

"We excommunicate and anathematize all the heretics, the Puritans, Paterines, the poor of Lyons, Pasagines, Josephines, Arnaldists, Speronists, and all others of whatever name: their faces might differ, but their tails are entangled in one knot." ⁵⁰

In the year A. D. 1243, Frederic issued another decree, which thus begins: —

"We condemn to perpetual infamy the Puritans, Paterines, Speronists, Leonists, Arnaldists, Circumcised, Pasagines, Josephines, Garatensians, Albanensians, Francisks, Bagnorols, Comists, Waldensians, etc." ⁵¹

Here the Pasaginians and the Circumcised are separately named, and one would be justified in concluding that they were different bodies. But as Dr. Hahn justly remarks, this confusion of names makes it difficult "to classify them and to properly define them in a way that they might be distinguished from each other." However, the Pasaginians are once more mentioned — in the decree of Innocent IV (A. D. 1253), where he confirms the decree of Gregory IX. ⁵²

We have now traced the history of the observers of the Sabbath down to the second half of the thir-

⁴⁹ Hefele, 5, 993.

⁵¹ Id., 1, 509.

⁵⁰ Hahn, 1, 502.

⁵² Id., 1, 518.

teenth century, and have found that they trod a path marked with blood. They suffered with many other faithful witnesses, and persevered unto death. They surely must have been of some importance, and scattered over quite a range of territory, or else the popes and mighty rulers of various countries would not have mentioned them with the others. The different edicts cover a period of nearly a century. Fire, the sword, and torture were employed to wipe these sects out of existence; spies were active in all directions to hunt them down like bloodhounds on a trail; any one sheltering them risked life and property; and even if any of these "heretics" recanted, a lifelong imprisonment awaited them. And yet the truth survived in the West, as well as in the East, to which we shall now direct our eyes.

It was from the East that the gospel started on its victorious course around the world. At an early date Syria, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Asia Minor were covered with churches; but unfortunate contentions about the nature of Christ and the Holy Spirit took away the mind of Christ and the life-giving power of his Spirit to such a degree that these churches degenerated into formalism. While the barbarians from the North executed the divine judgments upon the apostate West, in the early part of the seventh century Mohammed arose to punish the East. In order to distinguish his followers from Jews and Christians alike, he selected Friday as the special day of prayer. And thus the "Mohammedans and the Romanists crucified the Sabbath between two

thieves, the sixth and the first days of the week;" for Mohammedanism and Romanism each suppressed the Sabbath over a wide extent of territory.

One of the first conversions recorded in the book of the Acts, is that of the Ethiopian eunuch, the treasurer of Queen Candace. Two Alexandrian missionaries are said to have founded the Abyssinian church in the fourth century. Frumentius, one of these, was soon after ordained as bishop, under the title, however, of "Abba Salama," or "father of peace;" and since that time, "Abuna," or "our father," is more customary for the head of the Abyssinian church, who must still come from Egypt and be a Copt. But the lasting monument of that time is the Ethiopic Bible. It included the book of Enoch. The Apostolic Constitutions are also held in high honor. By the sixth century, Abyssinia was the principal Christian power in Africa, but it was soon after so completely cut off from intercourse with Europe by the spread of Mohammedanism that Gibbon fittingly writes: —

"Encompassed on all sides by the enemies of their religion, the Ethiopians slept near a thousand years, forgetful of the world, by whom they were forgotten."⁵³

When Europe came anew in contact with the Abyssinians in the sixteenth century, the seventh day was their weekly rest day; Sunday was only an assembly day — exactly as it was in the Eastern Church, when they were cut off from further contact with it by the Mohammedans. In the mean-

⁵³ "Decline and Fall," chap. 47, second par. from end.

time, Christianity in Europe trampled the Sabbath of Jehovah in the dust. What caused this great contrast?—Simply the efforts of the Papacy to suppress the Sabbath of Jehovah in Europe; while Ethiopia, whatever else it may have suffered, was not cursed with the presence or influence of the Roman doctrines and practises. The Mohammedans were not able to conquer this Switzerland of Africa, which was preserved like a lone isle, but they starved out its spirituality. The more their language changed, the more the Ethiopic Bible became a dead book to them.

Rumors were afloat about a certain priest-king, John in Ethiopia, from the fourteenth century onward; and European legations sought him. But A. D. 1534, as Abyssinia was sorely pressed by Islam, it sent a legation to the Portuguese (who were then the great naval power of Europe), appealing for help. The Abyssinian legate at the court of Lisbon gave the following reason for their abstaining from work on the Sabbath, as well as for their honoring Sunday:—

“Because God, after he had finished the creation of the world, rested thereon; which day, as God would have it called the holy of holies, so the not celebrating thereof with great honor and devotion seems to be plainly contrary to God’s will and precept, who will suffer heaven and earth to pass away sooner than his word; and that, especially, since Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. It is not, therefore, in imitation of the Jews, but in obedience to Christ and his holy apostles, that we observe that day.” “We do observe the Lord’s day after the manner of all other Christians in memory of Christ’s resurrection.”⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Geddes’s Church History of Ethiopia, pp. 87. 88

In consequence of this request, four hundred Portuguese soldiers were sent, but they were accompanied by a number of Jesuits, who at once tried to induce the Abyssinian church to accept Roman Catholicism. They influenced King Zadenghel to propose to submit to the Papacy (A. D. 1604). One of the first efforts of the Jesuits was to get him to issue a proclamation "prohibiting all his subjects, upon severe penalties, to observe Saturday any longer." This attempt cost the king "his crown and his life."⁵⁵

His successor, Segued, submitted, saying: —

"I confess that the Pope is the vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, and the sovereign of the world. To him I swear true obedience, and at his feet I offer my person and kingdom."⁵⁶

The next steps Windhorn describes: —

"The king becoming haughty, decreed that as the observance of the Sabbath was but a ceremony, it should be discontinued, commanded to plow and to do other work on this day, and announced a severe penalty if any disobeyed. But Jonael, the governor of Bagemdra, paid no attention to this, assembled the despisers of the royal decree, and openly rebelled. Though some tried to change the king's mind, yet he pretended to be fully convinced that the doctrine concerning the nature of Christ and the abrogation of the Sabbath was exactly as the Jesuits had shown."⁵⁷

Gibbon tersely remarks: —

"The Abyssinians were enjoined to work and to play on the Sabbath."

⁵⁵ Id., pp. 311, 312; Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," chap. 47. last par.; Windhorn's Einl. in die Abess. Theologie, p. 75.

⁵⁶ Gibbon, chap. 47. last par.

⁵⁷ Einleit. in die abess. Theologie, p. 78.

One of the first things the Jesuits did was to abrogate the observance of the Sabbath, and in order to break the resistance offered, they introduced the Inquisition. However, the Abyssinians arose to defend their religion, and after a bloody war, the king was forced to proclaim liberty of conscience. His son, in answer to the request of his nation, expelled the Jesuits (A. D. 1632), and restored the ancient faith. The harm done to the cause of Christ by the intrigues and carnal warfare of the Jesuits in Abyssinia, is stated by Gibbon: —

“Churches resounded with a song of triumph, ‘that the sheep of Ethiopia were now delivered from the hyenas of the West;’ and the gates of that solitary realm were forever shut against the arts, the science, and the fanaticism of Europe.”⁴⁸

But the Abyssinians are not the only Christians of the East among whom this double celebration of the Sabbath has been preserved. It is also still in vogue among the Nestorians, who reject the use of images, mariolatry, and the Papacy. They begin their feast-days at sunset. Being exiled from the Roman empire, they found an asylum in Persia, whence they spread the gospel with great zeal, to India, Arabia, and even to China and Tartary.

As to Sabbath-keeping in China, quite evident traces have been found. When in A. D. 1665 Chinese workmen dug the foundation for a house outside the walls of the city of Si Gnau-Fou, they found buried in the earth a large monumental

⁴⁸ Gibbon, chap. 47, last par.

stone, covered with inscriptions in strange characters. The characters proved to be those called *estrangellos*, which were in use among the ancient Syrians, and will be found in some Syriac manuscripts of earlier date than the eighth century.

From this inscription it is evident that the Christian religion was widely diffused in China at the beginning of the seventh century. As to the Sabbath, the following words are significant:—

“On *the seventh day* we offer sacrifice, after having purified our hearts and received absolution for our sins. This religion, so perfect and so excellent, is difficult to name, but it enlightens the darkness by its brilliant precepts.”⁵⁹

In connection with this an epoch in modern Chinese history is of special interest. We abbreviate from Dr. A. H. Lewis, *Sabbath History*:—

“The Ti Ping, *i. e.*, *Universal Peace*, Revolution, in China, was one of the most wonderful developments of the power of the Bible over heathenism.”

In 1833 a young man, son of a peasant, received a tract composed of extracts from the Bible, from a tract distributor in the streets of Canton. During the war between China and England, deeming it a national disaster on account of the sins of the people, he read his Christian books and was converted. From the Bible he drew his system of theology, accepting God as his father, Christ as his elder brother, and the decalogue and the teachings of the New Testament as his guide to virtue

⁵⁹ Christianity in China, by M. L'Abbe Huc., vol. 1, chap. 2, p. 45, seq. London, 1857.

and righteousness. The entire Bible was printed and circulated, and the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments were printed on cards and taught in every household. Opium, whisky, tobacco, and vices were prohibited; and as the Bible is silent as to any change of the day, the observance of the Sabbath was accepted as a part of Christianity. From one of their religious publications we quote the following concerning the fourth commandment:—

“On the seventh day, the day of worship, you should praise the great God for his goodness.

“*Remark.*—In the beginning, the great God made heaven and earth, land and sea, men and things, in six days; and having finished his work on the seventh day, he called it the day of rest (or Sabbath); therefore all the men of the world who enjoy the blessings of the great God, should, on every seventh day especially, reverence and worship the great God, and praise him for his goodness.

“The hymn says:—

“‘All the happiness enjoyed in the world comes from heaven;

It is also reasonable that men give thanks and sing;

At the daily morning and evening meal there should be thanksgiving;

But on the seventh day the worship should be more intense.”⁶⁰

Rev. N. Wardner, who was a missionary in China during this revolution, states that when the Europeans inquired of these Chinese Sabbath-keepers how they came to observe the seventh instead of the first day of the week, as the other Christians, they replied that it was, first, because the Bible

⁶⁰ History of the Ti (spelled both Tae and Ti) Ping Revolution, by Lin-Le; vol. 2, Appendix A, p. 824, London, 1866.

taught it, and, second, because their ancestors observed it as a day of worship.⁶¹

About seventy thousand Nestorians still live in the mountainous border region between Turkey and Persia. They call themselves Nasrani (Christians), Suriani or Syrians, Mesihaye or followers of the Messiah; while the party which united with the Catholics are named Chaldeans.

Hauck-Herzog thus attests to their Sabbath observance: —

"Very numerous are their fasts. The use of meat is forbidden during one hundred fifty-two days in the year. They shun pork. The Sabbath is to them a weekly festival, as well as Sunday. They have no auricular confession; they know nothing of a purgatory. Their priests are allowed to marry."⁶²

The Thomas-Christians of the East Indies are a branch of the Nestorians, and, as such, they honor the memory of Nestorius, while they ascribe their conversion directly to the apostolic labors of St. Thomas. In the fifth century the Bible was translated into their language; La Croze calls this the "queen of versions." It is marvelous how this church, separated from the other parts of the Christian world for about a thousand years, preserved its apostolic simplicity to such an extent that, when the Catholics came in contact with them, Gouvea, one of their authors, dropped the remark that the "Protestants must have imbibed their heresy from the Thomas-Christians."

⁶¹ "A Critical History of the Sabbath and the Sunday," Alfred Centre, 1886, pp. 244-247.

⁶² *Realencyklopaedic*, 13, 734, article, "Nestorianer."

While they had formed an independent state consisting of about thirty thousand Christian families, yet, being hard pressed by the natives, they made the same mistake as the Abyssinians, and appealed to the Portuguese for protection. This protection was granted to them, but with it came also the Jesuits, and things went from bad to worse. The Jesuits began to employ force to compel them to acknowledge the Papacy, and to abrogate their ancient practises. That they kept the Sabbath would be a natural conclusion because of their connection with the Nestorians, but Mr. Yeates affirms it by saying that Saturday "among them is a festival day, agreeable to the ancient practise of the church."

"The ancient practise of the church," as we have seen, was to hallow the seventh day in honor of the Creator's rest. What "gentle" means the Jesuits employed in their attempt to convert the Thomas-Christians, Mr. Yeates attests:—

"The Inquisition was set up at Goa in the Indies, at the instance of Francis Xaverius [a famous Roman saint], who signified by letters to Pope John III, Nov. 10, 1545, 'that the Jewish wickedness spreads more and more in the parts of the East Indies subject to the kingdom of Portugal, and therefore he earnestly besought the said king, that to cure so great an evil he would take care to send the office of the Inquisition into those countries.'"⁶⁸

"The Jewish wickedness" was the observance of the Sabbath, as we see from the following canons of the synod at Diamper (A. D. 1599), presided over by the Roman archbishop, Menezes:—

⁶⁸ East Indian Church Hist., pp. 133, 134.

"*Canon 15* — To assure conformity of ceremonies, the synod forbids all believers to eat meat on Saturday, or else they make themselves liable to the penalty for mortal sins.

"*Canon 16*.— The feast- and fast-days shall commence and cease at midnight, for the eve-to-eve custom was Jewish."⁶⁴

But in A. D. 1653, when the Dutch overthrew the Portuguese, these East Indian Christians shook off the hated yoke of the Jesuits and of the Papacy. The Jacobites began to labor among them, and about that time (A. D. 1662) and since, they form the most formidable part of the flock presided over by the Jacobite patriarch living in Diabekir.

This experience is another positive evidence that the Papacy everywhere did its utmost to suppress the observance of the true Sabbath, which they had degraded into a fast-day, and since the time of Gregory the Great, had considered the work of Anti-christ. In full harmony with this, a traveler, Purchas, who visited them in the beginning of the seventeenth century, writes of the Jacobites: —

"They keep Saturday holy, nor esteem the Saturday fast lawful, but on Easter even. They have solemn service on Saturdays, eat flesh, and feast it bravely, like the Jews."⁶⁵

With the following tribute paid to these East Indian Christians by J. W. Massie, we leave them for the present: —

"Remote from the busy haunts of commerce, or the populous seats of manufacturing industry, they may be regarded as the Eastern Piedmontese, the Vaudois of Hindustan, the

⁶⁴ La Croze. Abbildung des ind. Christenst., p. 354, Leipzig, 1739.

⁶⁵ Pilgrimmes, part 2. b. 8. chap. 6, p. 1269, London, 1625.

witnesses prophesying in sackcloth through revolving centuries, though indeed their bodies lay as dead in the streets of the city which they had once peopled." ⁶⁶

That Sabbath observance also continued among the Jacobites who still live in Mesopotamia would be but a natural conclusion from the fact that the Thomas-Christians are under their patriarchate and still hold to it. And of this we also have definite evidence. In his history of the Jacobites, Abducanus wrote during the eighteenth century, that they assembled every Sabbath in their temples, with bare feet, to which the later editor, J. Nicolai, adds a foot-note: —

"Our author states that the Jacobites assembled on the Sabbath day, before the day of the Lord, in the temple, and kept that day, as do also the Abyssinians, as we have seen from the confession of their faith by the Ethiopian king Claudius. From this it appears that the Jacobites have kept the Sabbath as well as the Lord's day, and still continue therein." ⁶⁷

Ross also attests that the Maronites likewise retained the observance of the Sabbath for a long time, as well as keeping Sunday. ⁶⁸

The same is affirmed of the Arminians, by Seb. Frank, who writes, in the seventeenth century, that "instead of fasting on the Sabbath with the Roman Church," "they lived well on Sunday and Saturday, rejoicing in their misfortunes." "Through the

⁶⁶ Continental India, vol. 2, p. 120.

⁶⁷ *Historia Jacobitarum: Opera Josephi Abucadni, Lugduni, 1740, cum notis J. Nicolai, p. 114.*

⁶⁸ *Unterschiedlicher Gottesdienst, Heidelberg, 1665, p. 934.*

whole of Septuagesima they had no mass except on Sabbath and Sunday.”⁶⁹

Various instances have demonstrated that the Papacy, whenever it attained the supremacy and found the observance of the Sabbath, has enjoined Sabbath fasting. Dr. Augusti also attests that some synods in France, Spain, and Germany enjoined fasting on the Sabbath during the Middle Ages.⁷⁰ That it was enjoined as late as the eleventh century is proved by canon 7, of the council held at Rome, in November, 1078.⁷¹ But that a gradual change took place, Dr. Augusti, continuing, informs us:—

“From the eleventh century the prohibitions (to take a full meal on the Sabbath) become rarer and milder, and they would probably have ceased altogether, had not the Roman Church feared she would be accused of the Greek Church for her apparent inconsistency. This change was apparently brought about by the influence of a decree enforced since 1056 in Rome, at first in the monasteries, and later also among the lay members — that the Sabbath should be dedicated to Mary.”

The cause for this change is related by F. Klöden in detail:—

“By the end of the eighth century the idea of the exalted dignity of Mary had reached such a height that it was thought strange to dedicate a day of the week to the honor of the Lord (besides many other feasts), and to dedicate but a few days to his mother.” “In a church in Constantinople there stood a veiled image of the Virgin. After the vespers one Friday, the veil withdrew, seemingly without human aid, and did not hide the face until vespers on Saturday. This

⁶⁹ *Chronica*, 1530, *Chronik*, 3, 231.

⁷⁰ *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 10, 385-388.

⁷¹ *Hefele*, 5, 125, sec. 587.

was repeated the following Friday. After this miracle, no one doubted that the Virgin indicated that Saturday should be dedicated to her; it was instituted as a rule, accompanied by the following reasons: On the Sabbath after the death of Christ all faith was centered in Mary. Saturday is, as it were, the door to Sunday, which signifies eternal life. Thus Mary received a day in her honor, as well as God, and the measure rapidly found advocates and extensive circulation." ⁷²

The noted cardinal, P. Damian, thus vindicates this measure: —

"The Sabbath, meaning rest (for on it God indeed rested), is very appropriately dedicated to the most benign Virgin, for, forsooth, wisdom in building herself a house, through the mystery of the assumed humility, rested in her as in a most holy bed." ⁷³

During the first crusade, Pope Urban II decreed at the council of Clermont (A. D. 1095) that the Sabbath be set aside in honor of the Virgin Mary by all the clergy. Many lay members followed the example of the clergy, and already the famous council of Toulouse enjoins (canon 25), under a penalty of twelve *denari*, "that at vespers on Saturday, the people attend church in honor of the holy Virgin Mary." ⁷⁴

In our entire investigation of Sabbath observance in the East, we have proved that certain churches, as the Abyssinians, the Nestorians, etc., honor the Sabbath of Jehovah by ceasing from work even to this day, and that all the East still honors the Sabbath in memory of the creation, by not fasting upon

⁷² Zur Gesch. der Marienverehrung, pp. 23-25, Berlin, 1840.

⁷³ Migne, 33, c. 4, 579.

⁷⁴ Hefele, 5, 983, sec. 655.

it. This is true even now, as the following extract from the standard catechism of the Russian church, written by the Metropolitan Philaret, proves:—

“d. The fourth commandment.

“*Question.*— Why, according to the command, should the seventh, and not another, day be sanctified unto God?

“*Answer.*— Because God created the world in six days, but rested from all the works of creation on the seventh day.

“*Ques.*— Is the Sabbath (Saturday) kept in the Christian church?

“*Ans.*— It is not kept entirely as a festival; but still in memory of the creation of the world and in continuation of its original observance, it is distinguished from the other days of the week by a relaxation of the rule for fasting.”⁷⁵

On the other hand, in contrast with the East, the Papacy, wherever its influence in the West has been sufficient, has degraded the Sabbath into a fast-day, and it still stands as such in the papal laws (Gregory VII, A. D. 1078, in *Corpus juris canonici*, c. 31. dist. 5, *de consecratione*; Benedict XIV, *de synodo diocesana*, Romæ, 1755, p. 396 ff.); but in practise it has (since the eleventh century) dedicated the day to the honor of the Virgin Mary, because Christ “rested in her as in a most holy bed.”

How generally this contrast is admitted, the following from J. W. Neal shows:—

“The observation of Saturday is, as every one knows, a subject of bitter dispute between the Greeks and Latins, the former observing it as a festival, the latter as a day of abstinence.”⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Geschichte der Kirche Russlands, p. 386.

⁷⁶ A Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church, London, 1850, General Introduction, 5, 1, p. 731.

The prophecies of Daniel and Revelation clearly foretell that a power arising in Rome after the division of the Roman empire, shall "think to change times and laws" of the Most High; that it shall "cast down the truth to the ground," and shall practise and prosper;⁷⁷ that it shall "have indignation against the holy covenant;"⁷⁸ and that it shall "have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant."⁷⁹ And all this we have seen fulfilled in the attitude of the Roman bishop against God's law, against his covenant, and against his holy Sabbath. Under anathema, the Papacy has enforced work upon God's rest day; it has turned the day of delight into one of fasting and mourning; it has taken the day set apart to the honor of God, and dedicated it to the honor of his creature; it has substituted another time — the first day of the week — for the seventh day; and it has perverted the law by trying to apply the fourth commandment to Sunday; and it has had indignation against the holy covenant by attempting to erase the day written in the heart and mind of man by God's own Spirit, and seeking to write its day in the minds of men by the most cruel of human laws; and in all this it "practised, and prospered."

Through his prophets Daniel and John, God further foretells that the saints of the Most High shall be given into the hand of this Roman power for twelve hundred sixty years, during which it shall "make war with the saints, and . . . over-

⁷⁷ Dan. 8 : 12.

⁷⁸ Dan. 11 : 30.

⁷⁹ Id.

come them," and the church shall "flee into the wilderness," where "they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days." ⁸⁰ The British church, and the anathematized Sabbath-keepers of the East and of the West, during the dark Middle Ages, furnish a cloud of witnesses as to the literal fulfilment of the Word of God, and the most remote mountain passes testify that they served as hiding-places for the church of God.

But the same prophecies foretelling defeat, also assure final victory, for the "people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits. And they that understand among the people shall instruct many." "And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto death." The great work done by the missionaries of the British church in the far North and on the Continent, the ever-wandering teachers of the Sabbath-keeping believers in the Alps, the zealous missionaries in the East carrying the gospel to India, China, Persia, Africa,—all were strong, did exploits, instructed many, and sacrificed their lives in the service of the Master.

And though it seemed at times that the light of God's truth would go out, yet his true Israel survived, as the following words of a church historian testify:—

"In vain did inquisitors rage, and plot, and torture, and

⁸⁰ Dan. 11 : 33.

burn. They were neither omniscient nor omnipresent: mighty as they were, they were not omnipotent. If they cursed heresy *here*, it sprang up *there*, and when hard pressed, found shelter in many an inaccessible mountain or secluded valley."

"Councils had thundered their curses, popes had issued their bulls, and inquisitors had exhausted their ingenuity—but it was all in vain. The church of God still lived." ^s

^s Cramp's Baptist History, London, 1868, pp. 106, 112.

CHAPTER XXII

SUNDAY THE DISTINCTIVE MARK OF PAPAL POWER

The Roman Church at the height of its power — Scholasticism — The influence of Aristotle — Thomas Aquinas the light of the Roman Church — Scholastic sophistry concerning the new law and the Sabbath commandment — Sunday-keeping grows out of the decision of the church and the custom of Christians — The steady stream of Sunday legislation still goes on — "By virtue of canonical obedience" — Pharisaical Sabbatarianism repeated — Too many festivals — Dr. Eck on the authority of the church — Augsburg Confession — The decisive speech of Cardinal del Fossa — "Almost divine wisdom" — Catechism of the council of Trent — Bellarmine's Catechism — "Keep holy the festivals" — The Catholic Sunday position reviewed.

AIDED by the ever-growing monasticism, and ably defended by the philosophical arguments of the schoolmen, the Papacy had reached the zenith of its power by the Middle Ages. The Roman Church now controlled all departments of life from the cradle to the grave, monopolized all the learning, stirred up the crusades, made and unmade kings, dispensed blessings and cursings to whole nations, and hushed every opponent by the power of the Inquisition.

The medieval hierarchy centering in Rome revived the Jewish theocracy on a more comprehensive scale. It abounded in "the traditions of elders;" viz., the worship of saints and relics, transubstantiation, the daily sacrifice of the mass, prayers and masses for the dead, works of supererogation, purgatory, indulgences, vows of monasticism, and last but not least, the observance of Sunday and a large number of holidays. The organism of the papal church

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was fully developed, its legality promulgated and enforced; but now scholasticism, *i. e.*, the scientific theology of the eleventh to the sixteenth century, set itself the task of proving that what existed ought to exist. The schoolmen of the mendicant orders vindicated theologically the whole existing structure of ecclesiasticism, declared its newest as well as its oldest parts to be attested by science, and boldly defended the highest claims of the Papacy to universal power, by means of an ingenious theory of the state and the miraculous efficacy of the sacraments in the hands of its priesthood. The works of Aristotle, at first feared, soon became the chief textbooks of Rome's theologians, and his philosophy was hailed by them as a forerunner of the gospel, of just as much import as was the work of John the Baptist to Christ. Scripture and tradition and the writings of church Fathers and philosophers were skilfully blended to rear up entire doctrinal systems, justifying the weak historical foundation of papal claims.

In view of this, the Roman Church could well afford to bestow titles and honors upon the schoolmen. Among these none stands higher than Thomas Aquinas, called the "Angelic Doctor." An ancient painting in the Paris Art Gallery very aptly represents his eminent position in the church and his intimate relation to philosophy. Above there is the Trinity: in the middle, between Aristotle and Plato, sits Thomas Aquinas, with the rays of the sun emanating from him; while below are pictured the

Pope and his clergy looking up to him for light, as "teacher of the church." His historical position is attested by the following inscription: "Truly he is the light of the church; he finds all the way of doctrine."

Canons of councils, imperial and royal decrees, ecclesiastical and civil ordinances without number (and often most severe), spurious epistles from heaven, and pretended miracles and apparitions had been arduously combined to clothe Sunday, as well as the other festivals, with some air of holiness. Papal decretals styling the first day of the week the "Lord's day," now carefully defined its holiness, and disposed of it as the creature of the will of the Papacy. There was a superabundance of human legislation in favor of it, but no system of theology had as yet devised divine authority for it. A few isolated references had been made to associate it with the Sabbath of the decalogue. But at what time and by whom the first systematic effort in this direction was made, Bishop Grimelund thus rightly informs us: —

"Not the apostles, not the first Christians nor the councils of the ancient church, have stamped Sunday with the name and seal of the Sabbath, but the church of the Middle Ages, and the schoolmen."¹

Mr. Baden Powell attests the same, in more explicit language: —

"The strange and inconsistent notion of a *transference* of the obligations of the Judaical religion and its institutions

¹ *Geschichte des Sonntags*, p. 46.

to those of Christianity, more especially of a change in the *day* of the Sabbath, had been partially adopted by some writers of early times, though not acknowledged by the church. But the notion of Christian ordinances *succeeding in the place* of those of Judaism first began to be systematically upheld, among other refinements and corruptions, by the schoolmen, especially by Thomas Aquinas."²

The substance of the sophistry whereby this was accomplished, is as follows: The basis of all laws forms an eternal, spiritual law, which is not bound to certain literal precepts. God himself acts according to this law, termed the "new law," which is so comprehensive that the natural laws of the pagans, the decalogue, and the evangelical counsels and precepts of the New Testament are but rays emanating from it. The natural law written in the heart and the decalogue written on tables of stone are identical save in one point,—the keeping of a special day in memory of the creation, which is ceremonial and passing. As men fix a certain time for everything, it accords with natural law to set aside a time for divine service. But as the kernel of the Sabbath command is the rest of God, signified by the rest in paradise and realized in the eternal sabbath, the spiritual rest, and especially the rest from sin, is really a fulfilment of the Sabbath law. Bodily rest in the Old Testament on the seventh day was in reality only a shadow of this essential and spiritual rest. The church, understanding this, has, by virtue of her own full and perfect power and on the strength of a custom which time

² "Christianity Without Judaism," p. 163.

had made law, created the Sunday festival, as well as many others of like nature, that in all these she might bring this spiritual rest to a formal expression. Though this rest is not identical with the letter of the written law, yet because it is in accordance with the higher new law, the church has acted under the divine approbation. As Thomas Aquinas's exposition of the Sabbath commandment shaped the theology of the Reformers on this point, we shall quote it in full: —

"This command to keep the Sabbath holy is, literally interpreted, partly moral and partly ceremonial,—*moral*, inasmuch as men are to devote a certain portion of their time to an attention to divine things;—for men have a natural inclination to fix a certain time for everything that is necessary, such as for bodily refreshment, and other things of a similar kind. And therefore, in compliance with the dictates of natural reason, they devote a certain fixed time to that spiritual refreshment by which their spirits are strengthened in God. Thus it is a moral precept which enjoins upon men to set apart a certain time for the purpose of devoting it to divine things. But inasmuch as a *special* time is named in the commandment as a sign of the creation, it is in this respect a *ceremonial* command. Servile works are inconsistent with the keeping of the Sabbath, so far as they hinder us from fixing the mind upon divine things. And because a man is kept away from divine things more by sin than by work, even of the body, the man who sins breaks the commandment more than he who performs any lawful bodily work. The observance of Sunday, under the new law, follows the keeping of the Sabbath, not in consequence of a legal precept, but from the decision of the church and the custom of Christians. But this observance is not typical, as the keeping of the Sabbath was under the old law. And therefore the prohibition of work on Sunday is not so strict as on the Sabbath, . . . and with regard to things not

allowed, it is easier to obtain a dispensation in case of need under the new law than under the old, since the design of the type must be witness of the truth, and therefore must not be departed from in the smallest things; but works in themselves considered can be changed according to the changes of time and place."³

Thus by their sophistry Catholic theologians reared up a complete Sabbatarian superstructure for Sunday, asserting that its observance rests on a new and no less divine law than the decalogue. At the same time, by basing it upon an ecclesiastical foundation and upon tradition, and by vindicating its change in virtue of the full and perfect power of the Roman Catholic Church, through which power the church also institutes festivals of greater sanctity, they encircled this church with an increased halo of glory and with greater sovereignty.

However, this in no way restrained the continual stream of human Sunday legislation, and, seemingly, it did not enhance Sunday sacredness in the eyes of the people. Continuing from the year A. D. 1229, and coming down to the time of the Reformation, we single out a few of the most significant canons:—

(London A. D. 1237.) "Every clergyman is required to forbid his parishioners the frequenting of markets on the Lord's day, and leaving the church, where they ought to meet and spend the day in prayer and hearing the word of God. And this on pain of excommunication."

(Budapesth, A. D. 1279.) "*Canon 33.*— Parishioners must attend mass in their own parish church on all Sundays and

³ Summa Theol., vols. 1, 2, qu. 122, art. 4.

festivals. Lay members or clergymen transgressing this ordinance are to be severely punished."

(Bourges, A. D. 1286.) "*Canon 32.*— Priests must, on penalty of suspension, notify their bishop of servile work done on Sundays, so he may inflict adequate punishment."

(Rouen, A. D. 1299.) "*Canon 2.*— Secular judges holding court sessions on Sunday are threatened with excommunication."

(Beziers, A. D. 1310.) "*Canon 16.*— Shoemakers, joiners, and merchants dealing with provisions are forbidden to offer their goods for sale on Sunday."

(Trier, A. D. 1310.) "*Canon 23.*— All parishioners must attend mass on Sundays and festivals, on pain of excommunication."

"*Canon 35.*— Masters must not thereon retain their bondmen for servile work."

(Ravenna, A. D. 1311.) "*Canon 9.*— Every believer must attend the entire mass on Sunday, and not leave ere the benediction, on pain of excommunication."

(Valladolid, A. D. 1322.) "*Canon 4.*— Whoever follows agriculture or a trade on Sunday is to be excommunicated."

(Apt, A. D. 1365.) "*Canon 13.*— Markets are forbidden on pain of ecclesiastical censure; the interference of the secular power is also to be invoked."

(Upsala, A. D. 1448.) "*Canon 79.*— Whoever slays a person on Sunday, must abstain from meat the rest of his life."

"*Canon 85.*— Markets forbidden on Sunday."

(Cologne, A. D. 1452.) "*Canon 8.*— No markets to be held on Sunday, except in cases of special privileges."

(Arboga, A. D. 1473.) "*Canon 39.*— On Sunday there is to be no public sale of meat, nor should meat or other provisions be carried about for sale."

(Florence, A. D. 1517.) "*Canon 1.*— Servile work on Sunday is to be punished, and only eatables and drinks are to be offered for sale."⁴

Nearly all of western Europe is represented in this list of places. On what basis the Roman Church

⁴ Hefele's "Councils," vols. 5, 6.

urged this, is seen from the following edict of Istippe, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1388:—

"Wherefore, *by virtue of canonical obedience*, we strictly charge and command your brotherhood that if you find your people faulty in the premises, you forthwith admonish or cause them to be admonished to refrain going to markets or fairs on the Lord's day. . . . And as for such who are obstinate, and speak or act against you in this particular, you must endeavor to restrain them by ecclesiastical censures, and by all lawful means put a stop to these extravagances."⁶

A further example is the following extract from the exposition of the decalogue, given by Archbishop Neville at a synod in York, A. D. 1466, which was to guide the clergy:—

"It is said, 'Remember to keep holy the Sabbath day.' By this the observance of the Christian worship is enjoined, which is of obligation alike on the clergy and laity. But it is to be known here that the obligation to keep holy day on the legal sabbath, according to the form of the Old Testament, wholly expired with the other ceremonies of the law; and that under the New Testament it is sufficient to keep holy day for the divine worship on the Lord's days and the other solemn days ordained to be kept as holy days by the authority of the church; wherein the manner of keeping holy day is to be taken, not from the Jewish superstition, but from the *directions of the canons*."⁶

But to what minute details these restrictions were carried, may be illustrated by these few examples:—

"Bonaventura (A. D. 1221–71) enumerates among other works to be omitted on Sunday, writing, beating of clothes, washing of the head."⁷

"Pope John XXII complained, in a letter to Philip V of

⁶ Morer's "Dialogues," pp. 293, 294.

⁶ Spelm. Conc., 2. 702.

⁷ *Ant. Novit.*, pt. 1, chap. 22.

France, that there the custom still prevailed to cut or trim the beard on Sunday."⁸

The most perfect development, equal only to the Talmud, is displayed by Tostatus, bishop of Avila, in the fourteenth century. In his *Commentary on Exodus*, chapter 12, he says:—

"If a musician wait upon a gentleman, to recreate his mind with music, and they are agreed upon certain wages, or he be only hired for a present time, he sins in case he play or sing to him on holy days (including the Lord's day), but not if his reward be doubtful or depend only on the bounty of the parties who enjoy his music." "A cook that on the holy days is hired to make a feast or to dress a dinner, commits a mortal sin; but not if he be hired by the month or year." "Meat may be dressed upon the Lord's day or the other holy days, but to wash dishes on those days is unlawful—that must be deferred to another day." "A man that travels on holy days to any special shrine or saint, commits no sin, but he commits sin if he returns home on those days." "Artificers which work on these days for their own profit only, are in mortal sin, unless the work be very small, because a small thing dishonoreth not the festival."

As the decalogue acquired special importance at this time for confessional purposes, the schoolmen were very prolific in voluminous and minute treatises upon it. Nicolas of Lyra wrote not less than thirty-five books on morals; and Antonius of Florence issued a confessional, in which he not only minutely specifies what is permitted on Sunday, and what is not, but also what may and what may not be done on the festivals of different grades.

As the number of holidays steadily multiplied,

⁸ See Raynaldus annal. eccl. ad an. 1317. no. 4.

prominent ecclesiastics raised their voices in favor of diminishing the number of these holidays, demanding a reform in this as well as in other matters. Nicolaus Clémanges wrote a tract entitled "No More New Festivals," in which he shows that the many unnecessary holidays hinder the peasants in their work; that instead of furthering piety, they give occasion only to rude merrymaking; and that the peasants are forgetting the Bible because of the many stories of the saints.⁹

Cardinal de Aliaco, in the opening of the council of Constance, A. D. 1416, in his "Exhortations Concerning the Reform of the Church in Its Head and Members," demanded —

"that not so many new festivals be instituted; also that, excepting on Sundays and the great festivals instituted by the church, work be permitted after hearing the mass: because by these holidays often the sins were the more increased in taverns,—dancing and other pleasures which idleness teaches,—while at the same time the work-days scarcely suffice for the poor to secure the necessities of life."¹⁰

The Roman Church, however, did not diminish the number of holidays until after the Reformation, when synod after synod demanded it. In the summer of A. D. 1519 the great theological controversy took place at Leipzig, in which Eck maintained the authority and infallibility of the Roman Church against Luther and Carlstadt. Luther's closing words are significant: —

"I am sorry that the learned doctor only dips into the

⁹ Hauck-Herzog, 4, 140, article, "Clémanges."

¹⁰ Opera Omnia J. Gersonii, Antwerp, 1706, 2, 911 A.

Scripture as the water-spider into the water,—nay, that he seems to flee from it as the devil from the cross. I prefer, with all deference to the Fathers, the authority of the Scripture, which I herewith recommend to the arbiters of our cause."¹¹

By what arguments Dr. Eck refuted the Reformers, appears from the following:—

"Concerning the Authority of the Church.—The Scripture teaches: Remember that you keep the Saturday; six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, etc. However, the church has transferred the observance from Saturday to Sunday by virtue of her own power, without Scripture, without doubt under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit."

"Concerning Holidays and Fast-Days.—The Sabbath is commanded in various places in the Scriptures. But there is no mention of the cessation of the Sabbath and the institution of Sunday in the Gospels, or in Paul's writings, or in all the Bible; therefore this has taken place by the apostolic church instituting it without Scripture."

"If, however, the church has had power to change the Sabbath of the Bible into Sunday and to command Sunday-keeping, why should it not have also this power concerning other days, many of which are based on the Scriptures—such as Christmas, circumcision of the heart, three kings, etc. If you omit the latter, and turn from the church to the Scriptures alone, then you must keep the Sabbath with the Jews, which has been kept from the beginning of the world."¹²

The real facts in the case could not have been more plainly stated. The Roman Church not only thought to "change times and laws," by virtue of her power, but her champions brought forward this very change without Scriptural warrant, as most striking proof of the authority of the church

¹¹ Schaff, *German Reformation*, I, par. 27, p. 181.

¹² Dr. Eck's *Enchiridion*, 1533, pp. 78, 79.

over the Bible. Sunday thereby became the most significant mark of papal authority. That the Catholic makes his greatest boast over this change of the time and command of the decalogue, a Protestant historical document of the highest order has to admit: —

“They [the Catholics] allege the change of the Sabbath into the Lord’s day, contrary, as it seemeth, to the decalogue; and they have no example more in their mouths than the change of the Sabbath. They will needs have the church’s power to be very great because it hath dispensed with a precept of the decalogue.”¹³

This settles beyond dispute the extent to which Catholic champions made use of the change of the Sabbath as the mark of the papal authority over the law of God. There is still another striking instance. Ever since the opening of the council at Trent (A. D. 1545), the Catholics had tried to define the right relation of the authority of the church to tradition and the Bible. Sixteen long sessions had already been held when Caspar del Fossa, archbishop of Rheggio, made the following statement in his opening discourse, Jan. 18, 1562: —

“Such is the condition of the heretics to-day that they appeal to no other matter more than that they, under the pretense of the Word of God, overthrow the church; as though the church, which is the body of Christ, could be opposed to this Word, or the head to the body. Yea, the authority of the church is most gloriously set forth by the Holy Scriptures; for while on the one hand she recommends the same, declares them divine, offers them to us to be read, explains them

¹³ Augsburg Confession, art. 28, in Schaff’s Creeds, 3, pp. 63, 64.

faithfully in doubtful passages, and condemns whatever is contrary to them, on the other hand, the legal precepts of the Lord contained in them have ceased by virtue of the same authority. The Sabbath, the most glorious day in the law, has been changed into the Lord's day. . . . This and other similar matters have not ceased by virtue of Christ's teaching (for he says he came to fulfil the law, not to destroy it), but they have been changed by virtue of the authority of the church. Should this authority cease (which would surely please the heretics), who would then witness for truth, and confound the obstinacy of the heretics?"¹⁴

That this speech was decisive, and that tradition was thereby in reality elevated above the Scriptures, is attested by Dr. J. H. Holtzman in his work, "Canon and Tradition," page 263:—

"The council agreed fully with Ambrosius Pelargus, that under no condition should the Protestants be allowed to triumph by saying that the council had condemned the doctrine of the ancient church. But this practise caused untold tribulation without serving as a safeguard. For this business, to be sure, 'almost divine prudence' was requisite — which was indeed awarded to the council on the sixteenth of March, 1562, by the Spanish ambassador. Really they could scarcely find their way in the many labyrinthian passages of an older and a newer comprehension of tradition, which were constantly crossing and recrossing each other. But even in this they were destined to succeed. Finally, at the last opening on the eighteenth of January, 1562, their last scruple was set aside; the archbishop of Rheggio made a speech in which he openly declared that tradition stood above Scripture. The authority of the church could therefore not be bound to the authority of the Scriptures, because the church had changed Sabbath into Sunday, not by the command of Christ, but by its own authority. With this, to be sure, the last illusion was destroyed, and it was declared that tradition does not signify antiquity, but continual inspiration."

¹⁴ Mansi, Paris, 1902, 33, pp. 526-533.

Five years later the catechism of the council of Trent was published. Part III of this catechism treats "On the Precepts of God Contained in the Decalogue." In this document the decalogue is set forth as "an epitome of the entire law," and "God himself is the author of the law." "But, lest perchance the people, on hearing the abrogation of the Mosaic law, may imagine that they are no longer bound by the precepts of the decalogue, [the pastor] must teach them that, when God delivered the law to Moses, he rather gave increased splendor to this divine light, that was now almost darkened by the depraved morals and inveterate perversity of man, than passed a new law. For it is most certain that the ten commandments are not to be obeyed because given by Moses, but because they are precepts innate in the minds of all, and have been explained and confirmed by Christ our Lord." Then in question 8, the catechism thus warns against Antinomians:—

"By explaining moreover the necessity of obeying the law, [the pastor] will contribute very much to induce to its observance, particularly as in these days there have not been wanting those who impiously, and to the serious injury of their own souls, have not been afraid to say that the law, whether easy or difficult, is by no means necessary unto salvation."

Chapter IV deals directly with the Sabbath commandment. Its importance is set forth in question 2:—

"The importance of the observance of this commandment is clearly perceived from the consideration that a faithful compliance therewith facilitates the observance of all the other commandments of the law; for as, amongst the other

duties which ought to be performed on holy days, the faithful are bound to assemble at church to hear the word of God, when they shall have learned the divine precepts of righteousness, they will also naturally be prompted to keep the law of the Lord with their whole hearts. Hence the celebration and sanctification of the Sabbath are very often enjoined in Scripture."

In question 3 the princes and magistrates are to be exhorted to aid with the support of their authority in enforcing this command; then in question 4 the teachings of the schoolmen with regard to the difference between this command and the others becomes the infallible rule of the council:—

"The difference, then, appears evident, in that the other commandments of the decalogue are precepts of the natural and perpetual law, under all circumstances unalterable, whence, notwithstanding the abrogation of the law of Moses, all the commandments contained in the two tables are observed by the Christian people, not because Moses so commanded, but because they agree with the law of nature, by the dictates of which men are impelled to their observance; whereas this commandment, touching the sanctification of the Sabbath, if considered as to the time of its observance, is not fixed and unalterable, but susceptible of change, and belongs not to the moral but ceremonial law. Neither is it a natural principle, for we are not taught or formed by nature to give external worship to God on the Sabbath rather than on any other day; but from the time the people of Israel were liberated from the bondage of Pharaoh, they observed the Sabbath day."

In question 5 it seeks to show that at the death of Christ the Sabbath ceased, with the other Jewish ceremonies. In question 7, on the strength of Rev. 1:10, it is stated that the apostles changed the Sabbath into the Lord's day. In question 18 the reason for this is stated as follows:—

"But it has pleased the church of God in her wisdom that the religious celebration of the Sabbath day should be transferred to the Lord's day. For as on that day first light shone upon the world, so by the resurrection on that day of our Redeemer, who threw open to us the gate unto everlasting life, our life was called out of darkness into light, and hence the apostles would have it called the Lord's day. We also learn from the Sacred Volume that the first day of the week was held sacred, because on that day the creation of the world was commenced, and the Holy Ghost was bestowed upon the disciples."

And in question 19 a reason is given for the institution of other festivals:—

"From the infancy of the church and in subsequent times, other days were instituted by the apostles, and by our holy Fathers, in order to commemorate with piety and holiness the beneficent gifts of God."

Previously to this, in question 15, we read of the "spiritual sabbath." "The spiritual sabbath consists in a certain holy and mystic rest, wherein the old man, being buried with Christ, is renewed unto life." Then in question 16 comes the sabbath of the blest, which refers to the heavenly sabbath, the final rest for the people of God. After dealing with what should be done on the feast-days and on Sunday, it concludes, in question 28:—

"Lest therefore we should thus offend God, we should frequently ponder over this word remember, and set before our eyes those important interests and advantages which . . . flow from the religious observance of Sundays and holidays."¹⁵

¹⁵ "The Catechism of the Council of Trent," by T. A. Buckley, London, 1852, pp. 351-403.

Another catechism, drawn up by Cardinal Belarmine, sanctioned by bulls of Clement VIII (A. D. 1558) and Benedict XIII (A. D. 1728), and still used in Italy, travesties the fourth commandment thus:—

“Remember to keep holy the festivals” (*Recordati di sanctificare le Feste*). He then explains: “The third commands the observance of festivals; which consists in abstaining from servile works, in order to have time for considering the divine blessings, for visiting the churches, etc.”¹⁶

Among “the few commandments which the church has added to the commandments of God,” the catechism enjoins that one should “hear mass every Sunday, and on all other appointed festivals.” The same cardinal maintained that the distinction of days and festivals was not taken away, but changed by the Christian church; which, as being infallible, doubtless had power to make such a change in divine institutions, though otherwise it manifestly could not.¹⁷

The gradual development of the Sunday institution within the realm of the Roman Church, together with the doctrines, the pretended claims, the many decrees and different practises with regard to Sunday, have been presented to the reader from standard Catholic authorities. Philosophical theologians introduced this institution, and philosophical schoolmen gave to it the finishing touches; and what sophistical schoolmen had devised in its

¹⁶ *Dottrina Cristiana Breve*, Rome, 1836; English trans., London, 1839.

¹⁷ *Disputationes*, Paris, 1608, p. 883.

behalf, popes and councils authorized as infallible. To vindicate this change so unwarranted by Scripture, the theory of the "new law" of the Gnostics was revived by the schoolmen; but to impress Sunday holiness in practise, they adduced the despised Sabbath commandment. While its observance was said to rest on a higher spiritual law, yet carnal human legislation expended all its ingenuity to enforce this observance, and still failed. Sunday was stamped with the seal of the Sabbath, but it stood forth as a human ordinance, created by the wisdom and custom of the church. Scholasticism stripped the Sabbath commandment of its import, changed, as it was, from the fourth to the third command of the decalogue.

According to their sophistry, this institution is authorized only in that it agrees with nature that God should be worshiped. Sabbath observance is made out to be not fixed and constant, but subject to ceremonial and human changes. The Sabbath that was ordained by God's own rest in the beginning, is said to have begun with the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, and to have passed away as a mere Jewish ceremony at the death of Christ. The explicit and lengthy precept written by the divine Legislator himself dwindles down in the theory and practise of the Catholic Church to the loose and indefinite statement, "Remember to keep holy the festivals." It thus enjoins the observance of as many days in honor of the saints as fallible man might choose to devise. Sunday and the many

festivals all owe their origin to the wisdom of the church, which, for the eternal and infallible truth of the Bible, has substituted human edicts and fluctuating tradition. As there is no Scriptural warrant for the supposed change, the Roman Church refers to it to prove the superiority of tradition over the authority of the Bible. This pretended change being contrary to the express letter of the law of God and the definite injunctions of Christ, Catholic champions point to it as the most striking example of the wonderful power of the Roman Church, which can dispense with one of God's own precepts. To smooth over the unwarranted change, sophistry declares it to be in harmony with a higher "new law," and thus assures it of divine approbation. That church which debased the Edenic Sabbath institution has also robbed Edenic marriage of its honor.

When it came to actual practise, Roman ecclesiastical Sabbatarianism proved a decided failure; but its sophistical theory assured victory to tradition and Romanism in their contest with an incomplete Protestantism at the most important council of Trent. The human, ecclesiastical Sunday, stamped with the seal of the Sabbath by the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, approved by the councils, and adopted world-wide, is the *most significant mark* of usurped papal authority over the divine law of God.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE "INCOMPLETE" SUNDAY OF THE REFORMERS

General conditions at the time of the Reformation — A growing demand for reforms — The Bible in the language of the people — Luther's address to the German nobility — The Sunday sabbath of the schoolmen controverted in every point — Tied to no day in particular — Work on Sunday not sinful — Who instituted Sunday a question that did not concern the Reformers — Luther assigns Sunday to the common people only — Weakness and inconsistency of the position held by the Reformers — Review of their theory — Sunday left suspended in the air — How to view the Reformers and their work.

FROM the bosom of the Roman Church itself arose the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. "Theology was a maze of scholastic subtleties, Aristotelian dialectics and idle speculations, but ignored the great doctrines of the gospel." The church of the Middle Ages was sunken in the same rigid legalism and formalism as were the Jews at the time of our Saviour. The pure teachings of the Word of God had become obscured by tradition and philosophical puerilities. The people knew more of the legends of saints than of the Word of God. Not many could read and write, and copies of the Bible were few and in an unknown tongue. Justification was sought by meritorious works, so that true faith in Christ had declined, and, as an inevitable consequence, God's holy law was everywhere transgressed. His blessed rest day fared even worse than in the days of the Pharisees. While they loaded down the Sabbath with their endless and petty restrictions, yet they at least preserved the day "according to the commandment." But after divesting God's rest day

of its honor, the papal church clothed a day of its own appointing with the seal of the Sabbath, and loaded it down with numerous canonical restrictions and civil ordinances, and then boasted of nothing more proudly than of its power in dispensing with one of God's precepts. It, therefore, in even a much more flagrant manner than the Pharisees, made the commandments of God of none effect by its tradition, and taught the commandments of men in their stead.¹

The observance of Sunday became something meritorious, by which the sins of the working-days might be expiated, and even the sufferings of souls in purgatory relieved. A multitude of festivals, instituted in imitation of the Jewish festivals, only greater in number and accompanied by observances more irksome, rested upon the necks of the people like an unbearable yoke. The true sense of the blessedness of a Sabbath rest made for man even in paradise, was entirely lost sight of among the many holidays, with which Sunday stood only on an equal footing. The rigor of many of the provisions had an effect just the opposite of that which was intended: human nature rebelled against such an arduous task, and numerous voices were raised in protest at councils preceding the Reformation.

This was one of the evils demanding a reform. The tyranny of the hierarchy, rival popes, yea, even rival councils, endless controversies between the secular and the ecclesiastical powers, the cor-

¹ Matt. 15 : 1-9.

ruption of the clergy, the abuses of indulgences and of the mass,—all these had increased to such an extent before the time of the Reformation that the words of a noted Catholic express the truth when he said, “We hear from it [from this period] a thousand voices for a reformation in its head and members.” At the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel a reformation of the head and of the members was the great watchword; but the hierarchy, to its own hurt, stifled this demand for a whole century.

One of the first aims of the Reformation was to give the Bible to the people in their own tongue, so that they might “search the Scriptures” and find the truth. In a few years the Bible had more readers among the laity than even the Latin Vulgate could boast among the priests. From the very outset, the Reformers maintained the supremacy of the Scriptures over tradition against the Roman co-ordination of the two. The following words of Luther define the correct standard:—

“All articles of faith are sufficiently laid down in the Holy Scripture, so that one has no liberty to lay down more.”²

The true condition of things, and their remedies, are set forth in a masterly manner in Luther’s address to the German nobility, published in July, 1520, one hundred thousand copies of which were circulated during the first month. The government of the Pope “agrees with that of the apostles as well as Lucifer with Christ, hell with heaven, night

² Luther’s works, Erlanger Augs., 31, 122.

with day; and yet he styles himself Christ's vicar." The three walls around the papal Jericho, which have been erected against a reformation, are the three exclusive claims of the Papacy to universal power, to interpret the Scriptures, and to call a council. In twenty-seven articles Luther urges sweeping reforms: —

"Art. 18.— All festivals should be abrogated, excepting Sunday. Should it be desired that the high festivals and those in honor of the Virgin remain, let them be transferred to Sunday, or let mass be held in the forenoon, and the remainder be a working-day. The holidays cause drinking, gambling, idleness, and various other sins, and God's anger is kindled by them. We are all turned about, so that holidays are unholy, and working-days holy. Instead of God and his saints being served with the many holidays, they are greatly dishonored. Some mad prelates suppose that if they appoint a feast in honor of St. Ottilie or Barbara (every one according to his blind reverence), they perform a good deed. They would have done much better had they converted every holiday into a working-day in honor of some saint.

"The common people suffer twofold harm from this abuse: they neglect their work, and spend more than otherwise. They also weaken their bodies and make them unfit, as we can see daily, and still no one thinks of a reform. But let it not matter whether or not the Pope has instituted the festival, or whether one should have dispensation or vacation."

"Art. 23.— O Christ, my Lord, condescend, let the great day of God come and destroy the devil's nest at Rome. There sits the man of whom Paul said (2 Thess. 2: 3, 4) he shall exalt himself above thee, sit in the church, and act as God: the man of sin and the son of perdition." "I hope that the last day is even at the door. It can not become worse than the Papacy acts now. He suppresses God's command, and exalts his own above it. If this is not Antichrist, let another tell who it might be."

“*Art. 25.*—The universities need a decided reform.” “Little is taught of the Bible and of Christian faith; the blind pagan master, Aristotle, rules even more than Christ.” “My dear theologians let the Bibles lie idle and read treatises.” “The Pope enjoins in severe words that his law be read in the schools and courts, but little is thought of the gospel. Therefore it happens that the Gospels lie full of dust under the benches in the schools and courts, in order that the Pope’s harmful law might rule alone.”

“While the writings of the church Fathers should be read for a time to lead one to the Bible, we now read them to abide in them, and never to come to the Bible: we look, as it were, at the waymark, but never follow the way it points.”³

Under the mighty blows of the Reformers, the whole framework of a Sunday sabbath and a “new law,” reared up by the schoolmen during the Middle Ages, was leveled to the ground. With one consent they condemn every one of their positions in the strongest terms:—

1. The “new law” of the schoolmen is denounced by Melancthon as a fictitious dream:—

“The opponents would feign a dream on their part, as though Christ had abrogated the law of Moses, and had introduced after Moses a new good law, whereby one might obtain pardon from sin. By this fanatical, foolish thought they suppress Christ and his benefits.”⁴

2. That one part of the fourth commandment be moral, and the other ceremonial, Calvin condemns as the sophistry of false prophets:—

“In this way, we get quit of the trifling [sophistry] of the false prophets, who in later times instilled Jewish ideas into the

³ Erlang. Augs., 21, pp. 274–360.

⁴ Apology of the Augsburg Confession, written 1531, art. 27 (13).

people, alleging that nothing was abrogated but what was ceremonial in the commandment (this they term, in their language, the taxation of the seventh day), while the moral part remains; viz., the observance of one day in seven. But this is nothing else than to insult the Jews by changing the day, and yet mentally attributing to it the same sanctity; thus retaining the same typical distinction of days as had place among the Jews. And of a truth, we see what profit they have made by such a doctrine. Those who cling to their constitutions go thrice as far as the Jews in the gross and carnal superstition of Sabbatism."⁵

3. The theory that the observance of Sunday was appointed instead of the Sabbath is styled a great error by the Augsburg Confession:—

"For those who think that the observance of Sunday has been appointed by the authority of the church, instead of the Sabbath, as a thing necessary, greatly err. The Scripture allows that we are not bound to keep the Sabbath; for it teaches that the ceremonies of the law of Moses are not necessary after the revelation of the gospel."⁶

4. Disputes of the schoolmen about the observance of Sunday are denounced by the Reformers as snares to the conscience:—

"Many writers, again, pretend that in the New Testament there ought to be a *cultus* similar to the Levitical. . . . Whence do bishops derive the right to impose these traditions to the burdening of consciences? for there exist clear testimonies which prohibit the framing of such traditions either for obtaining remission of sins, or as if necessary to the righteousness of the New Testament or to salvation."

"There are extant prodigious disputations on the change of the law, on the ceremonies of the new law, on the mutation of the Sabbath; all of which proceed from the false persuasion

⁵ Calvin's Institutes, b. 2, chap. 8, sec. 34.

⁶ Augsburg Confession, art. 28.

that there ought to be in the church a *cultus* similar to the Levitical, and that Christ committed to the apostles and bishops the power to devise new ceremonies which are necessary to salvation. Some say that the observance of Sunday is not indeed *juris divini*, but *quasi juris divini*, and they prescribe how far it is lawful to work on festivals. But what are disputations of this sort but snares to the conscience?"⁷

5. "The superstitious opinion that God is served with idleness," Calvin thus censures:—

"And besides that, all superstitions must be banished. For we see how it is an opinion in popery that God is served with idleness. It is not after that sort that we must keep holy the Sabbath day. But to the intent it may be applied to the right and lawful use, we must consider (as I said afore) how our Lord requireth to have this day bestowed in nothing else but in hearing of his word, in making common prayer, in making confession of our faith, and in having the use of the sacraments. These are the things that we be called to. Howbeit, we see how all things have been corrupted and confounded in the popedom. For like as they have allotted days to honoring of their he saints and she saints, and set up images of them, so have they surmised that they were to be worshiped with idleness." "And let us consider to what end our Lord commanded the people of old time to have one day in the week to rest in: to the intent that we, knowing how the same is abolished by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, may take ourselves to the spiritual rest—that is to say, dedicate ourselves wholly unto God, forsaking all our own reason and affections."⁸

But though the Reformers as a whole rejected the application of the Sabbath commandment to Sunday, as a sophistical invention of the Middle Ages, yet when closely pressed by the Romanists

⁷ Id. ⁸ 34th Sermon on Deut., quoted in Cox, I, 409.

with their claims of authority, Archbishop Cranmer (burned at Oxford A. D. 1555), replied:—

"There be two parts of the Sabbath day: one is the outward bodily rest from all manner of labor and work; this is mere ceremonial, and was taken away with other sacrifices and ceremonies by Christ at the preaching of the gospel. The other part of the Sabbath day is the inward rest, or ceasing from sin, from our own wills and lusts, and to do only God's will and commandments. . . . This spiritual sabbath, that is, to abstain from sin, and to do good, are all men bound to keep all the days of their life, and not only on the Sabbath day. And this spiritual sabbath may no man alter nor change, no, not the whole church."⁹

The Reformers, thus completely severing every link wherewith the schoolmen had tried to join Sunday to the Sabbath and its commandment, declared definitely that Sunday was but a mere church ordinance, devised by men.

In the Augsburg Confession we read:—

"Furthermore, the three oldest ordinances in the church, *i. e.*, the high fast-days, etc., Sunday observance and the like, which have been invented for the sake of good order, unity, and peace, etc., such we observe gladly."¹⁰

The Helvetic Confession (A. D. 1566) makes the following statement:—

"We do not believe either that one day is more sacred than another, or that mere rest is in itself pleasing to God. We keep Sunday, *i. e.*, the resurrection day of our Lord Jesus, not the Sabbath."¹¹

The Bohemian Confession (A. D. 1535) counts Sunday among the human traditions and old customs "which were still retained."¹²

⁹ Quoted in Cox, I, 135.

¹⁰ Art. 28.

¹¹ Chap. 24, concerning holidays.

¹² Niemeyer, Coll. Conf., p. 808.

The Rakauer Catechism of the Socinians says:—

"Question.—Has not Christ appointed that we should keep Sunday instead of Sabbath?—By no means. But as we see that Sunday has been kept by the Christians from older times, we leave the same liberty to all Christians."¹³

H. Bullinger, an eminent Swiss Reformer, testifies:—

"Although we do not in any of the apostles' writings find any mention made that this Sunday was commanded us to keep holy; yet, because in this fourth precept of the first table we are commanded to have a care of religion and the exercising of outward godliness, it would be against all godliness and Christian charity if we should deny to sanctify the Sunday." "I suppose also that we ought to think the same of those few feasts and holy days which we keep holy to Christ our Lord."¹⁴

Martin Chemnitz remarks, in his examination of the decrees of the council of Trent:—

"No law, no precepts of the New Testament, oblige us to keep Sunday, yet it would be barbaric wantonness if one should abrogate such an old ecclesiastical custom without sufficient reason."¹⁵

One of the Reformers, Carlstadt, says:—

"Concerning Sunday one feels uneasy because men have instituted it."¹⁶

As the Reformers all believed in its human origin, they naturally held that men might change the day at will. In article 28 of the Augsburg Confession, we read:—

¹³ Catech. Racov. edition, Oeder, p. 462.

¹⁴ The Decades, Cambridge, 1849, 2, 259, 260.

¹⁵ Exam. Council. Trident. de Festis, sec. 3.

¹⁶ Von dem Sabbat und gebotenen Feiertagen, chap. 10.

"And yet, because it was requisite to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when to assemble together, it appears that the church appointed for this purpose Sunday, which for this reason also seemed to have pleased the more, that men might have an example of Christian liberty, and might know that the observance neither of the Sabbath nor of any other day is necessary."

Luther declares, in his Larger Catechism:—

"It is, however, to be observed that with us this is not so tied to certain times, in the way it was with the Jews; as that this or that day in particular should be ordered or enjoined for it. No day is better or more excellent than another." "And seeing that those who preceded us chose Sunday for them, this harmless and admitted custom must not be readily changed; our objects in retaining it are the securing of unanimity and consent of arrangement, and the avoidance of the general confusion which would result from individual and unnecessary innovation."

In his sermon at Torgau, in 1544, Luther expresses this still more forcibly:—

"Since our Lord has come, we have the liberty, if Sabbath or Sunday does not please us, to take Monday or another day of the week and make a Sunday out of it."¹⁷

Tyndale claimed the same:—

"As for the Sabbath, we be lords over the Sabbath, and may yet change it into Monday, or into any other day as we see need, or may make every tenth day holy day only if we see cause why."¹⁸

Calvin entertained the same idea:—

"Yet I do not lay so much stress on the septenary number that I would oblige the church to an invariable adherence to it."¹⁹

¹⁷ Erlang. Augs., 17.

¹⁸ Answer to More, b. 1, chap. 25.

¹⁹ Institutes, b. 2, chap. 8, sec. 34.

That they thought freely about working on Sunday is seen from the following words of Zwingli:—

"For we are no way bound to time, but time ought to serve us, that it is lawful and permitted to each church, when necessity urges (as it is usual to be done in harvest-time), to transfer the solemnity and rest of Sunday to some other day, or work the whole Sunday, after having heard God's word."²⁰

Concerning the observance of Sunday and holidays, we read in article 28 of the Augsburg Confession:—

"The observance of them is not to be taught necessary to salvation, nor the violation of them, if it be done without offense to others, to be regarded as a sin."

Bucer goes further yet:—

"To think that working on the Lord's day is in itself a sin, is a superstition, and a denying of the grace of Christ."²¹

Archbishop Cranmer left the regulation of the observance with the civil authorities, as we see from his catechism, published in A. D. 1548:—

"We Christian men in the New Testament are not bound to such commandments of Moses' law concerning differences of times, days, and meats, but have liberty and freedom to use other days for our sabbath days, therein to hear the word of God, and keep an holy rest. And therefore that this Christian liberty may be kept and maintained, we now keep no more the Sabbath on Saturday as the Jews do; but we observe the Sunday, and certain other days, as the magistrates do judge convenient, whom in this thing we ought to obey."²²

²⁰ Saemtliche Schriften, Zurich, 1819, I, 523.

²¹ Com. on Matt., chap. 12, published in 1530.

²² Quoted in Cox, Sab. Laws and Duties, p. 289.

As to Calvin's practise, Dr. Hessey mentions the following saying: —

"At Geneva a tradition exists that when John Knox visited Calvin on a Sunday, 'he found his austere coadjutor bowling on a green.'" ²³

Furthermore, it is a historical fact that Calvin had Servetus arrested on a Sunday, as Robinson attests: —

"While he [Servetus] waited for a boat to cross the lake on his way to Zurich, by some means Calvin got intelligence of his arrival; and although it was on a Sunday, yet he prevailed upon the chief syndic to arrest and imprison him. On that day, by the laws of Geneva, no person could be arrested except for a capital crime; but this difficulty was easily removed, for John Calvin pretended that Servetus was a heretic, and that heresy was a capital crime." "The doctor was arrested and imprisoned on Sunday, the thirteenth of August (A. D. 1553). That very day he was brought into court." ²⁴

The long list is fittingly closed with the following strong statement by Luther: —

"If anywhere the day is made holy for the mere day's sake, if anywhere any one sets up its observance on a Jewish foundation, then I order you to work on it, to ride on it, to dance on it, to feast on it, to do anything that shall remove this encroachment on Christian liberty." ²⁵

The question, Who changed the Sabbath, and why? concerned the Reformers so little that they were content with incidental allusions to it. Luther, all absorbed in justification by faith, remarked: —

²³ Bampton Lectures, p. 366, note 449.

²⁴ Eccl. Researches, chap. 10, p. 338.

²⁵ Table Talk, quoted in Bampton Lectures, p. 166, by Dr. Hessey.

"I believe the apostles transferred Sabbath to Sunday; none else would have dared to do it. And I believe they principally did this to remove from the hearts of the people the illusion that they were just and pious because they kept the law, and in order that they might with surety continually hold fast to the opinion that the law was not necessary to salvation."²⁶

But how little Luther thought of Rev. 1:10 as an argument in behalf of Sunday, he sets forth when he was pressed to renew the Easter controversy:—

"Yes, you say, Sunday had to be honored on account of the resurrection of Christ, wherefore it is called *Dominica dies*, and therefore Easter is to be placed upon it, because Christ has risen after the Sabbath (which we call Saturday). This is one of the arguments which influenced them; but because *dies Dominica* is not called Sunday, but the Lord's day, why should not all days on which Easter may fall be called the Lord's day?"²⁷

Calvin makes the following striking comment:—

"Nor am I inclined to admit the view taken by Chrysostom, that the term *Sabbath* is employed here to mean the *Lord's day* (Rev. 1:10); for the probability is that the apostles, at the beginning, retained the day that was already in use, but that afterwards, constrained by the superstition of the Jews, they set aside that day, and substituted another. Now the *Lord's day* was made choice of chiefly because our Lord's resurrection put an end to the shadows of the law. Hence the day itself puts us in mind of our Christian liberty."²⁸

Dr. Th. Zahn, in summing up the position of the Reformers, says on this point:—

²⁶ Tischreden, Leipzig, 1723, p. 437. see 454.

²⁷ Erlang. Augs. 25. 333. concerning councils; 1539.

²⁸ Calvin's Commentary on 1 Cor. 16: 2.

"Whether the apostles or any one else had introduced the Sunday or other holidays, the Reformers regarded . . . as a mere historical question, in no way concerning faith; for they knew, and the Augsburg Confession is a reminder of it, that Christianity disregards apostolical ordinances without the least scruples of conscience, such as that women should cover their heads while praying, or that Christians of Gentile origin should abstain from blood and things strangled. Even the authority and example of the apostles can not elevate an ecclesiastical ordinance to the rank of a rule of salvation, or to a precept of God eternally valid, or to an institution of Christ."²⁹

What stamp the Reformers placed on this human ordinance, and for whom they thought it intended, Luther clearly demonstrates in his introduction to the Sabbath commandment:—

"But in order that the simple may obtain a Christian view of that which God requires of us in this commandment, observe that we keep a festival, not for the sake of intelligent and advanced Christians, for these have no need of it; but first for the sake of the body, because nature teaches that the working classes, servants and maids, who have spent the whole week in their work and occupation, absolutely require a day in which they can leave off work, and rest and refresh themselves; and, chiefly, in order that men may, on such a day of rest, have time and opportunity, such as they could not otherwise have, to attend to the worship of God, that so they may come in crowds to hear the word of God and practise it, to praise God, and sing, and pray."³⁰

A Lutheran author, Pastor Rische, thus justly criticizes Luther's position:—

"Is the threatening of divine punishment to the transgressor to be based on such reasoning? Will one with such rea-

²⁹ *Geschichte des Sonntags*, p. 47.

³⁰ *Larger Catechism*, Erlang. Augs., 21, 48.

soning explain the existence of Sunday for the last thousand years? Furthermore, is it truly evangelical to make such a difference between the learned and the masses of the common people? Is not that right for one, that is just for another? Is that really truth — to make differences based on such accidental conditions, because the learned had perhaps more time in that age during the week, and therefore he had no need of keeping Sunday to all eternity, while on the other hand the common man must rest because he had been laboring on the week-days? And if the latter, accidentally, should have more free time, what then? Do the Scriptures anywhere make any such differences?" ³¹

The following apology made by Richard Baxter for the Reformers, is significant: —

"For Calvin, and Beza, and most of the great divines of the foreign churches,—you must remember that they came newly out of popery, and had seen the Lord's day and a superabundance of other human holy days imposed on the churches to be ceremoniously observed, and they did not all of them so clearly as they ought discern the difference between the Lord's day and those holy days, or church festivals, and so did too promiscuously conjoin them in their reproofs of the burdens imposed on the church. And it being the papists' ceremoniousness and their multitude of festivals that stood altogether in their eye, it tempted them to too undistinguishing and inaccurate a reformation." ³²

The highest Lutheran authority in Prussia stated, in a memorial submitted to the government in 1850, calling for more rigid Sunday laws: —

"During the time of the Reformation, the doctrine of the Christian Sunday was left incomplete." ³³

³¹ Die Sonntagsruhe, p. 78.

³² The Divine Appt., p. 127. quoted in Bampton Lectures, by Hesse, pp. 166, 167.

³³ Denkschrift des evang. Oberkirchenrats, p. 6.

Hessey offers the following criticism:—

"With one blow as it were, and with one consent, the Continental Reformers rejected the legal or Jewish title which had been set up for it; the more than Jewish ceremonies and restrictions by which, in theory at least, it had been encumbered; the army of holy days of obligation by which it had been surrounded. But they did more. They left standing no sanction for the day itself which could commend itself powerfully to men's consciences. . . . And when they discovered that men, that human nature in fact, could not do without it, they adopted the day, indeed, but with this reservation expressed or implied: 'The Lord's day is to be placed in the category of ordinances which, being matters of indifference, any "particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, or abolish;"' or, which was worse still, they made it a purely civil institution, dependent, if not for its origin at least for its continuance, on the secular power."³⁴

The sum total of the position of the Reformers is that Sunday was a quasi-imitation of the Sabbath, but not a continuation. It was in no manner commanded of God, but rather an ordinance of the church, as is seen by the silence of the New Testament and the practise of the ancient Christians. The Reformers never claimed that Sabbath observance was inseparably bound to the first day of the week on account of the resurrection or any other event, but, on the contrary, being an ecclesiastical institution invented simply for the good of the people, it might be changed to any day in the week, as circumstances might demand. Nor was it thought to be sinful to do any work on Sunday, after having attended divine service. In fact, the institution

³⁴ Sunday, Bampton Lectures, pp. 165, 166.

existed only for the common working people, that they might have some bodily rest. The Reformers' ideas of a rest day were incomplete and unsatisfactory. In tearing down the sophistical theory whereon scholasticism had built up a Sunday sabbath in the Middle Ages, they swept away all the foundation Sunday had, and left Sunday hanging between heaven and earth, as it were. This is seen from the words of Mosheim:—

"The church, we say, has ordained Sunday. We are bound to submit ourselves to her authority. How weak is this prop! Jesus has freed us from the ordinances of men; the church has no right to make laws." ³⁶

The Reformers, while rejecting the scholastic Sunday theory, did not succeed in substituting another doctrine, clear, precise, logical, and practical, because their starting-point and basis were contrary to their own principles. Whenever they made the Bible their guide, every effort of theirs was crowned with success; when they deviated, a failure was sure to follow,—an "incomplete," "unaccurate," unsuccessful reformation. The impropriety of making the Reformers the standard of divine truth, and the legacy they left to their successors, are forcibly set forth by Dr. Priestly:—

"Luther and Calvin reformed many abuses, especially in the discipline of the church, and also some gross corruptions in doctrine; but they left other things of far greater moment just as they found them. . . . It was great merit in them to go as far as they did, and it is not they,

³⁶ Sittenlehre, 5. 486.

but we, who are to blame if their authority induces us to go no further. We should rather imitate them in the boldness and spirit with which they called in question and rectified so many long-established errors, and availing ourselves of their labors, make further progress than they were able to do. Little reason have we to allege their name, authority, and example, when they did a great deal, and we do nothing at all. In this we are not imitating them, but those who opposed and counteracted them, willing to keep things as they were." *

* Cox, Sabbath Laws, p. 260.



CHAPTER XXIV

THE REFORMERS AND THE SABBATH COMMANDMENT

God's wonderful dealings — Even great men err — Care necessary in the beginning of the Reformation — Old dogmas retained — Luther's preface to Revelation and James — Third or fourth commandment, which? — "Thou shalt keep holy the festival" — Who alone sanctifies the day? — Theory and practise clash — The threefold division of the decalogue — Antinomianism — Contradictions of the Reformers — If the law is binding, the seventh day must be kept — Both Sabbath and Sunday destroyed.

THE Reformation of the sixteenth century was the greatest event since the days of the apostles. The way in which God constantly deals with his church calls forth the admiration of the heavenly host. In spite of the growing apostasy, the gospel extended. Though chained to the wall, the Bible freed captives everywhere. At the height of the papal assumption, a multitude of martyrs sealed their witness with their own blood. Amid the darkness of the Middle Ages, the light of truth never went out, and Christ ever abode with his flock. The prominent Reformers had been devoted sons of Rome. In the narrow cell of the monastery, a monk, struggling to obtain righteousness by works, was blessed by obtaining a revelation of the free pardon of boundless grace. Because he loved his church, he published his ninety-five theses against indulgences, declaring, however, in thesis 71: "He who speaks against the truth of apostolical pardon, let him be anathema." Although he himself had seen the corruptions of Rome, yet his confidence in the Pope finds expression in these words in the

fiftieth thesis: "Christians should be taught that, if the Pope were acquainted with the exactions of pardon, he would prefer that the Basilica of St. Peter should be burned to ashes, rather than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep."

This illustrates the mysterious influence which the Roman Church exercises over its subjects, and which divine power alone can break. Papal bulls of excommunication hurled against its own loyal members, served as the final means to open their eyes to the fulfilment of apocalyptic Babylon in the papal Roman system. Divine providence overruled their timidity; the reform refused within the confines of the Roman Church, had to be wrought without her pale.

The power accompanying the Reformation was divine, but the instruments were human. Luther's faith at Worms and his obstinacy at Marburg; Zwingli conquering with the Bible and falling with the sword; Calvin converting Geneva but burning Servetus; Luther claiming verbal inspiration, and yet denouncing James as an epistle of straw; a Reformer adding the word "alone" to Rom. 3:28, but dropping the fourth commandment; a reformation declining secular aid in its darkest hour, but forming an alliance with it in secure times; a church protesting against being persecuted, while herself a persecutor; a reformation claiming the Bible as the only rule of faith, but at the same time putting the new wine into old bottles,—all this testifies to the truthfulness of Ps. 62:9, which is rendered thus by

Luther: "Yea, men are nothing; even great men err; they weigh less than nothing, though there be many."

The God of eternity has time; the long-suffering One, bearing with the apostasy for many centuries, could also forbear for a few centuries before he brought about a full reformation. "That men recently led out of the thickest darkness into light, should not at once discern and distinguish all objects, as they do who have long been in the light, is not at all strange."¹ When the final rupture with Rome came, the commanding position of the Papacy made it incumbent on the Reformers to move with great caution. Ranke points out their danger:—

"How then would it have been possible to assail it [the Papacy] without a universal shock; to question it without endangering the whole fabric of civilization?"²

Ranke says of Luther, whom he calls the most conservative Reformer:—

"He deviated from tradition only as far as he felt himself constrained to do so by the words of Christ. To go in search of novelties, or to overthrow anything established that was not utterly irreconcilable with Scripture, were thoughts which his soul knew not. He would have maintained the whole structure of the Latin Church, had it not been disfigured by modern additions, foreign to its original design, and contrary to the genuine sense of the gospel." "He was so profoundly attached to the traditions of the church that it was not without the most violent inward storms that he

¹ Mosheim Eccl. Hist., cent. 16, sec. 3, pt. 2, chap. 1, par. 45, p. 350.

² "History of the Reformation," London, 1845, vol. 2, b. 3, p. 4.

emancipated himself from accidental and groundless additions." ³

Neander's remarks are full of meaning:—

"The spirit of the Reformation . . . did not attain quite at the beginning to clear self-consciousness. So it happened that in an unobserved way many errors passed over from the old canon law into the new church practise." ⁴

Dr. Harnack attests:—

"And yet the Reformers allowed the old dogma to remain; nay, they did not even submit it to revision." "Luther never contended against wrong theories and doctrines as such, but only against such wrong theories and doctrines as *manifestly* did serious injury to the purity of the gospel, and to its comforting power" ⁵

A spirit of conservatism was very needful to lay the foundation at such a serious juncture; but in time it would prove an obstacle in the way of perfecting the reform. Among the contradictions of the Reformers, we cite as one of the most glaring, Luther's attitude to the Scriptures. He taught: "We have the right touchstone for testing all books, in observing whether they witness to Christ or not." On the strength of this touchstone, he, in his preface to the New Testament, discriminates freely between chief and less important books, changes their traditional order, and passes unfavorable judgment on James, Hebrews, and the Revelation. As to the last-mentioned book, he writes in this preface (A. D. 1522):—

³ Id., vol. 3, b. 5, pp. 94, 95.

⁴ Harnack's "History of Dogma," 7, 27.

⁵ Id., 7, 26, 175.

"To my mind there is lacking not simply one thing in this book, so that I can not regard it either as apostolic or prophetic." "My mind can not become reconciled to this book, and that Christ is neither taught nor recognized in it is reason enough for me not to esteem it highly."⁶

In his preface, written in A. D. 1532, he modifies his unwarranted conclusion, for this book calls Christ the alpha and the omega of all, and shows how in him the mystery of the gospel will be finished. But how even great men can err, is still clearer seen from his preface to James:—

"Therefore the epistle of James is a real straw epistle in comparison to these (*i. e.*, the epistles of John and Paul), for there is no evangelical ring in it."

"But this James drives only to the law and its works, and so unnecessarily throws one into the other that I think it must have been some good, pious man who took some passages from the disciples or the apostles, and thus threw them together on paper." "He calls the law a law of liberty, although St. Paul calls it a law of bondage, wrath, death, and sin."

"To sum up: He desired to check those who rested in faith without works, but was too weak in spirit, understanding, and words to handle this matter, and so distorts the Scriptures; and, resisting Paul and all the other scriptures, he tries by driving with the law to thereby accomplish what the apostles accomplished by provoking to love. Therefore I will not have it in my Bible, and will not number it among the authentic chief books, etc."⁷

Even Lutheran theologians have long since seen that Luther, from his "one-sided standpoint, did not know how to appreciate the aim and peculiarity of this epistle," and they have shown how it agrees

⁶ Erlang. Augs., 63, pp. 169, 170. ⁷ Id., pp. 156-158.

with the doctrine of justification found in Paul's writings.⁸ Paul speaks of justification, but James, presupposing this, shows how those who have been justified by faith give evidences of it by their observance of the divine law. Consequently, James was not "too weak in spirit, understanding, and words," but Luther himself was. A noted historian thus rightly judges this great man:—

"A principle of faith apprehended with passionate one-sidedness led him to contention and rebellion. But when he had drawn from it its conclusions and removed the opposite dogmas and institutions of the church, the power of tradition claimed again her right over the soul of the theologian. Anything that did not openly contradict the plain Word of God, *i. e.*, his doctrine of justification, might remain."⁹

Luther's biographer, Dr. Sears, remarks:—

"Luther was so zealous to maintain the doctrine of justification by faith that he was prepared even to call in question the authority of some portions of Scripture which seemed to him not to be reconcilable with it. To the epistle of James, especially, his expressions indicate the strongest repugnance."¹⁰

How much Luther was attached to tradition is seen from his enumeration of the ten commandments. Although the primitive church reckons as fourth the Sabbath commandment, Luther adheres to Augustine. Pastor J. Geffken comments on the Lutheran enumeration as follows:—

"From the foregoing remarks it appears that the Catho-

⁸ Dæchsel's Bibelwerk, 7, 966.

⁹ Cornelius, *Gesch. des muenst. Aufruhrs*, 2, 6.

¹⁰ "Life of Luther," larger edition, pp. 400, 401.

lic-Lutheran division is rightfully called the Augustinian, because no trace of it can be found in the Christian Church during the four centuries before Augustine. He himself even has, on several occasions, followed the older division. Very properly, therefore, we must regard him as the originator and inventor of the new method."¹¹

The Reformed Church, acting with greater freedom in this respect, has reverted to the original division, which is also found in the Oriental church, and in the catechism of the Waldenses. But the strangeness of Luther's position becomes still more apparent if we consider the Sabbath command itself. Not only did he abbreviate this commandment, but he actually changed it, as Dr. R. Stier attests in his Lutheran Catechism for Confirmation:—

"This is the only command *where Luther has directly changed the divine word of the Bible*, for in the first he simply omitted something."¹²

Following in the footsteps of the Roman Church, Luther makes the commandment read, "Thou shalt keep holy the festival." Pastor Rische makes the following just criticism:—

"The command concerning 'ceremonies' he has stricken out; he has also more than once associated image-worship and Sabbath together in one group, and now he strikes out the first, and changes the other: this proves that this command in this form is binding on Christians." "Why does he not omit it as the other? Why does he not change it into, 'Thou shalt keep holy all days'? No, 'Thou shalt keep holy the festival'! And that is taught in church and school, year in and year out, and all who learn it are to notice by this that

¹¹ Ueber die verschiedene Einteilung des Dekalogs, Hamburg, 1838, p. 22.

¹² Hilfsbuechlein, Berlin, 1838, p. 30.

God has neither commanded to keep a definite holy day, nor that this alone is to be sanctified. It remains a fact that the Reformers were not in a position to formulate a Sunday conception which would answer alike the substance of the gospel and of the world."¹³

That John Knox also believed that the Sabbath command was stricken out is seen from the original confession of faith which he drew up for the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in A. D. 1560. In that document he states the duties of the first table of the law as follows:—

"To have one God, to worship and honor him; to call upon him in all our troubles; to reverence his holy name; to hear his word; to believe the same; to communicate with his holy sacraments, are the works of the first table."¹⁴

The reformed section on the Continent followed the same course in the Heidelberg catechism, drawn up by Ursinus (A. D. 1563). The question, "What does God enjoin in this fourth command?" is thus answered:—

"God desires, first, that the ministry of preaching and of schools be preserved, and that I especially come diligently to the church of God on the holy day, to study the Word of God, to partake of the holy sacrament, to call upon the Lord publicly, and to give Christian alms. Furthermore, that I rest all days of my life from my evil works, let the Lord work in me by his Spirit, and thus commence the eternal sabbath in this life."¹⁵

One more point is worthy of special notice. The Word of God lays great stress on the fact that God,

¹³ Sonntagsruhe, p. 80.

¹⁴ Quoted in Hessey's Bampton Lectures, p. 200.

¹⁵ Niemeyer's Confessiones, pp. 417, 418.

by resting on the seventh day, set apart, or sanctified, this day as a rest day for man. Israel of old understood that bodily rest from their own manual labors was a chief requirement, that they might thus gain time for the spiritual rest of God. The Gnostics and the church Fathers turned the tables, by laying great stress on the spiritual, to the neglect of the bodily, rest. The Roman catechism, losing sight of the fact that God, and not man, makes the seventh day holy, declares that the day "is holy because on it, in a special manner, men should practise holiness and religion." The Reformers followed their example. As Luther simply taught, "Thou shalt keep holy the festival," the very idea of bodily rest because God made a definite day of the week holy by his own rest, was entirely lost sight of. On the other hand, the idea, already prevalent because of the many man-made holidays, that man's worship could make the day holy, only received further confirmation. Starting from this wrong premise, the Reformers openly declared that any day of the week, yea, that any time of a day, devoted to worship answered the requirement, "Thou shalt keep holy the festival." That Sunday was observed in harmony with this loose idea, Dr. Hesse illustrates from Queen Elizabeth's injunctions (A. D. 1558-1603). In one of these Sunday is classed with other holy days, and it is expressly stated that "if for any scrupulosity or grudge of conscience some should superstitiously abstain from working on these days, they shall grievously offend." Dr.

Hessey adds: "In fact, labor was almost enjoined after common prayer."¹⁶

That theory and practise soon began to clash, "Hauck-Herzog's Realencyclopaedie" admits:—

"In practise they often dealt rather severely; for example, the superintendent of Stralsund zealously held to it that no marriages be performed, and in A. D. 1549 he attacked his colleague Alexander Dume quite vehemently because he dared to defend Sunday marriage on the ground of freer Sunday observance."¹⁷

In view of the fact that the fourth commandment is a part of the decalogue, the attitude of the Reformers to the ten commandments as a whole is of vital importance. Melancthon makes the following distinction:—

"*Concerning the Divine Law.*—First, I will use the old and common division. The law of Moses has three parts: The moral law, as concerns virtues — the eternal law, or the law of God's judgment against sin; the ceremonial law, as regards church service and sacrifices, which has all been appointed for a definite time and fell with the Jews; the Judaical laws, as regards civil government. There exists a very great difference between the first eternal part and the other two transient parts, and all men should know this rule and maintain it. Whoever does not make this distinction between the transient and the eternal laws, falls into divers errors."

"*Concerning Christian Liberty.*—The ceremonies and the civil ordinances were transient institutions, appointed for a definite time. But this law, which is called the ten commandments or the moral law, is the eternal, unchangeable wisdom and righteousness of God; . . . therefore, it can not be blotted out."¹⁸

¹⁶ Bampton Lectures, p. 200.

¹⁷ Vol. 18, p. 524, article, "Sonntagsfeier."

¹⁸ Loci theologici.

This "old and common division," supported by the Word of God, is found in the leading Protestant and Catholic confessions.¹⁹ Luther confirms this by referring Matt. 5: 17-19 only to the decalogue: --

"This is also but a falsehood that they introduce our Jesus as though he had spoken of the law of Moses, when he says the law shall not pass away; for the question with Christ our Lord is not here about circumcision, or Moses' law or sanctuary, but alone the ten commandments."²⁰

Although the Reformers thus acknowledge the ten commandments to be the moral and eternal law of God, and adduce it as such in their catechisms, they declare it to be only profitable as a teacher, and not binding as a law. Luther expresses this very emphatically: —

"The words of Scripture prove clearly to us that the ten commandments do not affect us; for God has not brought us out of Egypt; it was only the Jews. We are willing to take Moses as a teacher, but not as our lawgiver, except when he agrees with the laws of nature."

"We do not read Moses because he concerns us,— because we have to obey him,— but because he agrees with the laws of nature, and has expressed this law better than the heathen ever could. In this way, then, the ten commandments are a mirror of our life, in which we may see our defects."²¹

Calvin expresses the same thought in more cautious language: —

"The law in regard to the faithful has the force of an exhortation, not to bind their conscience with a curse, but by its frequent admonitions to arouse their indolence and improve

¹⁹ Helvetian Conf., art. 12; Westminster Conf., chap. 19, para. 2, 3; Catholic Theologia Dogmatico-Moralis, Natali Alexandro, 1771, 8. 101.

²⁰ Wider die Sabbather, Wittenberg, 1538, 4.

²¹ Latin Works, 3, 68, Jena, 1603.

their imperfections." "With respect to doctrine, we must not imagine that the coming of Christ has freed us from the authority of the law; for it is the eternal rule of a devout and holy life, and must therefore be as unchangeable as the justice of God, which it embraced, is constant and uniform. With respect of ceremonies, there is some appearance of a change having taken place; but it was only the use of them that was abolished, for their meaning was more fully established." "Let us therefore learn to maintain inviolable this sacred tie between the law and the gospel which many improperly attempt to break. For it constitutes not a little to confirm the authority of the gospel, when we learn that it is nothing else than a 'fulfilment of the law;' so that both, with one consent, declare God to be their author."²²

While they condemned the "new law" of scholasticism, they virtually (by repudiating the decalogue as a law and only accepting it as a profitable teacher) arrived at the same results, and differed less from the Roman Catholics than from the Puritans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The harsh statements of Luther against the decalogue are quite largely due to the pressure of the existing circumstances. As Antinomianism arose, rejecting the use of the decalogue entirely, the Reformers were forced to take a more guarded attitude. When a Mr. Jobst (A. D. 1541) showed Luther some propositions to the effect that, since the law does not justify man, it ought not to be preached, the latter exclaimed:—

"What! shall our own people, while we ourselves are yet alive, propound such things as these?" "He who destroys the doctrine of the law, destroys at the same time political

²² Com. on Matt. 5 : 17 and Luke 16 : 17.

and social order. If you eject the law from the church, there will no longer be any sin recognized as such in the world; for the gospel only defines and punishes sin by reference to the law. If heretofore I in my discourses spoke and wrote so harshly against the law, it was because the Christian church was overwhelmed with superstitions under which Christ was altogether hidden and buried; and I am anxious to rescue pious and God-fearing souls from the tyranny of the conscience; but as to the law itself, I never rejected it." ²³

In a letter against the Antinomians he wrote:—

"I wonder exceedingly how it came to be imputed to me that I should reject the law of ten commandments. . . . Can it be imaginable that there should be any sin where there is no law? Whoever abrogates the law, must of necessity abrogate sin also." ²⁴

Some of the contradictory positions of the Reformers in their attitude toward the decalogue and the Sabbath, will best reveal that they had not fully grasped the true relation between the law and the gospel, and the decalogue and the Sabbath:—

1. They made the clearest distinction between the moral and the ceremonial law, the eternal and the transient, and then by asserting that a part of the moral law was also ceremonial, they themselves tore down this very distinction they had made. This appears most plainly in Luther's writings "Against the Celestial Prophets," in which he contends with Carlstadt and others who took the position that the ten commandments were still wholly in force as a law, containing nothing ceremonial. Luther, closely pressed, thus tears down the distinction:—

²³ Cox. 1, 388.

²⁴ Erlang. Augs. 32, p. 4. "Wider die Antinomer," 1539.

"I know quite well that there is made a common ancient distinction; but this is because a proper understanding is lacking; for all other precepts in the whole of Moses ensue from, and hang on, the ten commandments; . . . therefore it is untrue that there be no ceremonies or civil laws in the ten commandments. They are all contained therein, hang on them, and belong to them. And, in order to show this, God himself has placed in them two ceremonies, in the plainest terms, namely, the images and the Sabbath."²⁵

2. They affirmed that the Sabbath, as far as concerns the time and manner of its observance, was given only to the Jews; but at the same time they admitted that this time and observance had existed in paradise, before the fall of man. Melancthon attests this: —

"For this purpose the seventh day was appointed in Israel, which the fathers doubtless observed from the time of Adam in this manner, that they on this day ceased from all manual labor and met for public worship."²⁶

Likewise Luther's comments on Gen. 2:3: —

"But how? Since this is stated ere man sinned, since this was already then ordained, and the Scriptures mention the Sabbath much sooner than Adam fell in sin, was it not appointed at that time that he should work six days and rest on the seventh? This is so without doubt, as we shall hear that he was to work in paradise and rule over the fishes, birds, and animals on the earth."²⁷

Finally, Calvin wrote about the Sabbath, commenting on the same text: —

"Inasmuch as it was commanded to men from the beginning that they might employ themselves in the worship of

²⁵ Erlang. Augs., 29, 151, "Wider die himmlischen Propheten," 1525.

²⁶ Loci theologici; Vom dritten Gebot. ²⁷ Erlang. Augs., 33, 67.

God, it is right that it should continue to the end of the world." ²⁸

Was Adam a Jew? or was he the head of the whole family? Were there transient outward ceremonies ordained in paradise, from which Christ had to free us? Were there shadows pointing to redemption before the fall of man? The natural conclusion is,—

3. The Sabbath rests not on a ceremonial law, but on a natural law. In this, Luther contradicts himself. Against Carlstadt he asserted that the decalogue binds only as far as it rests on a natural law, but he immediately afterward contradicts himself, as Pastor Rische thus points out:—

"Hereby the question forces itself upon us: Is not the rest day a natural law as well? and, curious to say, Luther contends against this very distinction between natural and mosaic law immediately, when he continues: 'But that Sabbath or Sunday be observed is not of necessity, nor on account of the law of Moses; but nature also implies and teaches the necessity of resting now and then a day, that man and beast might be refreshed.' Therefore, the holy day is based also on natural law, according to Luther." ²⁹

4. But if the Sabbath commandment is based on a natural law, yea, if Sabbath observance originated in paradise before the fall, it certainly enjoys equal rights with all the other precepts; and instead of its being a ceremony or a shadow, it remains forever like the others. To this Luther himself testifies in his comment on Matt. 5: 17-19, stating that this passage does not refer to circumcision, to the law of Moses, or to the sanctuary, but to the ten pre-

²⁸ Cox, I, 403.

²⁹ Sonntagsruhe, p. 73.

cepts. But then not a jot or tittle of the decalogue is to pass away, much less would it be possible for a whole precept to be set aside; and Luther contradicts his own exposition when he tries to prove from Colossians 2, Galatians 4, and even from Isaiah 66, that the Sabbath, being a shadow, had ceased. If that were true, Paul would have done exactly that which Christ had warned against in Matt. 5: 17-19. That Augustine and the church Fathers led Luther astray in this matter, is seen in the free use he makes of them in explaining Galatians 4.

5. Last, but by no means least, the Reformers, while laying stress on justification by faith "alone," did not perceive that the power of God offered in the gospel, and the Holy Spirit in the heart, enable the believer to attain to full sanctification in this life, by keeping God's commandments through faith. The following from Heidelberg Catechism, is ample proof: —

"Question.— Can those who are converted to God keep such [the ten] commandments perfectly?

"Answer.— No; for even the holiest have in this life made only a small beginning in this obedience, etc.

"Ques.— Why does God let the ten commandments be preached so strictly, if no one is able to keep them in this life?

"Ans.— First, that we through our whole life recognize our sinful condition, appreciating it the more the longer we live, and that we may seek righteousness in Christ. And then that we take heed to unceasingly ask God for the grace of his Holy Spirit, that we might be renewed in the image of God more and more until we reach the end of perfection in the future life." ³⁰

³⁰ Niemeyer's Confessiones, pp. 420, 421.

But though the Reformers did not recognize the obligation of the decalogue and the permanency of the Sabbath commandment, still they saw that if these were yet binding, the seventh day, or Saturday, would still have to be observed. Luther confirms this in the following words:—

“But whoever wants to make a necessary command of the Sabbath as a work required of God, must keep Saturday, and not Sunday; for Saturday was enjoined upon the Jews, and not Sunday. But Christians have thus far kept Sunday, and not Saturday, because Christ arose on that day. This is a certain sign that the Sabbath, and the whole of Moses, do not concern us in the least; otherwise we ought to keep Saturday.” ³¹

Still more positive is the language of John Frith, an English Reformer burned at Smithfield, July 4, 1533:—

“The Jews have the word of God for their Saturday, sith [since] it is the seventh day, and they were commanded to keep the seventh day solemn. And we have not the word of God for us, but rather against us; for we keep not the seventh day, as the Jews do, but the first, which is not commanded by God’s law.” ³²

The result of our investigation is as follows: The Reformers rejected the “new law” of the schoolmen, and the false application of the Sabbath commandment to Sunday. But, biased by Roman legalism, they failed as much in perceiving the right relation of the decalogue and Sabbath to the gospel, as they did in appreciating the relationship of the

³¹ Erlang. Augs., 36, p. 92.

³² Frith’s works, p. 69, quoted by Hessey, p. 108.

epistle of James to the epistle of Romans. However, they did admit that if the Sabbath precept were still binding, they would be in duty bound to keep Saturday. Sunday was retained by them as a merely human ordinance. Divesting the fourth commandment of its binding claims upon Christians, and stripping Sunday of its false claims to the Sabbath commandment, they left no real or imaginary foundation for either, as Mosheim fittingly acknowledges:—

“They [the Reformers] destroyed also the Sunday of the Christians with the Sabbath of the Jews, and left it no more than the name of an ancient and useful human ordinance, which might be retained for the good of ignorant people, as an example of Christian liberty.”³³

Sad trophies these, which so little satisfy the Protestants that, as Dr. Zahn remarks, “only shame prevents them from declaring the teachings of the Reformers in this respect to be error.”³⁴ How aptly do the words of Dr. Schaff apply here: “The Reformation of the sixteenth century is not a finale, but a movement still in progress.”³⁵

³³ *Sittenlehre*, b. 5, p. 442.

³⁴ *Geschichte des Sonntages*, p. 48.

³⁵ *German Reformation*, 1, pp. 7, 8.

CHAPTER XXV

SABBATH-KEEPERS FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

An unbroken chain of witnesses — The Anabaptists — The attitude of the Reformers toward them — Sabbath-keepers among themselves — The Sabbatarians in Moravia — Their belief concerning Isaiah 58 — Schwenkfeld's mystic refutation — Witnesses in Bohemia — Silesia — Poland — Holland — England — Their view by Hospinian — Carlstadt and the Sabbath — Luther "Against the Sabbatarians" — Eössi and Pechi — Persecution of the Transylvanian Sabbath-keepers — Their literature — Christian Sabbatarians in Russia before the Reformation — Their persecution — The "Enlightener" — Saturday-keeping condemned in Norway (A. D. 1435) — Puzzle to church historians — Lutheran edicts against "Saturday-keeping" — The epistle of Gustavus I to Finnish Sabbatarians — The Sabbath movement in Sweden — Its origin and association with revivals — "A sect everywhere spoken against," and "yet true."

AN unbroken chain of Christian Sabbath-keepers extends from the apostolic church through the Middle Ages. At the height of papal darkness, their light shone high up in their Alpine retreats, and their voice of warning was also heard in eastern Europe, and in spite of advancing Islam, whole bodies of them existed in Ethiopia, India, Syria, Armenia, etc. When the Reformation lifted the veil of darkness covering the nations, not only did traces of these Sabbath-keeping Christians appear afresh all over the Old World, but simultaneously with the new life emanating from this mighty movement, Sabbatarians were found in Moravia, Bohemia, Transylvania, Germany, Holland, England, Finland, Scandinavia; yea, even as early as the fifteenth century they had quite a history in Russia.

When, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, untiring persecutors pressed the true believers far into the Alps, many of them found new retreats in Moravia and Bohemia. Amid the multitudes of a corrupt church, the persecuted few still retained a true idea of the church of Christ, as Mosheim thus confirms:—

“Prior to the age of Luther, there lay concealed in almost every country of Europe, but especially in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, very many persons in whose minds was deeply rooted that principle which the Waldensians, the Wyclifites, and the Hussites maintained, some more covertly, and others more openly; namely, that the kingdom which Christ set up on the earth, or the visible church, is an assembly of holy persons, and ought therefore to be entirely free, not only from ungodly persons and sinners, but from all institutions of human device against ungodliness.”¹

As the Reformation broke forth, this concealed principle sprang up with it everywhere. Living faith in Christ being the test of church admission, infant sprinkling was discarded, and in its stead only the believer was buried with his Lord by immersion, upon his profession of faith, to rise with him to a new life. Because of this, the proper name of these believers was Baptists, but they were misnamed rebaptists, or Anabaptists, by their opponents. The differences between these and the Reformers are thus set forth by Dr. Ph. Schaff, who also styles them Radicals:—

“The Reformers aimed to reform the old church by the Bible; the Radicals attempted to build a new church from the

¹ Eccl. Hist., cent. 16, sec. 3, pt. 2, chap. 6, par. 2.

Bible. The former maintained the historic continuity; the latter went directly to the apostolic age, and ignored the intervening centuries as an apostasy. The Reformers founded a popular state-church, including all citizens with their families; the Anabaptists organized on the voluntary principle select congregations of baptized believers, separated from the world and from the state."

"The Anabaptists were driven from place to place, and traveled as fugitive evangelists. They preached repentance and faith, baptized converts, organized congregations, and exercised rigid discipline. They called themselves simply 'brethren' or 'Christians.' They were earnest and zealous, self-denying and heroic, but restless and impatient. . . . They emphasized the necessity of good works, and deemed it possible to keep the law and to reach perfection."²

How their teachings impressed Zwingli, we learn from Ranke: —

"Although Zwingli had gone much farther than Luther, he was soon opposed by a still more extreme party: he had to contend with the Anabaptists. He was called upon to form a separate congregation of true believers, since they alone were the subjects of the promises. He replied that it was impossible to bring heaven upon earth; Christ had taught that we were to let the tares grow up together with the wheat."³

How the controversy was settled, Dr. Schaff informs us: —

"Zwingli . . . had no mercy on the Anabaptists, who threatened to overthrow his work in Zurich. After trying in vain to convince them by successive disputations, the magistrate under his control resorted to the cruel irony of drowning their leaders (six in all) in the Limnat."⁴

² "Swiss Reformation," 1, par. 24, pp. 71, 74, 75.

³ "Hist. of the Reformation," 3, b. 5, sec. 3, p. 100.

⁴ "German Reformation," chap. 1, par. 11, p. 65.

Of Luther's attitude against the Anabaptists, no less an authority than Dr. A. Harnack remarks that after Luther had come in contact with them, "he in many respects really hardened himself into an attitude of bold defiance toward reason, and then yielded also to that Catholic spirit which worships in paradox and in contradiction of terms the wisdom of God, and sees in them the stamp of divine truth." "Luther himself had to suffer for the obscurations to which he subjected his conception of faith; still greater, however, was the penalty for those who adhered to him, who degraded to a new scholastic wisdom what he had defiantly proclaimed."

"The position which the Reformation took up towards the Anabaptists, and towards others who had affinity with them, became most disastrous for itself and for its subsequent history." "There are, in fact, also many considerations that make it fully intelligible why the Reformation simply rejected everything that was offered to it by the 'enthusiasts.' Yet . . . the fact remains unaffected thereby, that the unjust course followed by the Reformers entailed upon them and their cause the most serious losses. How much they might have learned from those whom they despised!"¹

Dr. Harnack pays the following tribute to the Anabaptists:—

"But the spirit of a new age reveals itself among them, not only in their entertainment in many ways of Reformation thoughts, but also in the stress they lay on Christian *independence*. It is with this in view that their opposition to infant baptism is to be understood." "In this vastly great group also, which had its representatives during the sixteenth century in Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Venice,

¹ Dogma, 7, pp. 236, 237.

Moravia, Poland, Livonia, and Sweden, and had connection with the Waldensians (and 'Bohemians'), the modern spirit displayed itself in close association with the medieval." "The more closely the history of the Reformation in particular provinces and towns has been studied, the more apparent has it become that these Baptists, entering frequently into alliance with Waldensian and Hussite elements, or falling back on former medieval movements, formed the soil into which the Reformation was received, and that for many decenniums they continued closely interconnected with it in many regions."⁶

On account of their rapid spread and constant increase, a general persecution against the Baptists arose: —

"Papists and Protestants . . . treated them in the same manner." "The Episcopalians and the Presbyterians of England, the Lutherans of Germany, and the Reformed in Switzerland, differing from one another, and refusing intercommunion, agreed in persecuting the Baptists. They were a sect everywhere spoken against." "The Baptists traveled too fast, and went too far; if they could not be stopped by other means, the fire must be lighted, or the headman's ax employed. Thus the men were silenced: the emperor, Charles the Fifth, ordered all the women to be drowned or buried

How "the patience and the faith of the saints" shine forth here, an extract from Dr. Beck's history demonstrates: —

"To the Catholics as heretics, to the evangelicals as dangerous opponents of the new church institution, the Anabaptists were a thorn in the flesh everywhere." "In Germany the Protestant rulers exceeded even the Catholics in

⁶ Dogma, 7, pp. 125, 126.

⁷ Cramp's "Hist. of the Baptists," pp. 125, 230; for particulars see J. von Braught, "Martyr's Mirror," p. 275.

severity. From A. D. 1529 most cruel penal laws were issued, and the Reformers . . . did not only show their approval, but could witness the execution of these laws unconcerned, and with petty satisfaction.* The messengers daring to venture from Moravia into German territory, when recognized as Baptists, were subjected to such penalties."

* "Luther, for example, urged that no Baptist be tolerated in the country, and demanded each subject to hand over the 'hedge preacher' to the magistrate." — *De Welle*, 4, 354: *Erlang. Augs.*, 31, 213-226, "Concerning Sneakers and Hedge Preachers," October, 1532.

The author of the preface to the "History of the Martyrs of Christ" (A. D. 1610), says of them: —

"Some were rent and torn to pieces, some burned to ashes with powder, some roasted on pillars; others were hanged on trees, killed by the sword, or drowned; many were executed with a gag in their mouth to prevent them from talking."

"Like sheep and lambs, they were led to slaughter by the score. Bibles were strictly prohibited in many places; in others, even burned. Many were starved, and many were tormented in various ways before they died; others, too young for execution, were lashed; many had to suffer for years in dungeons and towers; others, after having holes burned through their cheeks, were dismissed. And those who escaped all this torture, often had to hide in caves and rocks, in the woods, and under the ground, searched by dogs and sergeants."

"They sang praises to their God while being led to execution; virgins adorned themselves for this occasion as for a feast." "Others have smiled at the water destined to be their grave, displaying manly bravery, because they had on the armor of God, or they exhorted the people to repentance, before firmly marching up to the stake." "Being assured of the better things, they looked upon the things of this world as a shadow. . . . And so they had more patience in their sufferings than did their enemies in tormenting them."⁸

⁸ *Oestreichische Geschichtsquellen*, Vienna, 1883, vol. 43, Introduction, pp. 18-21.

Erasmus bears the following honorable testimony to them:—

"The Anabaptists have nowhere been permitted to use the churches, though they abound everywhere in great numbers. They are to be chiefly recommended for their blameless life, yet they are oppressed by the other sects, as well as by the orthodox [*i. e.*, Roman Catholics]." ⁹

The following are a few samples of the terms employed against the Anabaptists by the Reformers:—

Latimer: "Pernicious and devilish opinions of the Baptists." Becon: "Wicked, apish Anabaptists, foxish hypocrites, that damnable sect, liars, bloody murderers both of soul and body." Bullinger: "Obstinate, rebellious, brain-sick, frantic, filthy knaves." Zwingli: "Pestiferous seed of their doctrines, hypocritical humility of their speech more bitter than gall." Luther finally calls them "sectaries of the devil," and compares their constancy with that of the Donatists, or the Jews at the destruction of Jerusalem, being "the blind frenzy of Satan." ¹⁰

To point to the excesses committed by the leaders of the Muenster tragedy does not excuse the Reformers for using such language. The majority of the Baptists stood entirely aloof from such excesses, and disapproved of them by their own peaceful life and words even more than did their opponents, who had helped to provoke them by their unjust oppression and cruelty. Dr. Schaff fitly adds: "We must carefully distinguish the bet-

⁹ A letter to the archbishop of Tolouse, *Martyrol.*, i, 165.

¹⁰ See Cramp, pp. 129, 130; Schaff, *German Reformation*, sec. 102, p. 610.

ter class of Baptists and Mennonites from the restless, revolutionary radicals and fanatics."¹¹

Herzog's *Realencyclopaedie* informs us of the charges which the Baptists preferred against the Reformers:—

"They only half do their work;" "they mix God's word with human doctrines, and practise a censurable forbearance toward papal errors." "By the Evangelicals there is not real earnestness manifested; . . . the word of God bears no fruit: and all this because they preach justification by faith only, but do not urge good works; they always represent Christ as the one who has done enough for us, instead of setting him forth as our example to follow."¹²

The Baptists were by no means organized into one body; there was no absolute uniformity of opinion; they were shy of creeds; they differed on various points, as is stated by Ranke:—

"Some regarded infant baptism as useless, others as an abomination; some demanded the strictest community of goods, others went no further than the duty of mutual help. Some segregated themselves as much as possible, and held it to be unchristian to celebrate Sunday; others declared it culpable to follow after singularities."¹³

But they were agreed that the "sole authority" of Scripture in matters of religion should be carried to its legitimate "issues," and it was the case that a number not only "held it to be unchristian to celebrate Sunday," but also associated true faith and the right mode of baptism with the proper observance of God's holy rest day. To this the

¹¹ German Reformation, sec. 102, p. 607.

¹² Second edition, vol. 1, 362, article, "Anabaptisten."

¹³ Reformation, vol. 3, b. 5, chap. 3, p. 100.

old chronicle of Sebastian Frank (A. D. 1536) testifies: —

"Some have suffered torture and separated themselves simply because they would not rest when others kept Sunday, for they declared it to be the holiday and law of Antichrist, with whom they would have nothing in common, as well as were the other holidays." ¹⁴

Among the churches of the sixteenth century, A. Ross enumerates also: —

"8. Sabbatarians, so called because they reject the observance of the Lord's day as not commanded in Scripture; they consider the Sabbath alone to be holy, as God rested on that day and commanded to keep it holy and to rest on it." ¹⁵

Where and when these Sabbath-keepers appeared, Luther himself furnishes information in his Lectures on Genesis, given A. D. 1523-27: —

"I hear that even now in Austria and Moravia certain Judaizers urge both the Sabbath and circumcision; if they should boldly go on, not being admonished by the word of God, they certainly might do much harm." ¹⁶

And then, referring to the fact that Joseph did not urge circumcision upon the Egyptians, he says, in commenting on Genesis 41: —

"Such examples are opposed to the frenzy of the Jews and Sabbatarians, who now exist in Austria, and undertake to drive the people to the law of circumcision as though they could not be saved without it." ¹⁷

Before the time of the Reformation, Bohemia and

¹⁴ Frank's Chronica, 3, 193.

¹⁵ Abbildung d. Relig. in Europa, 1665, p. 440.

¹⁶ Erlang. Augs., Enarr. on Gen. 4:46. ¹⁷ Id., on Gen. 10:31.

Moravia had become the asylum of persecuted believers. Especially did Moravia, with its vast forests, enjoy the best reputation for religious freedom. Crowds of religious refugees, of various religious beliefs, flocked there from all parts of Austria, Switzerland, and Germany. As these fugitives were a thrifty and peaceful people, and also enriched the community by their industry, many of the noblemen welcomed them on their estates. At various times the diets had promulgated oppressive decrees against them, and some of them had even suffered death; but as the king had his hands full with the Turks, and as much power rested with the nobility, which favored them, they prospered in spite of the intrigues of the Papacy. Indeed, Roman priests of high standing (even the former bishop of Nicopolis *in part*) united with the Baptists.

One of the chief centers where thousands gathered, was Nikolsburg, belonging to the princes of Lichtenstein. About A. D. 1529 the following division is reported by A. Gindely:—

“The church at Nikolsburg was also divided. The followers of Philipp Jaeger and Jacob Wideman were called ‘Kleinhäufner’ (the small body) or ‘Stäbler’ (staffmen), and the followers of Hans Spittelmaier received the name of ‘Schwertler’ (sword-bearers) and Sabbatarians. Leonhard Lichtenstein held to the latter party.”¹⁸

Lord Leonhard, of Lichtenstein, asked the Sabbatarians to submit to him a statement of their belief, which they readily did. This was sent to

¹⁸ Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder, 1, 212.

Wolfgang Capito, a leading Strassburg Reformer, and to Caspar Schwenkfeld (then living as an exile at Strassburg), the founder of the mystic sect that is perpetuated among the Schwenkfeldian congregations in eastern Pennsylvania. Probably the statement of faith drawn up by these Sabbatarians has long since been burned, but there exists in the Hamburg library a copy of the refutation by Schwenkfeld, in which are preserved some of the statements made by the Sabbatarians in their document to him, so that some of their doctrines are thus handed down to us through the writings of their opponents. The refutation contains one hundred eighty-six pages. The writing of it was finished on New-year's day, A. D. 1532; but according to the following title, it was not printed until 1599: "The Christian sabbath and the difference between the Old and the New Testament. The difference between the Jewish and the Christian sabbath. What the Christian sabbath is, and how it should be observed. Written to the Lord Leonhard of Lichtenstein at Nikolsburg, etc., 1599." In its dedication, this declaration is made:—

"MOST GRACIOUS SIR: You have recently sent E. C. D. Wolfgang Capito and myself a writing, wherein you notify us that several in Moravia have dared (among other things which to their mind had been wrongly dropped and omitted) to re-establish the Sabbath, as the Jews term their holy day, because they think it necessary to their salvation, and want to keep only Saturday holy, and have also offered to prove this to be right, and in accordance with the Holy Scripture. Your honor has sent us a written copy of their reasons and argument, requesting us to carefully study it and render our judgment."

The reason they observed the Sabbath is given in their own words:—

"The Sabbatarians (they will pardon if I term them so on account of their opinion) teach that the outward Sabbath, *i. e.*, Saturday, still must be observed, for such be God's word, will, and command. Exodus 20 and 31. Here, they say, we read in God's Word plainly that he wants to have the Sabbath kept as long as the world stands. He who acts contrary to the divine commandments will not remain unpunished."—*Page 10.*

Schwenkfeld in refuting them says, "Then you must also be circumcised," to which they give the following clear and Scriptural answer:—

"If circumcision were still lawful as it was in time gone by, we would by no means omit it; but we know, whosoever be circumcised, Christ shall profit him nothing. Galatians 5."—*Page 13.*

What Luther had merely from hearsay is here refuted, not only by the very words of the Sabbatarians, but their words are carefully backed up by Scripture. Although Schwenkfeld, following the illustrious example of Pope Gregory the Great, knew no difference between the Sabbath and circumcision, yet the Sabbatarians of both the seventh and sixteenth centuries, enlightened by God's own Word, were well aware of the truth on this point. On page 71 we find again:—

"The strongest argument of the Sabbatarians is the number of the ten precepts, of which we have also heard before. They tenaciously hold that God has not given eight or nine, but ten commandments, which he wants to have kept by everybody, and which neither Christ nor the apostles have

tried to change. On the strength of Jeremiah 31, they claim that, instead of abrogating them, Christ was really the one who established them. With this they wish to say that, in short, either the Sabbath must be observed, or else all the other nine commandments must also be discarded. From which they conclude: If the Sabbath is void, all the other commandments are also."

As to the origin of the Sabbath, we find their view on page 103:—

"They claim: The Sabbath, the Jewish and judicial and other laws did not commence with Moses, but had been given verbally in the beginning, so that Abraham had already observed the Sabbath and sanctified it. This they prove by 2 Esdras 9; Exodus 16; Genesis 26."

This demonstrates how well the observers of the Sabbath were then armed with the word of God, to give a reason of the hope that was in them. But most remarkable is their belief concerning Isaiah 58 and Nehemiah 13, which Schwenkfeld states thus, on page 128:—

"I think nothing of the Sabbatarians' belief that such prophecies apply to them. Yet, on the strength of these passages they dare to re-establish the Sabbath. But I believe that they have been influenced to do this by such passages as Isaiah 58, Nehemiah 13, and others, since they, according to the Jewish custom, have looked only at the letter of them all."

The underlying motive that actuated the Christian Sabbath-keepers to adhere to the observance of the Sabbath of Jehovah, even under the greatest difficulties at the time of the Reformation, is here revealed: the prophetic word of God was a bright light, shining in a dark place. On the strength

of it, they considered themselves called of God to build the old waste places and to repair the breaches in his law, although many had to seal their faith with their own blood. Instead of spiritualizing everything, as did their opponents, they accepted the Word of God as it was written. This Schwenkfeld calls the Jewish way. On page 133 their arguments are again quoted:—

"Then they say the Sabbath is a shadow and sign of the eternal sabbath, and whatever it was to the Jews, it is now to us. Whoever wants to enjoy the same heritage with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, must keep the same commandments as they did; *i. e.*, must rest on Saturday."

"Since we have not as yet entered the eternal rest, we must still keep the Sabbath."

The argument that the Sabbath should be observed only spiritually and not by any outward, literal rest, they answer on page 135:—

"The Sabbath is also commanded to oxen and asses: they can not keep it spiritually."

Schwenkfeld charges Christ with breaking the Sabbath by the miracles he performed on that day; but they, on the other hand, according to his statement on page 157, "undertake to excuse Christ our Lord, stating that he had never broken nor abrogated the Jewish sabbath, but that, on the contrary, he had confirmed and truly established it." How they regarded Sunday, and how Schwenkfeld met their ideas, we learn from page 169:—

"They say that Sunday is the *Pope's invention*, and they will not admit that the day of the Lord in Revelation 1

should take the place of the Sabbath. They call this, I rather forbear to tell it, dealing in lies. And also, they call the annulling of the Sabbath *the devil's work*. This all they do and speak of themselves, not knowing, or perhaps not wishing to know, why Christ came, or why he is called the Lord, nor what the day of the Lord is. For, although Sunday has been commanded by the Papacy under pain of a mortal sin, contrary to Christian liberty, yet it is in itself not a new thing; it was established and it originated very early in the Christian churches — but without force, *free as any other church ordinance*, as can be easily inferred from Revelation 1, and from many causes and influences, especially from a right understanding of the mystery of the resurrection and the sabbath of Christ."

In this refutation, Schwenkfeld approached the old Gnostic ideas, by claiming: "Resting from sin is the true, spiritual sabbath; true sabbath sanctification was not to cease from manual labor and be idle, but to do no evil, and to let the old man rest from all his works." Dr. Zoeckler calls his refutation an "extreme mystic holy day's theory." Schwenkfeld fell out with Luther in A. D. 1524, in the controversy about the Lord's supper. When, in 1541, he sent some of his books to Luther, the latter, who nicknamed him "Stinkfield," returned these books, accompanied by a note in which he called him a "nonsensical fool possessed of the devil," and stated that his books were "spit out by the devil."¹⁹

That there were some Sabbatarians in Bohemia, Czerwenka's "History of the Evangelical Church" in Bohemia shows, by the following incident: —

¹⁹ De Wette, 5, 613.

"A certain John Balbus was imprisoned in November, 1528, because he had publicly taught some doctrines contrary to Utraquism: he asserted that one ought first to believe and afterwards to be baptized; the extreme unction was to be regarded as an anointing of joy and comfort; the festivals of the saints were not to be observed; and Saturday (Sabbath) was to be kept holy instead of Sunday; meat might be eaten on Friday, for the law made no distinction of days, and people must eat what they have. Balbus had resigned his priesthood, because he regarded it a popish, and, therefore, a human institution, and he had taken a wife. He was called upon to renounce his 'errors.' How he was treated may be seen from the statement in the minutes, that time was the best physician, and that what reasonable remonstrances could not do, time would settle; for the bread of sorrow would force him to confess the true faith, and the torture of imprisonment and hunger would bring everything into the proper line. Such are the words of the consistory, preceding the statement of Balbus having recanted, on November 17." ²⁰

How the Sabbath-keepers in Moravia were protected by Prince Lichtenstein, and what persecutions they, in company with other Baptists, had to undergo, records collected from three different histories ²¹ inform us.

The Pope assisted King Ferdinand to extirpate heresy and civil liberty under the opprobrious character of sedition. The Jesuits being reinstated, it was thought proper to begin with those Baptists whose principles would not allow them to make any resistance.

²⁰ Geschichte der ev. Kirche in Boehmen, 2, 194.

²¹ Benedict's Gen. Hist. of the Bapt. Denom., 1, 161-164; Cramp. Gesch. d. Baptisten, pp. 209-216; Dr. Cornelius Gesch. d. münst. Aufruhrs, 2, 70, 71.

"The provost was sent all over Moravia to exterminate the Anabaptists. Those caught in the open field were beheaded; those caught in the villages were hung up against the door-post; whoever could, hid themselves in the forests and upon the mountains. But the lords of the estates were not everywhere agreed to such doings, either from religious feelings, or because of the benefits which they derived from those diligent and obedient people. Prince Leonhard Lichtenstein and his cousin Hans brought the persecution to an end, so far as they were concerned, and proclaimed in all the hiding-places that every one could return home. Other lords followed their example. When the news spread abroad, many brethren emigrated to the promised land."

"Many thousands of Baptists emigrated (A. D. 1530) from Switzerland, Tyrol, the Austrian crown lands, Steyermark and Bavaria, under the leadership of Jacob Hutter, and settled in Moravia." "But in 1535 Ferdinand, king of Bohemia, decreed their expulsion, and sent soldiers to execute it." "They retired to the forests, where they lived as well as they could, and, waiting in patience, held their religious services."

"Hutter wrote the governor of Moravia, entreating him to revoke the decree. In this lengthy epistle he says: 'We believe in God Almighty, his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who is now and forever our protection in every danger, and in whose hands we have committed all we are and owe, to keep his commandments and cease from all unrighteousness and sin. Therefore all the world persecutes and derides us.' Once more they were granted respite, but in A. D. 1547 their expulsion was carried out with indescribable harshness and cruelty."

"Ferdinand wrote first to Prince Lichtenstein and to Cardinal Dietrichstein, the first general of the army in Moravia and the last governor of the province, to inform them of his design, and to require their concurrence, on pain of his displeasure." He banished the Anabaptists "from all his hereditary and imperial dominions on pain of

death. The Jesuits contrived to publish this edict just before harvest and vintage." "They allowed them only three weeks and three days for their departure; it was death to be found even on the borders of the country beyond the expiration of the hour." "At the border they filed off, some to Hungary, some to Transylvania, some to Wallachia, others to Poland."

For many years, God in his providence made Moravia (where there were Christian Sabbath-keepers) the place of refuge for many thousands of honest believers, assembled there from various parts of Europe, and he brought all these in touch with his truth. Even most prominent men, as the princes of Lichtenstein, held to the observance of the true Sabbath. When persecution finally scattered them, the seeds of truth must have been sown by them in the different portions of the Continent which they visited.

That there were also Sabbath-keepers in other countries of Europe, although they were few in number and somewhat secluded because of the severe persecutions against them, proofs are not lacking. We have found them in Bohemia. They were also known in Silesia and Poland.²² Likewise they were in Holland and in northern Germany. Dr. Cornelius states of east Friesland, that when the Baptists were numerous, "Sunday and holidays were not observed, but later their observance was again established."²³ Braght's Martyrology speaks of a

²²Dr. G. Kohn, "A. Szombatosok Toertenuiek," p. 25; Sternberg's *Geschichte der Juden in Polen*, Leipzig, 1878, pp. 116-126.

²³Der Anteil Ostfrieslands an d. Ref., Muenster, 1852, pp. 29, 34.

certain Barbara of Thiers, wife of Hans Portzen, who was executed on the sixteenth of September, 1529. She rejected the ungodly sacraments, mass, and confession, and concerning Sunday and holidays declared:—

"God has commanded us to rest on the seventh day. Beyond this she did not go: but with the help and grace of God she would persevere therein, and in death abide thereby; for it is the true faith, and the right way in Christ."²⁴

Another martyr, Christina Tolingerin, is mentioned thus:—

"Concerning holy days and Sundays, she said: 'In six days the Lord made the world, on the seventh day he rested. The other holy days have been instituted by popes, cardinals, and archbishops.'"²⁵

There were at this time Sabbath-keepers in France:—

"In France also there were Christians of this class, among whom were M. de la Roque, who wrote in defense of the Sabbath against Bossuet, Catholic bishop of Meaux."²⁶

That Sabbatarians again appeared in England by the time of the Reformation, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth (A. D. 1533-1603), Dr. Chambers testifies in his *Cyclopedia*.²⁷ How they developed there in the next century, we shall consider in chapter 27.

²⁴ Martyrol. of the Churches of Christ, commonly called Baptists, during the era of the Reformation, from the Dutch of T. J. Van Braght, London, 1850, I, pp. 113, 114.

²⁵ Id., p. 113.

²⁶ Utter's "Manual of Seventh-day Baptists," p. 16.

²⁷ Article, "Sabbath," 8, 402, London, 1867.

The principal reasons on which the Christian Sabbatarians founded the observance of the Sabbath at the time of the Reformation, are given by a noted Swiss writer, R. Hospinian. In his work on the festivals of the Jews and Gentiles, written in A. D. 1592, he enumerates them as follows:—

"1. The observance of the Sabbath is a part of the moral law; for the decalogue wherein the Sabbath is commanded is the most essential part of the moral law. Inasmuch as the other precepts of the decalogue pertain to us (for the law is written for one and all, as a rule of morality) so likewise does the observance of the Sabbath, being a moral duty, belong to it.

"2. Only the ceremonies instituted by Moses have been abrogated; the Sabbath, however, is not of Moses. It has been kept holy since the beginning of the world, and therefore has not been abrogated.

"3. The benefit of creation is intended for all men, Christians as well as Jews; and, consequently, belongs to all ages in which men have existed; but therefore, the symbol that is to keep the remembrance of creation fresh among men, must also be observed by all. Easter, Pentecost, and the feast of tabernacles are based on a different foundation; for they are holidays on which are to be commemorated the benefits God had shown especially to the children of Israel. But the Sabbath does not concern the Israelites alone.

"4. The Sabbath is, according to Ex. 31: 17, in the covenant made by God, called the eternal, *i. e.*, the everlasting covenant.

"5. The spiritual sabbath rest is the same in the Old as in the New Testament; therefore the Sabbath ought to be the same also." ²⁸

Before we follow the persecuted Sabbatarians to Hungary and Transylvania, we shall consider one

²⁸ De origine festorum Judaeorum, Zurich, p. 10.

who, as Luther's senior colleague, led out in the debate with Dr. Eck at Leipzig, and who afterward occupied himself considerably with the Sabbath question — Carlstadt. Ranke describes him fittingly as "one of those men, not rare among Germans, who, with an inborn tendency to profundity, unite the courage of rejecting all that is established and defending all that others reject, without ever rising to a clear view and solid conviction."²⁹

His view of the Sabbath is expressed in a small pamphlet, styled "About the Sabbath and Commanded Holidays." It was published at Jena, early in A. D. 1524, for already in May of that year a second edition came from the press at Strasburg. This little pamphlet is divided into thirteen chapters. It deals, however, more fully with the observance of the Sabbath than with the question as to which day ought to be kept. The following are some of his views detailed therein, which we take from Jaeger's Biography of Carlstadt, as they are more briefly set forth there:—

"All commandments of God demand of us a resemblance of his divinity, and are given us that we may grow into his likeness. Lev. 20: 26. Therefore the Sabbath was instituted of God, that we should desire to be holy as he is, and to rest and cease from work as he did. We are to be passive in his hand, that he may work through us without ceasing. That is the spiritual purpose of the Sabbath, commanded for his honor and our benefit." "If a soul does not conceive this, it is unconscious of the real purpose of the Sabbath institution, and God hates such a sabbath." "Another purpose of the Sabbath is the brotherly love which the head of a house-

²⁹ *Zeitalter der Reformation*, 3, p. 13.

hold should show his servants; such comes from the love of God. God knows that man would kill himself had he not some rest after labor, and Carlstadt demands this rest also for all working animals." ³⁰

Having thus explained the nature of the Sabbath, in the third chapter he shows that the Sabbath law is intended for the angels as well as for men; "so it is for the inhabitants of the divine city." In the fourth chapter he tells "how to keep the Sabbath," and remarks, "This is more difficult to feel and to examine than to understand, because it is above all our natural powers." This Sabbath observance is twofold, answering the two "purposes" of the Sabbath. "With God man must be at peace and rest, and from God he must ask and expect all holiness." According to chapter four, the positive side of Sabbath-keeping is this: "That thou shouldst realize in lovely wisdom the infinite glory of Christ. He is the perfection of the Sabbath; by him all angels and men must be taught to keep the Sabbath, and through him, and accordingly to him, only can they keep it." He refers to Isa. 58: 13, 14, as the basis of this doctrine: "The holy day demands a clear mind enlightened with the light that lightens all men; such a spirit rides above the high places of the earth, and has no pleasure in earthly things." ³¹

Then he inveighs against all kind of work on the Sabbath, including that of hired help and of bond-

³⁰ A. Bodenstein v. Carlstadt, Stuttgart, 1856, pp. 393-395.

³¹ *Id.*, pp. 395-397.

men. In the fifth chapter he enumerates a series of desecrations, from which we may gather some idea as to how Sunday (here styled the sabbath) was observed at that time. Not only did the people indulge in the most noisy amusements, but that which particularly vexed him was the fact that "the Christians and greedy priests on that day dun their debtors from the pulpit." Not until we reach the tenth chapter does he consider which day of the week ought to be kept:—

"If servants have worked six days, they shall be free of service on the Sabbath. God says, without distinction, Remember that thou keep holy the seventh day. He does not say that we ought to take Sunday or Saturday for the seventh day. Concerning Sunday, one feels uneasy, because men have established it. Concerning Saturday, it is a disputed question. But so much is clear, that thou shalt keep holy the seventh day, and give the servants rest when they have worked six days."²²

Carlstadt mistrusted Sunday as a human institution; still he was not clear on the Sabbath; he chiefly considered the way of keeping it, and in this he was in advance of the other Reformers. However, he went no further. In the twelfth chapter, he protests against dedicating days to angels and saints:—

"The devil and his first-born son, the Pope, have deceived us into dedicating sabbaths to angels and saints; this squarely contradicts the Sabbath idea, which, as a figure, symbolizes that God alone is holy. The figure would be a lie if the Sabbath be kept in honor of one who can not make us holy, which always happens if we keep it in honor of some saint. One thereby rejects Christ, and says that he can obtain glory by

²² Taken from the tract itself, Basel Library.

some other one than Christ. . . . Besides, by such observance, one encroaches upon God's creation, because he has created all things and all days, while no saint has ever made an hour. Whoever attributes a day to a creature, he robs God of his created work, and attributes it to him who has not created, and who can not create. This is sinning against God's might, and is directed against his almighty power." ²²

Had Carlstadt extended this line of reasoning to Sunday, the dispute concerning the Sabbath would have been quickly settled in his own mind, and he would have become a true Sabbath-keeper. Although he only raised the question of Sabbath observance, yet Luther in referring to this very booklet, attacked Carlstadt most furiously (A. D. 1524) on this point, in his pamphlet "Against the Celestial Prophets." After asserting that Carlstadt's abomination in dealing with such outward ceremonies is none less than that of the Papacy, and quoting Col. 2: 16, 17; Gal. 4: 10, 11; and Isa. 66: 23, Luther continues: —

"Thanks be unto the pious Paul and Isaiah, that they so long ago freed us from these factious spirits; otherwise we would have to sit on the Sabbath with our head in our hands, and wait for a heavenly voice, as they pretend. Indeed, if Carlstadt were to write further about the Sabbath, Sunday would have to give way, and the Sabbath, *i. e.*, Saturday, must be kept holy; he would truly make us Jews in all things, and we should have to be circumcised; for that is true, and can not be denied, that he who deems it necessary to keep one law of Moses, and keeps it as a law of Moses, must deem all necessary, and keep them all, as Paul concludes in Gal. 5: 2. Therefore whoever breaks images or keeps the Sabbath [that

²² Jaeger's Carlstadt, pp. 397-406.

is, who teaches that it should be observed], must also be circumcised and observe all of Moses." ²⁴

To the charge that he was forgetting the main thing by treating of outward ceremonies, Carlstadt replied:—

"Luther does not know that he hits the apostles, prophets, and Christ. These all have often dealt with such matters, as, for example, circumcision, the Sabbath, and frequently baptism, the Lord's supper, and the meats offered to idols." ²⁵

Every lover of truth must regret that Carlstadt did not always use good judgment in making his hasty reforms, but he failed more in reference to the proper time than with regard to doctrine. However, there were points in which he was ahead of the other Reformers. He wrote an able treatise on "The Canon of Scripture," in which he contended against Luther for the authority of James. He was ahead of Luther in maintaining that all ceremonies not warranted by the Bible were to be rejected; while Luther asserted, "Whatever is not against the Scriptures is for the Scriptures, and they for it." As long as Carlstadt agreed with Luther, he was a "man of unequaled wisdom," but when he dissented from Luther's opinion, the latter called him, in his Table Talk, an "incarnate devil." ²⁶ Carlstadt had to leave Saxony in A. D. 1524; the following year he was allowed to return, on the condition that he would keep silent; but he had again to

²⁴ Erlang. Augs., 29, 152.

²⁵ Anzeig. etl. Hauptartikeln christl. Lehre, in welcher Dr. Luther den A. Carlstadt verdaechtig macht, 1525.

²⁶ Erlang. Augs., 61, 91.

flee in 1528. For some time he wandered about in great poverty. He joined the Zwinglians, was on a friendly footing with the Baptists, and was professor of theology at Basel (A. D. 1534-41). Had he taken a positive stand on the Sabbath, would he have fared any better than the thousands who were killed or tortured in Moravia, Bohemia, and Germany?

But how the movement to restore the right Sabbath gained in power in spite of the terrible persecution, is evidenced by the fact that as late as A. D. 1538 Luther wrote a letter to a friend of his, "against the Sabbatarians."³⁷ In his introduction, he thus states the reasons for writing: "As you inform me that here and there in different countries the Jews encroach with their heresy and doctrine, and have already seduced some Christians, and as you asked me for counsel as to how you should meet them with the Scripture, I will now write you my advice and opinion, in short, expecting to write more later." Yet this short letter covers thirty-four pages! In the first part of the letter, Luther sets forth the apostasy of the Jews; in the second part he demonstrates by sound Scripture arguments that the Hebrew word *Zeolam*, rendered "forever" in English, has a limited and an unlimited sense, according to the context. Then he continues:—

"Moses came much too late for one to style the decalogue Moses' law, for it was spread all over the world before the time of Abraham and the patriarchs. Moses has set forth

³⁷ Erlang. Augs., 31. pp. 416-449.

how God gave the decalogue (which he had written in the hearts of all men at creation) to his special people with his own voice. Circumcision was not planted in the hearts of men, but it was instituted for their people by Abraham and Moses." "The chief point is not the resting, but rather the sanctifying." "If either of the two be omitted, then let it be the rest, but the Jews esteem the rest more highly. . . . As Moses names the seventh day, that is the temporal declaration with which he enjoins this command upon his people in a special manner, at that time."

Then, applying Isaiah 66 to this present world, Luther ridicules the idea that "all flesh should meet at Jerusalem each week, as the Jews could not get there in a hundred Sabbaths, and have been driven hence for fifteen hundred years." At the close of the letter, he expresses the hope that "this letter may protect his friend against the Sabbatarians, and that he may preserve his Christian faith in purity."

At an early date seeds of the Sabbath truth must have been carried to Hungary and Transylvania. In these countries, as in most other lands, the Reformation brought about an age of inquiry. With the Lutherans and the Reformed faith, the Sabbath truth accompanied the refugees, also the Unitarian Baptists. They increased so rapidly in Transylvania that by A. D. 1571 the Unitarian faith was acknowledged as a state religion, along with the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed faiths. It is among these Unitarians that we find the first distinct traces of the Sabbath in Transylvania. The chronicle of a contemporary, Franz Nagy Szabo, gives this information:—

"As far as I can recollect, the Arian religion reformed and

divided itself about the year 1588. There lived a lord of the manor at St. Elizabeth [a village in the district of Udvarhely] by the name of Andreas Eössi, who studied his Bible until he at length nicely invented the Sabbatarian religion." ²⁸

Eössi was a rich Szekler magnate, and one of the first to accept the Unitarian faith. He was in ill health, and when his wife and three sons died, he sought comfort in the Bible. Among other truths, he also found the light on the Sabbath question, and, with the Bible in hand, he tried to convert his neighbors. He had several books and dissertations written, and had such old works copied as agreed with his doctrines. He composed several religious poems. He was well versed in the Bible and in church history. His efforts were crowned with success, and his adherents, who were mostly gathered from among the Unitarians, rapidly multiplied. But as they rejected Sunday and rested on the Sabbath, in A. D. 1595 Prince Sigmond Bathory ordered their persecution. But a higher hand interposed: the Turkish pasha Szinan invaded the country, and the Woywode Michael of Moldavia conquered the country in which most of the Sabbatarians were living. In 1599 he instigated an investigation of their faith, but he contented himself with burning their books on a pyre. In 1610 the diet, under the Catholic prince Gabriel Bathory, decreed:—

²⁸ Miko, Erdelyi, Toerten. Adatok., 1, 29, 1. For the details thereon, I refer to the following sources: Kleiner Unitarier-Spiegel, Vienna, 1879; Lampe: *Historia Ecclesiae Ref. in Hungaria*, etc., Rhenum 1728; J. Benkoe, *Transylvania*, Claudiopolis 1833; Adolf Dux: "Aus Ungarn," Leipzig 1880; Allg. *Ev-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, Jahrg. 1876; "A. Szombatosok Toertenuiek," etc., by Dr. Kohn Samuel, Budapest, 1890.

"A time of grace is to be granted to the Jews and Sabbatarians for conversion, but their preachers are to be locked up in respectable prisons."

Again Providence interfered, and new troubles arose; in the year 1618 the Reformed prince Gabriel Bethlen, in harmony with his own desires, was authorized to summon before him and to punish all who would not forsake their faith by Christmas time. He called a synod, which is reported in the Unitarian Spiegel as follows (page 15):—

"The synod assembled (November, 1618) at Erdö-Szent-György. The prince appointed the Reformed bishop Dajka Keserue Janos as chairman and royal commissioner. The latter charged the Reformed clergy to convert the Sabbatarians, whom the Unitarians had meanwhile expelled. At the same time Dajka, accompanied by three hundred soldiers, set out upon their inquisition."

As the military assistance plainly indicates, his method of conversion was to use brute force, to take from the Sabbatarians their church buildings, to arrest the ministers, and to place Reformed ministers in their stead. In this manner the Unitarians lost about twenty-two churches in the Szekler district—an evidence of the extent of the Sabbath movement. Finally, even the members of the diet became disgusted with this method of conversion. They therefore resolved in their session at Bistritz (A. D. 1622) that observers of the Sabbath should forfeit their personal property and pay a ransom for their lives, but by due course of law. Yet God cared for his children amid these fiery trials.

Eössi soon found talented coworkers. While he



himself devised the fundamental principles of their belief, including the Sabbath, yet the detailed work and the finishing touches were carried forward by his disciples. Among quite a number of prominent men, Bogathi Fazakas Miklos, and Simon Pechi, the scholar and statesman, deserve special mention. After the death of his sons, Eössi adopted Pechi, but immediately sent him on an extended tour, in which he visited the greater part of Europe, and even Palestine, Egypt, and northern Africa. Thus he formed a thorough acquaintance with Oriental literature. He mastered the Hebrew, Latin, and German. He returned in 1599, and as Eössi died shortly after that, he inherited his large fortune. With his experience, wealth, and learning, a political career awaited him, in which he might easily forget the Sabbath. He advanced to the position of chancellor of state, and King Ferdinand II, during the negotiations of peace in 1621, gave him even to understand by his legates that in case the sickly Bethlen should die, there were some prospects of his being elevated to the throne of Transylvania. But shortly after this, he lost the favor of the prince, and was imprisoned for nine years. Here God's truth came to him with new force. He studied his Bible, and composed a number of hymns, mostly in honor of the Sabbath.

During a visit of the author to Hungary in May, 1890, Prof. J. Koncz, of the Reformed College at Maros-Vasarhely, showed him a commentary on Genesis, dated 1634, folio size, which Pechi wrote

in prison. It bore the seal of the Inquisition, but in some way it escaped the intended burning. At Klausenburg, in the Unitarian Library he also found a number of prayer- and hymn-books. Among them was a work of four hundred pages, written by Jacob Elek; it is a commentary on the Psalms, dated A. D. 1604, and also contains some doctrinal poems, a few of which treat on the death of Christ, on the Lord's supper, on baptism, faith in God, etc. As Pechi had studied the Talmud, his writings were influenced by it, while Eössi closely adhered to the Scriptures. When Pechi was again set at liberty, he publicly taught the Sabbath, and his doctrines were embraced by many, not only of the common people, but also of the noblemen. The churches steadily increased.

Influenced by "covetousness," Prince Rakoczki I had confiscated all the estates of Pechi, save that of St. Ersebeth; and in the diet of 1635 it was decided that "if the Sabbatarians had not joined one of the four acknowledged state religions by next Christmas, they would lose their life and property." But new political disturbances postponed the execution of this sentence until, in 1638, the agreement of Dees was signed by fifty-six secular and ecclesiastical lords, authorizing the prince to execute the previous decisions. The Sabbatarians were summoned to Dees, and sentence was passed upon them in the Reformed Church.

Those who still openly professed the observance of the Sabbath were taken to fortresses, their property was confiscated, and they were left to perish

in dungeons; and those who outwardly confessed adherence to one of the four acknowledged religions, but secretly kept up their divine worship, were forced to attend church services. Pechi was also arrested, and, according to Benkoe, he died in a decent prison in 1640. Some emigrated as far as Constantinople. Thus by brute force Sabbath observance was suppressed even in a country where the Reformed faith was in power. In closing this paragraph, we give a translation of one of the Sabbath hymns:—

“The Sabbath you must holy keep
As did the ancients now asleep.
And as in far remotest time,
We still observe the Sabbath as divine;
But not the Sunday in its place,
Which can not sanctify, nor give the grace —
Alone the honorable Sabbath day
Remember, keep holy, and God obey.”

But a still greater Sabbath movement among Christians appeared in Russia as early as the fifteenth century. In chapter 21 we found that the Sabbath-keepers, generally called Pasaginians, hailed from the East, where the old Nazarene element existed as late as the twelfth century. According to church historians, the great reform movement of the twelfth century extended east into Poland, Lithuania, Slavonia, Livonia, and Samatia. Church historians record a similar reform movement in Russia during the fourteenth century. In view of the fact that the Russian and kindred languages call Saturday *Subbota*, or Sabbath, and seeing that their stand-

ard catechism teaches every child that while the Sabbath "is not entirely kept as a festival, still in memory of the creation of the world and in continuation of its original observance, it is distinguished from the other days of the week by a relaxation of the rule of fasting," one would naturally expect a Sabbath reform the moment the attention of the people was directed to the Word of God.

The knowledge of this Sabbath movement in Russia is furnished to us through the "History of the Russian church," by Archbishop Philaret (A. D. 1805-66).³⁹ Writing in the nineteenth century, he had to collect his facts and data from old chroniclers, who, on account of the relentless persecution waged, and biased by their own religious views, colored their history even to such an extent that Philaret, as a Christian, had to question it. Since the days of the Laodicean council, "Judaizing" is the official stamp placed upon the cessation from labor on the seventh day. When, in the summer of 1886, the author organized the first church of German Sabbath-keepers in Russia, Protestants at once preferred the charge of "Jewish heresy" against him, and he was arrested by the Russian government. So grave was this charge that no bail was permitted, and no release was granted until the American ambassador gave his word of honor to the Russian minister of the interior, that, from personal knowledge, he knew this to be the work of an evangelical denomination. Bearing this in mind, we let Arch-

³⁹ Geschichte der Kirche Russlands, Frankfurt. 1872. pp. 287-296.

bishop Philaret inform us of the contents of the ancient Russian church records:—

"Section 18.—Controversy of the Church of the North with the Jewish sect.

"a. History of the heresy until 1490.

"All attempts made by the Papacy against the liberty of the orthodox church of the North left no obnoxious results: the Russians regarded them with unconcern, as the plans of long-known ambitions. But the heresy of the Judaizing sectarians did concern the Russian church. This new heresy, which had begun and prospered in secret, though of short duration, was yet not without influence on the hearts of the Russians."

"A certain Jew, named Zacharias, who came from Kief with Prince Michael in 1470, laid the ground for this heresy, at Novgorod. Zacharias, being well acquainted with the natural sciences, which were at that time known under the seductive form of alchemy, and also being well versed in cabalism, blinded some with the wonders of natural magic, and succeeded in leading them into error. Two priests, Dionysius and Alexis, deceived by Zacharias, and four Jews who had recently come from the South, spread the infection of this false doctrine abroad, and arch-priest Gabriel was among the many who were deluded."

"The grand duke Ivan, not knowing their views, appointed (A. D. 1480) the two principal leaders of the sect, Dionysius and Alexis, as priests of St. Mary's Cathedral and of the court chapel of St. Michael. Working here under the same veil of mystery as in Novgorod, they soon found adherents, even at the court, most prominent among whom was Theodore Kuritzyn, the state secretary of the grand duke."

"The archbishop Gennadius, of Novgorod, an active, sharp, and ardent man, first discovered members of this sect after reaching his flock. An investigation began. But four, who had been released on bail, fled to Moscow. Gennadius reported the matter there. In February, 1484, the metropolitan and the grand duke excommunicated three of the fugitives, who were also subject to civil punishment; the

fourth was released. . . . All of them were sent back to their shepherd for admonition and further examination."

"But it was difficult for Gennadius to ascertain the real facts in the case, for the heretics denied under oath what they had previously admitted. But at last, through the assistance of the civil magistrates, statements were obtained which the guilty signed, and witnesses confirmed. Manuscripts of the heretical ritual, and an Easter calendar conforming to the Jewish manner of reckoning, were found. Much was disclosed by Naum, a priest who once belonged to the secret faction. The heretics who truly confessed their error were subjected to a church penance by Gennadius, while he handed over the others to the civil court. Then he forwarded a detailed report to the metropolitan, and awaited further orders — that the more, as some of the inhabitants of Moscow were also involved."

"However, his report did not have the same effect as before. The metropolitan Gerontius had died (May 28, 1489). State Secretary Kuritzyn, who had been ambassador in Hungary, returned and protected the faction." "Gennadius was no longer even invited to the common church councils. The heretics of Novgorod, learning that the investigation had been stopped, and that their companions were left unmolested, fled to Moscow. Here, under the protection of Kuritzyn, the excommunicated priests even conducted divine service — yea, Dionysius went so far as to insult the holy cross of the church."

"But Gennadius did not remain inactive. He sent a copy of his former report to the bishop of Sarai Prochor, who acted as temporary metropolitan, and by letter he requested two other bishops, Niphont of Susdal and Philotheus of Perm, to employ their care as shepherds against the heretics, describing their former atrocities. After the election of a new metropolitan, although Gennadius was displeased with some of the demands of Sozimus, yet he most earnestly besought him to hand the heretics over to be judged by a council. At the time, Gennadius was unaware that the metropolitan, Sozimus himself, was a secret member, and owed his election to the efforts of his associates! But though he desired to

do so, yet Sozimus could not pass by the affair of the heretics unnoticed."

"The council opened Oct. 17, 1490. Based upon Gennadius's report, nine priests were anathematized; the grand duke sent some to Gennadius at Novgorod, while others were exiled. Gennadius exposed the heresy to public contempt: the heretics were led through the streets with caps of birch bark, with bunches of bass, and crowns of straw, bearing the inscription, 'This is Satan's host.'"

Paragraph 19 is the history of the heresy since 1491; the efforts of Gennadius and Joseph against it, and its condemnation at the council of 1504, are considered. We quote an extract:—

"However, on the one side the sentence passed in 1490 did not affect all members of the secret society, and on the other hand, the ideas permeating that century gave new nourishment to their boldness. As the time approached when, according to the Greek calendar, the world had existed seven thousand years, the second advent of Christ was expected everywhere in Russia. But the fatal year, 1492, quietly passed by, and the heretics began to not only make fun of the simple, but also of the holy, faith." "Sozimus gave free reins to the evil, and even punished those who strove too zealously against this wickedness."

"In order to defend the degraded faith, Gennadius appealed to Joseph, abbot of Wolokolamsk, celebrated for his pious works. Gennadius and Joseph did their utmost against the heresy, notwithstanding the influence the heretics had gained at the court. Well versed in the Holy Scripture and in the church Fathers, Joseph began by writing a history of this heresy from its commencement until 1490, and from time to time he published refutations of it." "Sozimus retired from office as metropolitan (May 17, 1494). Only the influential secretary Kuritzyn remained. Under his protection, the heretics found an asylum with the archimandrite Cassian at Dorpat, who had obtained his position through Kuritzyn's influence. Here the mockery of holy things became loath-

some in its shamelessness. The shepherd of Novgorod circulated translations of works against the Jewish sect, made by the translator Demetrius. Joseph himself waited upon the ruler, and besought him to place the heretics under a new trial." "Yet the matter rested another year, and Joseph asked, by letter, that the confessor of the grand duke would remind him of his promise."

"In June, 1504, the holy Gennadius was obliged to retire. Finally, in December, 1504, a council was called with reference to the heretics, at which the heir to the throne, Basil Iwanowitch, was present." "The decision of the grand duke was: Some are to be burned; others to have their tongue cut out, and to be exiled; however, the major part was to be confined in monasteries. . . . The church commanded during the week of orthodoxy [the first week of fasting], that anathema be pronounced against the Jewish sect. Some who succeeded in escaping this punishment by feigned repentance, retained their heretical opinions, while on the other hand, the capital punishment of heretics for a long time remained the object of censure, though no one any longer dared to spread the heresy openly."

In paragraph 20 the doctrines of the Jewish sect and their refutation by Abbot Joseph are considered. Archbishop Philaret makes the following significant remarks to begin with:—

"The history of the Judaizing heresy is its own proof that the name 'Jewish sect' by no means expresses the whole of the doctrine. That for so many years people of the higher rank in church and state should be blinded by only a Jewish superstition, *exceeds the limits of all probability*. It is also improbable that the grand duke, who was at war with the prince of Lithuania, in order to defend oppressed orthodoxy, should have suffered the Jews to increase and to spread for so long a period in his country, in his capital, yea, even in his family. Although Gennadius and Joseph called the heretics 'Judaizers,' yet they admitted that their doctrine not only contained Judaism, but also Christian heresies which have great similarity to old and well-known heresies."

These very admissions of their two most relentless persecutors, that the doctrine of this "Jewish sect" contained "Christian heresies which have great similarity to old and well-known heresies," is the best evidence that it was not "Judaism," but ancient, primitive Christianity. Philetus, viewing the old records as an enlightened historian, justly says that the history of this heresy is *its own proof* that the whole doctrine was by no means expressed by the term "Jewish sect." That a metropolitan of the Russian church, priests in high standing, an ambassador, courtiers, yea, even the grand duke himself, all professing Christianity, should be influenced -- and that for so many years -- by common Judaism, which denies the first advent and the death of Christ, is beyond all probability. Being so entirely improbable, this whole story of a Jew using magic and cabalism, appeals to us as a fiction fabricated and circulated by crafty priests, in order to conceal the true fact that sincere men, by searching the Word of God, found that the Orthodox Church had departed from the Scriptures, and that, in trying to restore the church to its ancient purity, they desired, among other things, to re-establish the Sabbath of the decalogue, the eternal memorial of creation.

Joseph's book, called the "Enlightener," "An Ornament to the Russian Church," consists of fourteen parts: 1. Trinity; 2. Advent of the Messiah in the Person of Christ; 3. Significance of the Mosaic Law; 4. Causes for the Incarnation of the Son of God; 5, 6, 7. Reverence to Images; 8, 9, 10. Second

Advent of Christ; 11, 12. Monasticism; 13, 14. The Way and Manner of Dealing with Heretics.

According to the minutes of the council, some of the other heresies of this sect were, to think more of the Old Testament than of the New; to celebrate Easter in harmony with the Jewish reckoning; to omit fasting on Wednesday and on Friday; to disregard the Lord's supper as a symbol, and not to recognize in the eucharist the body and the blood of Christ.

The admission of the council that they believed the New Testament is another significant proof that this was a Christian sect. "Hauck-Herzog's Realencyclopædia," which questions the sect's being "Jewish," gives some additional information:—

"Be it as it may, its chief aim was not to pay reverence to the mother of God, to images, to the cross, to the eucharist, to fasting, and to holidays. The archbishop Gennadius of Novgorod, an admirer of the Spanish Inquisition, instigated its persecution. The chief leaders, Alexey and Denis, supported by the secretary Kuritzyn, gained quite an influence over Ivan III. The metropolitan Zosimus, who favored them, was nevertheless forced to condemn them and to afterwards resign. Joseph Sanin fought them passionately in his book, 'Enlightener,' and enforced the principle of everywhere spying out and executing the heretics."⁴⁰

The following further details show what circles were touched by this Sabbath movement:—

"Alexis labored with great success among all classes, especially among the clergy. They included in their membership, Gabriel, the protopope of St. Sophia, the guardian Gregor, and the son of the respected Bojar Tutschin. The new

⁴⁰ 17, 249, article. "Russland."

religious community, whose members distinguished themselves through their humility, piety, and temperance, grew more and more." "They counted amongst their adherents the archimandrite of the Simonow convent, Sosima, the monk Zacharias, the secretary of the grand duke, T. Kuritzyn, and his brother Ivan, the princess Helena, daughter-in-law of the grand duke, the merchant Klenow, and other distinguished persons. They also had quite a following among the people." "Under such favorable circumstances, protected by men who held the highest honors in the church and state, almost under the protection of the czar himself, this new religious body prospered."

"However, their opponents did not rest. Archbishop Gennadius, like an enraged tiger, persecuted the converts at Novgorod, and by his plots and intrigues, he so prevailed with Czar Ivan Wasiljewitch that he listened to his suggestions."⁴

As to the council held at Moscow in 1490, he adds:—

"Some of the ecclesiastical princes who agreed with Gennadius demanded the rack and death for the accused. But the grand duke objected, and, according to his wish, the council contented themselves with cursing the new doctrine. The accursed ones were sent to Novgorod for conversion."

"Gennadius seized upon this opportunity to quench the thirst for revenge, and most cruelly treated those who were sent back. On the outskirts of Novgorod they were placed on horses with their faces toward the tail, in clothes turned inside out, in pointed helmets of birch,—just as the devil is represented,—and around this helmet was the inscription, 'This is Satan's host.' And in this array the unfortunate ones were led from street to street, the people spitting in their faces, and crying out, 'These are the enemies of Christ.' And finally, they burned the helmets upon their heads."

⁴ H. Sternberg Geschichte der Juden, Leipzig, 1878, pp. 117-122. Sternberg quotes above from a Russian book, "The Heresy and Divisions in the Russian Church," Nik. Rudnjew, Moscow, 1838.

With regard to the next council, the date of which he places at 1503, he adds:—

“The accused were summoned; they openly acknowledged the new faith, and defended the same. The most eminent of them, the secretary of state, Kuritzyn, Dimitri Konoplew, Ivan Maximow, Nekrass, Rukawow, Kassian, archimandrite of the Jury Monastery of Novgorod, were condemned to death, and burned publicly in cages, at Moscow, Dec. 27, 1503. Nekrass, Rukawow, and the brother of Kassian were burned at Novgorod. This success gained by the opponents was of but short duration, however. Due to the strong influence of Kuritzyn's party, they prevailed upon the grand duke to confine Gennadius in a monastery at Moscow.”

In finishing, Sternberg remarks: “Nearly every town and every large place in the Russian empire records the name of some one who has died for having taught these doctrines.”

But there are still more striking facts when we come to consider the Sabbath movement in Scandinavia and in Finland. This extends from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, during which Roman Catholicism had to give way to Lutheranism in these parts, so that both churches were affected. The minutes of a Catholic provincial council, held in A. D. 1435 at Bergen, Norway, Archbishop Bolt presiding, contain the following interesting information:—

“We are informed that some people in different districts of the kingdom, partly through the weakness of their own natural mind, partly through the deception of the devil, have adopted and observed such holy days as neither God nor his holy church has agreed to or ordained, but such as are directly against God and his saints,—especially Saturday-

keeping, which the Jews and pagans, but not Christians, are accustomed to keep. It is severely forbidden — in holy church canon — one and all to observe days or introduce new days excepting those which the holy Pope, archbishop, or the bishops command. Sunday is sacred. God himself has sanctified it in a marvelous manner; when he had by his own painful suffering and death redeemed mankind from the bondage of Satan, he arose from the dead on Sunday; on Sunday, too, he sent the Holy Spirit to his apostles so that they could do their appointed work. The other holy days commanded by the church canon have by good and pious friends of God been placed in the holy church to the honor of God's sacred name and to the saving of wicked men. . . . The clergy from Nidaros, Oslo, Stavanger, Bergen, and Hamar, assembled with us in Bergen at this provincial council, are fully united in deciding in harmony with the laws of the holy church that Saturday-keeping must under no circumstances be permitted hereafter further than the church canon commands. Therefore, we counsel all the friends of God throughout all Norway who want to be obedient towards the holy church, to let this evil of Saturday-keeping alone; and the rest we forbid under penalty of severe church punishment to keep Saturday holy. If, however, there be those who on Saturday rather than on other days desire to do good, then let them fast, or give alms to the poor or contribute to the cathedral church or cloister, from such honest income as they can gain by fishing or other work on Saturday." ⁴³

At a provincial council held at Oslo (Christiania) in 1436, the same archbishop presiding, it was decreed: —

"*Canon 12.*— It is forbidden under the same penalty [church] fine to keep Saturday holy and abstain from work on that day after the manner of the Jews." ⁴⁴

A century before the Reformation, the observ-

⁴³ Dipl. Norveg., 7. 397.

⁴⁴ Den norske Kirkes Historie under Katolicismen, 2, 488, by R. Keyser.

ance of the true Sabbath still existed in the most northern portion of the papal dominions. What a testimony for its divine vitality! And the Papacy continued to oppose, fine, and condemn! Scandinavian church historians are puzzled to account for this, and various solutions are proposed. Prof. L. Daae, Norway's university historian, deals with the subject in a treatise entitled "Evidence in the Norwegian Church of a Religious Influence From Russia." ⁴⁴ His evidence is the threat that King Christian made to the Papal See, that if the latter would not yield to Norway's wish in supplying a successor to Archbishop Bolt (who died in 1449), Norway would join the Russian church. The existence of the Sabbath movement in Norway, which, in his opinion, had its origin with the Christian sect in Russia at perhaps an earlier date than 1470, would convey to the king's threat "an expression of facts of some importance."

J. Fritzner offers another solution, by considering this statute only "a decree against an overstrict observance of Saturday in honor of the Virgin Mary." ⁴⁵ His grounds for this supposition are: the decree of Pope Urban II (1095); an Icelandic legend (later circulated by crafty priests), that "the Virgin Mary agreed with two women in Iceland, to cure them if they in turn would keep Saturday feasts, and sing a third of the psalter every Saturday;" ⁴⁶ and, finally, that a century later two pre-

⁴⁴ Theol. Tidsskrift.. 1871.

⁴⁵ Historisk Tidsskrift, vol. 1 Christiania, 1871.

⁴⁶ Forusvensk Legendarium, 3, 164.

nders, calling themselves St. Olaf and St. Nicolas, tried to influence the Lutherans again to regard Saturday in honor of Mary, for which crime the court condemned them to be burned at the stake.⁴⁷ The Pope's action in turning the Sabbath into a memorial of Mary led some honest people, after closer investigation, to rest on that day in obedience to the divine law in honor of the creation, then the words of 2 Cor. 13:8 also apply in this instance. But as Professor Daae suggests from the wording of the decree itself, so we also would see in these words a confirmation of the fact that Saturday-keeping in Scandinavia was the result of a certain . . . movement within the church," and "the result of a desire to keep holy that definite rest day specified in the law of God." But instead of its being "a certain Judaizing movement," it was an eminently Christian movement, based upon God's Word.

The next edict against Sabbath observance in this same region of Norway is dated 1544, shortly after the Reformation had commenced. It reads:—

"I, Christopher Huitfeldt, lord of Bergen, Stavanger, and Ardøe, greet kindly and with good intention all the people who dwell in the diocese of Bergen. Master Geble Petersen, bishop over your diocese, has informed me that some of you, especially in Aardal, in Sogn,—contrary to the warning given you last year, keep Saturday. In this you have done wickedly. . . . You ought to be severely punished, but because of the intercession of your bishop, you are pardoned."

"Now it is decided by the local diet for the diocese of Bergen and Stavanger, that whoever shall be found keeping Saturday, must pay a fine of ten marks; this I want you to

⁴⁷ Krag Christian III, *Historie*, 1, chap. 1, 386.

give heed to. . . . You are rebellious and disobedient in regard to your holy days, since you are discontented with those which the church ordinance and the priest command you to observe. Now then I bid you on behalf of his majesty, the king, that you earnestly and honestly obey his gracious commands. Whoever shall be found transgressing these will be by my servants punished as a disobedient and rebellious subject." ⁴⁸

Thus the Reformation only changed the name of the persecutor of the true Sabbath-keepers, from the Catholic to the Lutheran Church. And J. Fritzner properly states the case:—

"After the Reformation, no better way of making Saturday-keeping despised was found than to pronounce it a Jewish custom." ⁴⁹

The next document we shall consider, confirms this idea. It is "an open letter addressed to the common people in Finland on account of their error, that they, because of hard times, turn Jews and keep Saturday holy." The author is none less than King Gustavus Vasa I, of Sweden (A. D. 1496-1560), who introduced the Reformation there. The letter is dated Dec. 6, 1554, and is, in substance:—

Some time ago we heard that some of the simple and common people in Finland, doubtless inspired by Satan, had fallen into a great error and false belief. They supposed that the hard times were brought upon them by God, because they no longer observed the seventh day, called Saturday, as did the Jews under Moses' law and government. There-

⁴⁸ Niels Krag and S. Stephanius's "Kristian d. 3djes Historie," 2, 377.

⁴⁹ Historisk Tidsskrift, 1871.

fore, unwilling to work on that day, they decided to follow the Jewish custom. We further hear that some of those who have fallen into this error pretend to have dreams and visions, urging them to such vain service. This opinion concerning Saturday-keeping, dreams, and visions, is, according to the Holy Scripture, an error which harms soul and body. If you do not forsake such contempt of the Word of God, a much greater punishment awaits you. Truly, God inflicts men with various plagues, hard times, famine, pestilence, and war, on account of sin, that they might turn from sin and live according to the divine will, as clearly laid down in the Holy Scripture. Furthermore, it is the plain will and earnest command of God that nothing else is to be regarded as sin, save what he himself has forbidden in his command and Word. For by his grace, Almighty God has given us his holy law, that we might not be left in uncertainty as to what is right and wrong. But God's Word very clearly teaches us that in the New Testament we are not obliged to keep the seventh day as the Jews did under Moses. We Christians have nothing more to do with the whole government of Moses, for it, as well as all the ceremonies, should only remain until Christ's advent and ascension, and then they were to cease. That we no longer have to observe the holy days which the Jews had to keep in the Old Testament, Paul proves in Gal. 4: 10, 11; Col. 2: 16. The third commandment, in which God requires us to keep the rest day holy, does not mean that we

should prefer Saturday to other days; but this is the right meaning and ground of it: that God enjoins and commands that we set apart one day in the week to hear and read God's Word diligently, to cease from work, and partake of the Lord's supper. As the Jews had to assemble on the Sabbath, or Saturday, in the Old Testament, and to perform the ceremonies given by Moses, so have we Christians in the New Testament, Sunday. For the Bible, and especially the prophecy of Daniel, plainly proves that Moses' government and all the ceremonies ceased with the coming of Christ. Immediately after the apostles' time, the Christian church decided, ordained, and approved of no longer using Saturday as an assembly day, but Sunday, seeing that on that day Christ had risen and had overcome the power of hell. Therefore Sunday is, for every one who correctly keeps it, a sure and perfect sign that Christ truly came and fulfilled all the prophecies. Therefore can the opinion of those who desire to keep Saturday be only understood in this way, that they do not fully believe that Christ has come and has gained eternal life for us by shedding his precious blood. Christian liberty has been freely granted us, so that we are no longer under the outward law and precepts. Not to believe in such great and infinite benefits of Christ, seems to us a terrible sin against God, by which his wrath is not reconciled, but increased. Consequently, to keep Saturday and follow dreams and other errors can only lead to damnation. Therefore we not only

exhort, but earnestly command all in whatever condition any of you might be who have fallen into such error, to forsake it at once, and to walk according to God's Word, and to be instructed thereby.⁵⁰

That this theological discussion of the first Lutheran king of Sweden, and his royal command to forsake Saturday rest, were backed up by employing force, if not heeded, is a matter of fact, which will plainly appear as we follow the movement to Sweden. "The Swedish Church After the Reformation," by Norlin, thus lengthily treats "Saturday-keeping:"—

"We find traces of these Jewish doctrines throughout the entire Swedish kingdom, from Finland, northern Sweden, Dalarne, Westmanland, and Neriko, down to Westergotland and Smaaland. Even King Gustavus I was obliged to issue a special letter of warning against the error so general among the laity of Finland." "The next case of Judaism we find in Westeraas, in 1597. The cathedral records there contain an account of several trials that year, of two Jewish teachers—a rich citizen, Hans Jonsson, of Westeraas, and a peasant called Hofdesta Peter."⁵¹

These two men were forced into a "sealed agreement," which was read at the city hall before the Lutheran bishop, priests, mayor, and council, "not only to abstain from keeping the Jewish sabbath, which was an offense to all believers, but also to keep Sunday as other Christians, or else to leave the country." Both men, breaking this agreement, were placed on a new trial, during which Jonsson died. His son defended his father's faith until 1618.

⁵⁰ State Library at Helsingfors. Reichsregister vom J., 1554. Teil B. B. leaf 1120, pp. 175-180a.

⁵¹ Vol. 1, 357, and pt. 2, 256.

Bishop L. A. Anjou says that all we know further of this sect is that a man from Grytnos suffered death in 1519, "because he always disputed with the schoolmasters and priests, and despised our creed and church."⁵²

Then Bishop Anjou continues:—

"Entirely distinct from this *antichurch* party of Saturday-keepers, were the rest who kept Saturday holy, abstaining from all work on it, but who did not separate themselves from the church." "Whether it was from their own conviction or from a desire to obey the state and church that they kept Sunday and went to church, we know not. Such was this error in the reign of Gustavus I and Carl IX. Had there been in this movement anything which could be regarded as a falling away from Christianity, we would have heard of severe laws and complaints against it."

"The belief in the sacredness of a Sabbath day could . . . very easily raise the question if it was not Saturday that ought to be observed. The people very naturally began to think that the Sabbath law really had no binding force unless applied to that definite day which the Old Testament designates. The great liberty associated with Sunday rest, the close application of the Old Testament which in those days was customary at the divine service, and Bible readings, and especially the common practise of following the law of God even in civil lawsuits,—all these things could induce the people to study the commandment, which commands Saturday-keeping. One thing is certain: this belief in Saturday as the Sabbath did not generally stand alone; it was a part of the revival work of those times, and connected with preaching and warning against the common sins and vices or the evils regarded as such, namely, pride, luxury, fine clothes, immorality, and contention. God was to be appeased and a better spirit secured by the keeping of Saturday. This conviction gained such an influence that many not only of the laity, but also priests who were friendly to

⁵² Svenska Kirkans Historia efter Mötet i Upsala, 1593.

this zeal for piety, abstained from work on Saturday, which in several places caused much strife. In Westergotland, Smaaland, and Neriko these contentions were especially common. In the last-named place Saturday-keeping was defended by the daughter of a priest from Kumla. After having received several angel visions, which she fully describes, and after having passed through many severe trials from doubts as to her own acceptance with God, and from opposition of enemies,—sufferings which caused her bitter agony and even convulsions,—she finally herself preached repentance and conversion. Her experiences attracted wide-spread attention. People from far and near gathered to hear the now-renowned woman who had the gift of prophecy. Bishop Paulinos made this matter the topic of a special lecture, which he delivered in the diocese of Streugnos."¹³

Next he informs us that ten farmers of Viste agreed among themselves to pay a sheep as a fine to the church if they should work on Saturday. As one of these worked and refused to pay, the others took his harrow from him by force. The matter was carried to the supreme court. The bishop, being asked for counsel, declared that the Sabbath commandment was not binding in the ceremonial keeping of a definite day, but its moral power was still in force, although the specific application of it had, in harmony with Christian liberty, been transferred to Sunday. The judges still deemed the matter dubious, and in 1628 they brought the question before a general assembly of Lutheran priests. They agreed with their bishop, and demanded that a church penance be paid equal to a civil fine for a similar offense. The court, still feeling incompetent

¹³ Svenska Kirkans Historia efter Mötet i Upsala. 1593.

to decide the matter, referred it to the king (Gustavus Adolphus), who fined each party a pair of oxen, or offered them the alternative of working in the chain-gang, besides demanding that they make a public confession and ask the pardon of the church. Bishop Anjou then continues:—

“This zeal for Saturday-keeping continued for a long time. But the laws in favor of Sunday sacredness became more strict and sweeping. The belief in Saturday was opposed to the church, and even little things which might strengthen the practise of keeping Saturday were punished. A priest in Orsa, Dalarne, went (A. D. 1646) to the Skattunge chapel to inspect his servant's work. Some farmers who were going to their pasture lands asked him to preach and hold communion service. He did so — and that on Saturday. For this he was punished by the church at Westeraas, for ‘by holding this service on a Saturday, he had strengthened those still clinging to a Jewish leaven.’

“A boy in Agumaryd, Vexio diocese, saw (A. D. 1667), in a vision, an angel who exhorted him to be converted, to forsake pride,— the most wide-spread sin,— and who taught him that Saturday should be kept holy, and that it is sin to work on that day.”

Some Lutheran priests of this diocese preached and endorsed this vision; but that was not the case with their bishop, Baazius. Professor Daae adds, with regard to this whole movement, that these people “on many occasions suffered death rather than to deny their faith.” It was very common for these itinerant preachers, who proclaimed the sacredness of Saturday, to connect their teachings with visions and revelations, just as they did in Norway.” Quite characteristic in these descriptions is the fact that whenever the Sabbath movement resulted in

a separate sect being established, as at Westeraas, the Sabbatarians are accused of having left Christianity, and seeking an alliance with the Jews. The Lutheran Church was perfectly willing to retain them as members, and then to exterminate the "heresy" gradually.

While thus the observers of the true Sabbath were persecuted all over Europe, at the same time the Papacy employed crafty Jesuits to suppress Sabbatarianism in Africa and in Asia, as we have already seen in chapter 21.

What a cloud of faithful witnesses is revealed to us by the Sabbath movement of the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, even from the meager records that have come down to us! What an array of martyrs from every continent that was then known! The Roman and the Greek churches, Lutheran and Calvinistic countries, popes and Reformers, Catholic and Protestant rulers, ecclesiastical and civil powers, from the arctic north to the tropical south,—a mighty host, with all their power, talents, and wealth,—united to put a stop to the obnoxious "Saturday-keeping," to brand the Christian observance of the Sabbath of Jehovah as "Jewish," and to exterminate this "Jewish heresy" by the sword, by the rack, by the dungeon, by fire and by water. But as it was of God, it lived and thrived. To set over against the "Thus saith the Lord" of the Sabbatarians, even the Reformers have only a mystic, "spiritual" sabbath, or a "church ordinance." Their boasted "Christian liberty" often

means as much hard oppression for the faithful observer of the Sabbath as did the papal supremacy. But as God's sure word of prophecy foretold, "They shall be helped with a little help."⁴ Contemporaneous with the Reformation, the repairers "of the breach" made in God's law, appear everywhere, and, moved by his Word and Spirit, they, by turning away their foot from the Sabbath, by calling "the Sabbath a delight, the holy of Jehovah, honorable," "build the old waste places" and "raise up the foundations of many generations." The Sabbath-keepers of these centuries were indeed "the sect everywhere spoken against," "deceivers and yet true." The Reformation had restored their only sword of defense,—the Word of God,—bringing, as its greatest boon to the people, an open Bible, in which the Sabbath is engraved with the finger of God right in the center of his eternal law.

⁴ Dan. 11 : 34.



CHAPTER XXVI

PROTESTANT MISAPPROPRIATION OF THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT

Light rejected results in retrogression — Episcopalians and Puritans — Festivals, or Sunday alone — The Puritan sabbath — Bownd's sophistry — Secret of its success — The Protestant Thomas Aquinas — Papal Sunday canons revived in the kirk — "Book of Sports" — The grievances at Dort — Articles of peace gender strife — The Puritan theocracy in New England — Erring Reformers and wise Puritans — Westminster Confession — Sunday controversy renewed — The Barabbas of the fourth commandment.

THE light of the Reformation necessarily dissipated into thin air many of the most substantial arguments by which the Sunday festival had been built up during the Dark Ages. Before the rays of the divine Word, tradition, church Fathers, scholasticism, the power of the church, and the supremacy of the Pope had to yield; and rolls from heaven, pretended apparitions and miracles, were spoiled of their enchantment. Sunday stood naked and bare, stripped of all its false ornaments — a mere human ordinance. Unsupported, it floated in the air. Faithful witnesses everywhere arose to erect the down-trodden Sabbath of the Most High. But human ordinances still had such a hold upon the great mass of those who professed Christianity that these loyal believers were reproached and persecuted as pernicious heretics. More light had been offered, — a church composed of believers; a faith strengthened through grace to keep God's commandments; a Sabbath divine, and yet for man; a holy love so firm in truth that it taught freedom of con-

science to all: a Christianity leaning so heavily upon divine strength that it kept aloof from the arm of flesh. But as this increased light was rejected, the inevitable followed,—decline instead of progress, a stagnant reformation paralyzed by a papal counter-reformation. In describing the conditions after the reformation, a noted writer confirms this sad fact:—

“The Lutherans of Germany had gone asleep on the spoils of a great man, and for this they were visited by the terrible scourge of the Thirty Years’ War.” “In France the Calvinists and the Catholics ceased their religious strife, and united in seeking earthly treasures. In England and Scotland the tyranny of kings and bishops forced the nation to continue the Reformation; but Calvinism proved insufficient of working a thorough change.” “While the Reformation had awakened the nations from their groveling, earthly endeavors to a high appreciation of spiritual things, the tide now again recedes, and men’s minds again turn back into the ruts they had been accustomed to before the time of the Reformation.”¹

Mosheim tells us what influence scholasticism had attained in Protestant theological schools by the seventeenth century:—

“During the greatest part of the century no other rule of philosophizing flourished in the schools except the Aristotelico-Scholastic; and for a long time those who thought Aristotle should either be given up or amended, were considered as threatening as much danger to the church as if they had undertaken to falsify some portion of the Bible.” “Most of the doctors in the universities were more occupied in defending with subtlety the dogmas and tenets of the church than in expounding that Volume whence all solid knowledge of them must be derived.”²

¹ Fortschritt und Rückschritt, C. Hoffmann, Stuttgart, 1864, 1, 63.

² Eccl. Hist., cent. 17, sec. 2, pt. 2, pars. 10, 17.

But did Protestantism, to substantiate Sunday, turn back to the tactics of the Middle Ages, and to scholasticism? Dr. Zahn thus replies:—

"But already when the century of the Reformation ended, 'the sophistry of the false prophets,' which the Protestant churches had refused with an unanimity rarely seen, and with a full consciousness of the results of their decision, entered again into the same churches. Here, also, extremes met. It was in the Reformed Church, that church which seemed to exhibit the greatest contrast to the Christianity of the Middle Ages, that the doctrine of Sunday as it had existed during these dark days was first revived."³

The cause of this backward movement was an incomplete reformation. Calvin's criticism on the Reformation in England under Henry VIII is of a much broader application:—

"The king is only half wise. . . . He has a mutilated and torn gospel, and a church stuffed full as yet with many toys and trifles."⁴

The Reformed Church on the Continent and in Scotland introduced the rule of the elders, or Presbyterian church government; England retained the Episcopal. The Presbyterians dropped the Catholic vesture, their ceremonies and holidays; the Episcopalians retained them. Sincere men in England, seeing the lack of church discipline as well as these differences, began to clamor for a further purifying, whence their name, Puritans. The vesture of the Episcopal clergy, decried by the Puritans as "badges of Antichrist," furnished the desired oc-

³ *Geschichte des Sonntags*, p. 50.

⁴ *Letter to Farel*, March 15, 1539.

casion for the beginning of a controversy, into which soon the question of the festivals entered. The Puritans demanded that the remainder of the festivals be abolished, "because the continuance of them did nourish wicked superstition in the minds of the people; besides, they are all abused by the papists, the enemies of God, yea, certain of them, as Easter or Pentecost, even by the Jews."⁶ This opened up the question of the difference between Sunday and the other festivals. The Reformers consistently placed the church ordinances of Sunday and the other festivals upon an equal footing. So likewise the English law of King Edward VI (A. D. 1547-53), which, as Cox remarks, was undoubtedly drawn up with the full concurrence of the principal Reformers, declares, in its preamble, that the observance of all religious festivals is left to the discretion of the church, and therefore it proceeds to order that all Sundays, with many other days named, should be kept holy.⁶

Accordingly, the manner of their observance was also on an equal footing. This same statute of Edward VI expressly allows all persons to work, ride, or follow their calling, whatever it may be, in the case of need. And Archbishop Cranmer's Visitation Articles even "required the clergy to teach the people that they would grievously offend God if they abstained from working on Sundays in harvest time."⁷

⁶ R. Hooker's Polity, b. 5, 70, 9

⁶ Cox, Sabbath Laws, p. 282.

⁷ Id.

An official statement made in 1562 in the Homilies appointed to be read in all the churches, reveals how Sunday was observed: "God was more dishonored and the devil better served on the Sunday than upon all the days in the week beside."⁸

Mosheim, in referring to it, says that Sunday "sank to the same level" as the other holidays still retained. "It became rather a day of amusement than of devotion. The first Reformers paid no marked attention to this abuse. But as Puritanism gained ground, it brought under general notice the propriety of greater strictness in the observation of Sunday."⁹ According to the liturgy introduced in 1552, all the Episcopalians repeated every Sunday the fourth commandment with the others, saying, "Incline our hearts to keep this law."

This plain contradiction between theory and practise was bound to attract the attention of the Puritans. As persecution drove them to the Bible, they found that the prophets of old spoke of the neglect of the Sabbath as a crying sin of Israel, which brought God's judgment upon them. Sunday, having been retained by the Reformers, was generally observed. Yet the term "Sunday" was not to be found in the Bible; it savored in every way of heathenism. In order to remove this, instead of changing the day, they changed the title of Sunday, calling it the "sabbath."

Dr. Pockington calls 1554 "the year of the 'sab-

⁸ Quoted by Hessey, p. 207.

⁹ Eccl. Hist., chap. 16, sec. 3, pt. 2, chap. 3 par. 12.

bath's nativity,'" but asserts "that it was full thirty years before the children [of Knox, etc.] could turn their tongues from Sunday to hit upon sabbath."¹⁰

The following extract from a Puritan sermon preached at London, Dec. 9, 1576, affords us the best insight into their manner of treating Sunday:—

"Assuredly we come nothing near the Jews in this point, for on our sabbaths all manner of games and plays, banquetings and surfeitings, are very rife. . . . What you get evilly all the week, is worse spent on the sabbath day. . . . Is this the Lord's day or no? . . . Ours savors so of Venus's court and Bacchus's kitchen that it may rightly be entitled an abominable and filthy city; and without doubt London shall justify her elder sister Hierusalem, if in time she turn not to the Lord."¹¹

This gives us some idea of how nearly Sunday observance had reverted to its heathen origin.

After a false premise had once been implanted in the public mind by attaching the term "sabbath" to Sunday, it was but a natural conclusion to see in every Sunday accident an instance of God's judgment for Sabbath desecration. An occasion of this sort was quickly found, nor was "the Gregory" of the English instead of "the Franks," and of the Reformation instead of the Middle Ages, lacking; he was found in the person of John Field, a Puritan minister of London. The title of the book tells the story: "God's judgment showed at Paris Garden, 13th Jan., 1583, being the Sabbath day,

¹⁰ Hessey's Bampton Lectures, p. 205.

¹¹ Quoted in Cox's Sabbath Laws, p. 294.

at bear-baiting, at the meeting of above one thousand persons, whereof divers were slain, the most maimed and hurt; set out with an exhortation for the better observation of the Sabbath, London, 1583."¹² The same year "The Anatomy of Abuses," by Philip Stubbs, spoke of "devilish pastimes" and "God's judgments" on "the profaners of the Sabbath." About the same time Richard Greenham (who died in 1591), a noted Puritan minister, maintained, in "A Treatise of the Sabbath," that the fourth commandment is a moral law, binding on Christians; and replied to "the *wicked heretics*" of his time, who denied its obligation. To the objection that the changing of the day by the apostles proves it not to be moral, he answered: "It was never commanded nor appointed what one certain day should be kept among seven, but that there should be observed a seventh day, which, being kept, it is sufficient, and the law remaineth unviolated. And yet we permit not that any man at his pleasure should now change this day. For that which the apostles did, they did not as private men, but as men guided by the Spirit of God; they did it for the avoiding of superstition, wherewith the Jews had infected it."¹³

How hot the controversy waxed is seen by the "fact that the Episcopalians were already called wicked heretics," for adhering to the position of the Reformers. Greenham's work foreshadowed the

¹² Cox, Sab. Lit., I, 140.

¹³ Id., pp. 140, 141.

position the Puritans would be forced to take, to reject the distinction made by the Reformers between a moral and a ceremonial part of the fourth commandment, declaring it all to be moral; to prove the divinity of Sunday from the Bible and to establish a divine warrant to the term "Sunday sabbath," and justify the application of the fourth commandment to its observance. A Protestant Thomas Aquinas was needed. The existence of Sunday was a settled fact among the Puritans of his day, as it was to the Catholics in the Dark Ages; but as the authority of the Roman Church and of tradition, whereupon the papists had built up Sunday, had been rejected by the Reformers as well as by the Puritans, the task assigned to Puritan scholasticism was even greater, and its outcome still more questionable; yet if successfully accomplished, it would save Presbyterianism from a defeat by the "wicked heretics." The straits in which the Puritans found themselves, Hengstenberg thus states:—

"The opinion that the Sabbath was transferred to the Sunday was first broached in its perfect form, and with all its consequences, in the controversy which was carried on in England between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians. . . . The Presbyterians were now in a position which compelled them either to give up the observance of the Sunday, or to maintain that a divine appointment from God separated it from the other festivals. The first they could not do, for their Christian experience was too deep for them not to know how greatly the weakness of human nature stands in need of regularly returning periods devoted to the service of God. They therefore decided upon the latter."¹⁴

¹⁴Hengstenberg's *Lord's Day*, p. 66.

The modern Thomas Aquinas sufficiently introduced himself on the title-page of the second edition (the first appeared in A. D. 1595):—

*"Sabbathum Veteris et Novi Testamenti: or, The true doctrine of the Sabbath, held and practised of the church of God, both before and under the law, and in the time of the gospel: plainly laid forth and soundly proved by testimonies both of Holy Scripture, and also of old and new ecclesiastical writers, Fathers, and councils, and laws of all sorts, both civil, canon, and common. Declaring first from what things God would have us straitly to rest upon the Lord's day, and then by what means we ought publicly and privately to sanctify the same. Together with the sundry abuses of men in both these kinds, and how they ought to be reformed. Divided into two books by Nicolas Bownd, D. D.; and now by him the second time perused, and enlarged with an interpretation of sundry points belonging to the Sabbath, and a more ample proof of such things as have been gainsaid or doubted of by some divines of our time, and a more full answer unto certain objections made against the same: with some other things not impertinent to this argument. London, 1606."*¹⁵

We are now prepared to listen to the profound wisdom of this doctor of divinity, spread over four hundred seventy-nine pages. For the sake of convenience, we shall divide the subject-matter under six different heads:—

I. MORALITY OF THE SABBATH COMMANDMENT.—That the fourth commandment is natural, moral, and perpetual is proved by the following:—

"That even the Gentiles, who were ignorant of the law of Moses, of themselves erected other days, which they appointed to a holy and religious use, evidently declared that the law

¹⁵ Cox. Sab. Lit., I, 145, 146.

of the Sabbath was so deeply graven in the heart of man at the first by God himself that howsoever the fruit of it was by the fall of Adam, and by sin growing in the posterity, greatly mangled and defaced, so that it could not be read, yet it was not so wholly razed out but that some deformed scratches and scars did appear. . . . Herein therefore *I agree with the schoolman* who saith, 'That the commandment of sanctifying the Sabbath is partly moral: moral, inasmuch as a man doth appoint a certain time in his life to attend upon heavenly things, etc.'—*Tom. Aquin. 2, Quæst. 122, art. 4.*"—*Pages 22, 23.*

"That which is natural, namely, that every seventh day should be kept holy unto the Lord, that still remaineth; that which is positive, namely, that day which was the seventh day from the creation, should be the Sabbath, or day of rest, that is now changed in the church of God."—*Page 51.*

2. THE SABBATH OF THE DECALOGUE ONE OF SEVEN, BUT NOT THE SEVENTH.—The meaning of the declaration, "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God," is this: "There must be one [day] of seven and not [one] of eight."—*Page 66.*

"So he maketh the seventh day to be *genus* in this commandment, and to be perpetual; and in it, by virtue of the commandment, to comprehend these two species or kinds: the Sabbath of the Jews and of the Gentiles, of the law and of the gospel; so that both of them were comprehended in the commandment, even as *genus* comprehendeth both his species."—*Page 71.*

3. SUNDAY THE SABBATH OF THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT:—

"So that we have not in the gospel a new commandment for the Sabbath, diverse from that that was in the law; but there is a diverse time appointed; namely, not the seventh day from the creation, but the day of Christ's resurrection, and the seventh from that: both of them at several times being comprehended in the fourth commandment."—*Page 72.*

"That where all other things in the Jewish church were so changed that they were clean taken away, as the priesthood, the sacrifices, and the sacraments, this day, the Sabbath, was so changed that it still remaineth."—*Page 91.*

"That there is great reason why we Christians should take ourselves as straitly bound to rest upon the Lord's day as the Jews were on their Sabbath; for being one of the moral commandments, it bindeth us as well as them, all being of equal authority."—*Page 247.*

4. THE RULES FOR SUNDAY OBSERVANCE.—"It must be a notable and singular rest, a most careful, exact, and precise rest, after another manner than men were accustomed."—*Page 124.* For particulars: no buying of victuals, flesh or fish, bread or drink, to be allowed (page 158); no carriers to travel (page 160), nor packmen nor drovers (page 162); scholars not to study the liberal arts, nor lawyers to consult the case and peruse men's evidences (page 163); sergeants, apparitors, and sumners to be restrained from executing their offices (page 164); justices not to examine causes for preservation of the peace (page 166); no man to travel (page 192); ringing of more bells than one not to be justified (page 202), no solemn feast to be made (page 206), nor wedding dinners (page 209); all lawful pleasures and honest recreations, as shooting, fencing, bowling, which are permitted on other days, to be forborne (page 202); all works of necessity to be allowed, but necessity not to be imagined (pages 213–225); no man to speak or talk of pleasures (page 272), or any other worldly matter (page 275).

Exception: "Concerning the feasts of noblemen and great personages, or their ordinary diet upon this

day (which in comparison may be called feasts), because they represent in some measure the majesty of God on earth, . . . much is to be granted unto them."— *Page 211.*

5. GOD'S JUDGMENT ON SABBATH-BREAKERS:—

"Among many instances adduced is a wonderful case of a certain nobleman, who, for hunting upon the holy day, was punished by having a child with a head like a dog's, that in this lamentable spectacle he might see his grievous sin in preferring his dogs and his delight in them before the service of God."— *Pages 253, 254.*

6. SUNDAY AND RELIGION TO BE ENFORCED BY CIVIL LAW:—

"It behooveth all kings, princes, and rulers that profess the true religion to enact such laws, and to see them diligently executed, whereby the honor of God in hallowing these days might be maintained. . . . And indeed this is the chiefest end of all government, that men might not profess what religion they list, and serve God after what manner it pleaseth them best; but that the parts of God's true worship might be set up everywhere, and all men compelled to stoop unto it, and make profession of it at leastwise in the outward discipline of the church; that so thereby we might live more peaceably ourselves, and do more duties unto men."— *Pages 465-468.*

The "sophistry of false prophets" thus entered Calvin's own church within forty years of his death. That Dr. Bownd had been imbibing their sophistry is proved by his title-page, as well as by his words, "I agree with the schoolman"—Thomas Aquinas. But there were weighty reasons to insure his success. Even grave error becomes bewitching if it be associated with some truth sadly needed at

the time. Bishop Hall, eulogizing the small Sabbath treatise of Greenham (six editions of which appeared from A. D. 1599-1612), expresses both the truth and the error in Bownd's book:—

"The Sun of Righteousness, rising upon that day (called the Lord's day), drew the strength of that moral precept unto it;" to which Ley, in his work "Sunday a Sabbath" (A. D. 1641), adds: "For all the virtue and vigor of it is vanished from the Jews' Sabbath, so that it remains a mere working-day; and if so, the title of *rest* surely did not stay behind it, but with the strength was transferred to the day for which it was changed."¹⁶

As "the strength of God's moral precept for the weekly rest day" was a sad need of that time, therefore any theory supplying it would be popular with religious people.

Even an Episcopalian defender of holidays, "judicious" Hooker (A. D. 1597), enunciated the oft-cited sentence: "We are to account the sanctification of one day in seven a duty which God's immutable law doth exact forever."¹⁷

Speaking of the reception of Bownd's book, Coleman states, "This book spread with wonderful rapidity." And Fuller says, "It is almost incredible how taking this doctrine was." In Heylin we read:—

"It carried a fair face and show of piety, at the least in the opinion of the common people, . . . such who did judge thereof, not by the workmanship of the stuff, but the

¹⁶ Cox, Sab. Lit., I, 196.

¹⁷ Works, 1662, p. 289.

gloss and color. In which it is most strange to see how suddenly men were induced, not only to give way unto it, but without more ado to abet the same; till in the end, and in very little time, it grew the most bewitching error, the most popular deceit, that ever had been set on foot in the Church of England." ¹⁸

But there was a more serious point in which Bownd and the Puritans agreed with papal Sunday legislation and the schoolman. Thomas Aquinas taught that the rights of idolaters, Jews, and infidels ought not to be tolerated. "Heretics deserve not only to be separated from the church by excommunication, but also to be excluded from the world by death." ¹⁹

The National Covenant of Scotland, subscribed in A. D. 1580 and renewed in 1639, recites with much satisfaction the Act 24, Parl. 11, King James VI, which "ordains all papists and priests to be punished with manifold civil and ecclesiastical pains, as adversaries to God's true religion, preached, and by law established, within this realm." Likewise the Presbyterian General Assembly threatens the same against such as "by spreading error or heresy or by fomenting schisms . . . disturb the peace of the kirk." ²⁰ Dr. Bownd also advocates such intolerance: "The chiefest end of all government" is "that the parts of God's true worship might be set up everywhere, and all men compelled to stoop unto it;" also that "it behooveth all . . . rulers

¹⁸ Hist. of the Sab., part 2, pp. 249-252.

¹⁹ Summa Theol. Quaest., sec. 10, 11; 11, 3.

²⁰ Cox, Sab. Laws, 151, 152.

that profess the true religion to enact such laws, and to see them diligently executed, whereby the honor of God in hallowing these days might be maintained." Acting on this very principle, the Puritans repaid intolerance with intolerance, and the triumphant march of the Puritan "Christian sabbath" (some Episcopalians called it "the new idol of St. Sabbath") thus gained its greatest support from oppressive civil and ecclesiastical Sunday laws.

How near the Sunday legislation of Scotland, where Knox suppressed all holidays save Sunday, approaches the papal canons, some samples will demonstrate:—

"For good order to be observed in convening to hear the word of God upon the Sabbath day . . . the session has ordained captors (afterwards named searchers) to be chosen to visit the whole town, according to the division of the quarters, and to that effect every Sunday there shall pass a bailie (sheriff) and elder, two deacons, and two officers armed with their halberts, and the rest of the bailies and officers to be in attendance, to assist to apprehend transgressors, to be punished conform to the acts of the kirk." Cox adds: "This practise was soon afterwards universally observed throughout all the towns of Scotland, and continued to be observed, I believe, with scarcely any interruption for one hundred fifty years."²¹

In A. D. 1579 the Scotch parliament passed a law that no markets or fairs be held on Sunday, or any merchandise be sold under pain that such be forfeited; that for working on Sunday the fine be ten shillings, for gambling, playing, passing to taverns,

²¹ Cox, *Sab. Laws*, 299.

selling of meat and drink, and wilfully remaining away from their parish kirk, during the time of sermon or prayer on Sunday, twenty shillings for the relief of the poor. In case of the refusal or inability of any person to pay said fines after a lawful trial, *"he or she shall be put and holden in the stocks, or such other engine, devised for public punishment, for the space of twenty-four hours."* (Italic ours.) This law, as well as its successors, was suggested by the Presbyterian clergy. The papal Saturday vigils, introduced by James III, were suppressed in 1592. In 1590 the kirk session ordained "that the Sabbath should be from sun to sun." Feb. 6, 1592, the Glasgow presbytery fined Craig ten shillings for absence from church, required him to make confession in the kirk two Sundays, and to furnish surety, under pain of ten pounds' fine, to be present on Sundays in the future. In 1595 Dugall, who went to Cramond on Sunday, with shoes, was to be publicly rebuked; if the offense was repeated, he was to be fined twenty and forty shillings, and finally, if he persisted, to be banished from the parish. Cox records a long list of fines for selling milk, for fishing, for playing bowls, football, and even for scolding on Sunday. In 1644 the "Six Sessions" of Edinburgh ordained that no person should be found vaging, walking, and going upon the streets even after the afternoon sermon. And Aug. 5, 1646, it was ordained that all the gates of Edinburgh be closed, only that the south gate be open for a time morning and evening, to water the stock, where a

faithful man was to be placed as guard, "for restraining the people's forth breaking." In 1655 and 1656 the Sessions ordained that on Sunday there be no loafing, going about up and down the streets, or going to Castle Hill or Gardens and open places for sport and pastime, else they be censured, committed to prison, and severely punished. The following ordinance of April 5, 1658, caps the climax: "The magistrate is to cause some English soldiers go along the streets, and those outparts above written, both before sermon and after sermon, and lay hold upon both young and old whom they find out of their houses or out of the church." ²²

The Episcopal Church of England, on the other hand, was more intolerant in religious matters. Hundreds of conscientious Puritan ministers had been deprived of their parishes on account of "toys and trifles." After some delay, attempts were made by Archbishop Whitgift in 1599, and by Chief Justice Popham in 1600, to call in and suppress Bownd's book; but "it ran the faster from friend to friend in transcribed copies," and in 1606 the enlarged edition appeared. The successful circulation of Bownd's book was the signal for such a host of similar books for and against, that, as one said, "the Sabbath itself had no rest." The Episcopalians issued (1603) "Constitutions and Canons," omitting the dispensation in favor of work in harvest-time, but ordaining that all within the Church of England "shall keep Sunday and other holy days,

²² Cox, *Sa.'s. Laws*, 299-315.

according to God's holy will and the order of the Church of England." Next the king spoke in his notorious "Book of Sports," May 24, 1618. The following extracts give the reason for publishing the book, and its aims:—

"Whereas, upon our return the last year out of Scotland, we did publish our pleasure touching the recreations of our people in those parts. . . .

"Whereas, we did justly, in our progress through Lancashire, rebuke some Puritans and precise people, and took order that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of our good people for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sundays and other holy days, after the afternoon sermon or service. . . . We heard the general complaint of our people that they were barred from all lawful recreation and exercise upon the Sunday afternoon, . . . which can not but produce two evils: the one, the hindering of the conversion of many whom their (papists) priests will take occasion hereby to vex, persuading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in our religion. . . . The other inconvenience is that this prohibition debars the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for war, . . . and in place thereof sets up filthy tipplings and drunkenness. . . . For when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holy days?"

"Our pleasure likewise is that the bishop of that diocese take the like straight order with all the Puritans, . . . either constraining them to conform themselves, or to leave the country. . . . And as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise, is that after the end of the divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, etc. . . . But withal we do here account still as prohibited all

unlawful games . . . bear- and bull-baitings, interludes, and . . . bowling."

"And likewise we bar from this benefit and liberty, all such known recusants . . . as will abstain from coming to church, . . . prohibiting in like sort the said recreations to any that, though conform in religion, are not present in the church. . . . We likewise straightly command that every person shall resort to his own parish church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service."²³

D'Israeli comments on this book:—

"In Europe, even among the Reformed themselves, the Sabbath, after church service, was a festival-day; and the wise monarch could discover no reason why, in his kingdom, it should prove a day of penance and self-denial."²⁴

The historian Hallam wisely remarks:—

"This much at least is certain, that when the Puritan party employed their authority in proscribing all diversions, . . . they rendered their own yoke intolerable to the youthful and gay; nor did any other cause, perhaps, so materially contribute to bring about the restoration. But mankind love sport as little as prayer by compulsion."²⁵

The Puritans refused to read the declaration in the pulpits, and the "Book of Sports" gave only additional grounds for Puritan emigration. As early as 1607 various Puritans fled to Holland, and transplanted this new Sunday theory to the Continent. It was first published there in two works on ethics, by Udemann of Zurich, in 1612, and Teeling of Holland, in 1617. This caused a similar

²³ Cox, *Sab. Lit.*, I, 444-447.

²⁴ Quoted, Cox, *Sab. Laws*, 145.

²⁵ *Cons. Hist. of England*, I, 476, sixth edition.

controversy to spring up in Holland, which was to be settled at the most important Reformed council ever held, at Dort. From Nov. 13, 1618, until May 19, 1619, the leading Reformed divines from different parts of Europe wrestled with the knotty question of predestination. But the rôle the Sunday question played, and the attitude of some English and Continental divines toward it, is very significant: —

"Complaints were made by the English at the fourteenth session, about the profanation of the Lord's day by gaming, etc.; and they recommended an application to the civil magistrate to bring the people to the afternoon service, 'in order to have them keep the whole Sabbath as they ought.' Then 'they (the synod) prayed the foreign divines to acquaint them with their customs with respect to this matter; whereupon the English bishop [Carlton, of Llandaff] told them first, that in his country the civil magistrate set a fine or pecuniary penalty upon those who forbore coming to divine service, according to their duty; *and such a fine wrought much more on the people than any of the most pious exhortations.*"²⁸

"Those of the Palsgrave's Country showed that each Sunday they had two sermons, and such as were absent were first admonished by the clergy; and if this sufficed not, they required the help of the civil magistrate."²⁹

"At the one hundred forty-eighth session they [the English divines] likewise took notice of the great scandal which the neglect of the Lord's day at Dort gave them, exhorting the synod to interpose with the magistrates for preventing the opening of shops and the exercise of trade on Sundays. Upon this occasion one of the inland divines brought upon the stage the question about the observation of that day; but this point was reserved among the *gravamina* [grievances],

²⁸ Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation, London, 1722, 3. pp. 28, 29.

²⁹ Jno. Hales, "Golden Remains," London, 1673, p. 5.

to be discussed by the Dutch clergy only, after the departure of the foreigners."²⁸

"After the departure of the foreigners from Dort, the Dutch divines held twenty-six sessions more, in order to finish those matters which they had reserved to themselves, or which were particularly referred to them."

"On the sixteenth of May, 162d session, afternoon, it was resolved that the churches shall solemnize or keep, together with the Lord's day, likewise Christmas day, Easter, and Whitsunday, and the day immediately following each of the said festivals. And . . . the ministers of all those places where the said days are not as yet observed, shall use their endeavors with the civil powers to bring them all to an exact uniformity."

"And on the seventh of May, 163d session, morning, it was resolved to apply to their High Mightinesses the States General, to obviate and restrain, by new ordinances and strict placards, the manifold profanations of the sabbath, which increased more and more, and spread themselves over all these provinces."

"Upon the occasion of this resolution, there arose some debates in the synod, about the question of the necessity of the observation of the Lord's day. This question had already been started and canvassed in some of the churches of Zealand. And now the professors of divinity . . . desired . . . to consider whether there might not be some general regulations thought of, and drawn up by common consent, within the limits of which both parties might rest contented till the new national synod should take further cognizance of the matter."²⁹

A commission, consisting of Professors Gomarus, Walaeus, Thysius, and Festus Hommius, was chosen, who prepared the following six articles of peace:—

1. In the fourth commandment of the law of God, there is something ceremonial, and something moral.
2. The resting upon the seventh day after the creation,

²⁸ Brandt, 3, 290.

²⁹ Id., 3, p. 312.

and the strict observation of it, which was particularly imposed upon the Jewish people, was the ceremonial part of that law.

3. But the moral part is, that a certain day be fixed and appropriated to the service of God, and as much rest as is necessary to that service and the holy meditation upon him.

4. The Jewish sabbath being abolished, Christians are obliged solemnly to keep holy the Lord's day.

5. This day has ever been observed by the ancient Catholic Church, from the time of the apostles.

6. This day ought to be appropriated to religion in such a manner as that we should abstain from all servile works at that time, excepting those of charity and necessity; as likewise from all such diversions as are contrary to religion.

Though the Reformed divines at Dort disagreed and were divided on predestination; though the Continentals retained the holy days; though there was a disagreement as to the nature of the Sunday institution, and even as to the manner of its observance; yet there was one thing in which they did agree, the necessity of more Sunday legislation to force church attendance. Not only was the magistrate's help required to force church attendance on Sunday in the palsgrave's country, but even while the Reformers were alive, the Protestant states meddled with purely religious questions to such an extent that at Stuttgart (1536) any not attending the sermon on Sunday and holidays "were to be fined with money or else imprisonment in the tower."³⁰ This synod at Dort accepted the Heidelberg catechism as its standard. Hengstenberg at

³⁰ Bezold, *Geschichte der deutschen Reformation*, p. 660.

tests that this synod attempted to put an end to the Sunday controversy by stifling the discussion and by suppressing all that had been said about Sunday in the reprint of their minutes.³¹ But instead of the articles even giving satisfaction for any length of time, the controversy was renewed with greater warmth than ever. It spread through all the academies of Holland, and especially at Leyden, until the states general issued (Aug. 7, 1659) an edict, *prohibiting any further discussion*, and referring to the six articles as final.

Here we pause to follow the Pilgrim Fathers on their long voyage to New England. The Puritans, bound to establish their theocracy, and discovering that in Holland they could not be a law unto all others, in 1620 departed for the New World, where they realized their ideal, and set up a theocracy in several colonies. In New Haven, Connecticut, and Massachusetts the Bible was adopted as a code of laws; heresy was punished with fines, banishment, and in "obstinate cases" even with death. The "blue-laws," drawn up in 1656 by Governor Eaton, declared: "28. Whosoever shall profane the Lord's day, or any part of it, by work or sport, shall be punished by fine, or corporally. But if the court, by clear evidence, find that the sin was *proudly, presumptuously*, and even with a *high hand*, committed against the command and authority of the blessed God, such person therein despising and reproaching the Lord shall be put

³¹ Lord's Day, p. 69.

to death. Num. 15:30-36."²² Drs. Hessey and Cox mention some other ordinances: "Not to run on the Sabbath day or walk in the garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting," — precisely the same as we found in the Scotch laws.

Some question these laws, and quote one of 1773 instead; but even that law covers nearly four pages of fine type in Dr. W. F. Crafts's book, and a few samples will suffice: For neglect of attending worship, ten shillings' fine; the same for work, "game, sport, play, or recreation on the Lord's day or a day of public fasting or thanksgiving." For rude behavior, "shouting, hallooing, screaming, running, riding, dancing, jumping, forty shillings." For traveling on that day, twenty shillings. For leaving home, to go to any other place than to church, five shillings. For meeting in companies on the streets, three shillings or to sit in the stocks not to exceed two hours. That "the grand jurymen and the said tithing-men and constables of each town shall carefully inspect the behavior of all persons on the sabbath, or Lord's day, . . . to restrain all persons from unnecessarily walking in the streets or fields, swimming in the water, keeping open their shops, or following their secular occasions or recreations in the evening preceding the Lord's day, or on said day or evening following."²³

The theocracy of Constantine and of the Papacy

²² Hessey, Bampton Lectures, pp. 370-372.

²³ "Sabbath for Man," pp. 560-564.

found a fair rival in that of the Puritans. The tyranny they feared under the "Book of Sports," was exercised upon their own members to such an extent that a sturdy Puritan, W. Blackstone, protested: "I came from England because I did not like the lord bishops; and I can not join you, because I would not be under the lord brethren."

Again reverting our attention to England: Charles I reissued (Oct. 18, 1633) the "Book of Sports." The Puritans, gaining political ascendancy, soon retaliated. J. Pocklington, D. D., published his sermon, "Sunday No Sabbath" (London, 1636), and it was eagerly bought, especially by students. The long Parliament, beginning Nov. 3, 1640, ordered it "to be publicly burnt by the common executioner in both the universities and in the city of London."³⁴ The author lost all his offices, and only his death (1642) prevented their fury.

Also as a fair sample of Puritan literature, we refer to the following, which appeared in 1636: "A Divine Tragedy Lately Acted: or a Collection of Sundry Memorable Examples of God's Judgments upon Sabbath-breakers and Other Like Libertines, in Their Unlawful Sports." The instances quoted compare favorably with some of Gregory of Tours, all things considered.³⁵

With the reign of the Puritans, the time had now come for Dr. Bownd's theory to be formulated by the Westminster divines in the statements made in their "Confession of Faith," and in their "Larger"

³⁴ Cox, *Sab. Lit.*, 1, 187.

³⁵ *Id.*, pp. 187, 188.

and "Shorter" catechisms. Two divines, Cawdrey and Palmer, vindicated it in elaborate works published in 1645 and 1652. The animus of that assembly is characterized by the following ordinance, passed April 6, 1644, and entitled "Restraint of Several Evils on the Lord's Day:"—

"Forasmuch as the Lord's day, notwithstanding several good laws heretofore made, hath been not only greatly profaned, but divers ungodly books have been published by the prelatical faction against the morality of that day, and to countenance the profanation of the same, to the manifest endangering of souls, prejudice of the true religion, great dishonor of Almighty God, and provocation of his just wrath and indignation against this land; the lords and commons, for remedy thereof, do order and ordain" that merchandise offered for sale on the Lord's day shall be forfeited, fine of ten shillings for unnecessary traveling, and five shillings for any worldly labor or work, and for all sports. "And it is further ordained . . . that . . . the book intituled 'The King's Majesty's Declaration to His Subjects Concerning Lawful Sports to Be Used,' and all other books and pamphlets that have been or shall be written, printed, or published against the morality of the fourth commandment or of the Lord's day, or to countenance the profanation thereof, be called in, seized, suppressed, and publicly burned by the justices of peace. . . . Further ordained that this ordinance be printed and published, and read in all parish churches and chapels."³⁶ "May 5, 1644, the book tolerating sport upon the Lord's day was burned by the hand of the common hangman in Cheapside and other usual places."³⁷

Archbishop Laud, who was considered the main instigator in having Charles I reissue the "Book of Sports," was beheaded in 1645, and its author, Charles I, in 1649.

³⁶ Cox, *Sab. Lit.*, 1, 453, 454.

³⁷ Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, 1822, 3, 36.

The following from the "Sabbath Theses," by Th. Shepard, a New England pastor, who emigrated about 1634, gives us an insight into the way in which they viewed the attitude of the Reformers as compared with their own:—

"The Day-star from on high visiting the first Reformers in Germany enabled them to see many things, and so to scatter much, yea, most, of the popish and horrible darkness which generally overspread the face of all Europe at that day; but divers of them did not (as well they might not) see all things with the like clearness, whereof this of the Sabbath hath seemed to be one. Their chief difficulty lay here: they saw a moral command for a seventh day, and yet withal a change of that first seventh day, and hence thought that something in it was moral in respect of the command, and yet something ceremonial, because of the change; and therefore they issued their thoughts here, that it was partly moral and partly ceremonial, and hence their observation of the day hath been (answerable to their judgments) more lax and loose; . . . therefore, though posterity hath cause forever to admire God's goodness for that abundance of light and life poured out by those vessels of glory in the first beginnings of reformation, yet in this narrow view of the Sabbath it is no wonder if they stepped a little beside the truth. . . . But why the Lord Christ should keep his servants in England and Scotland to clear up and vindicate this point of the Sabbath, and welcome it with more love than some precious ones in foreign churches, no man can imagine any other cause than God's own free grace and tender love, whose wind blows where and when it will." ³⁸

During this time the assembly of divines busied themselves with the formation of the Westminster Confession. A further instance of the intolerant spirit prevailing among these divines is that when

³⁸ Cox, Sab. Lit., 1, 249, 250.

they learned of their army's defeat, one of the causes ascribed for it in their session of Sept. 10, 1644, was their remissness in "suppressing Anabaptists and Antinomians." And a Scotch divine, Gillespie, argued in his sermon of Aug. 27, 1645, that liberty of conscience never ought to be granted in religious matters.³⁹

The most noise and disturbance were caused, however, on June 8, 1647, when Christmas, Easter, etc., ceased to be festivals. Instead of them, and on account of their stringent sabbath laws, every second Tuesday in each month was allotted for scholars, apprentices, and other servants as a time of recreation.⁴⁰

There was a long debate as to the title of Sunday. Parliament caused the divines a great deal of trouble by demanding that Bible texts be appended to all their articles. But finally the following article was passed, being chapter 21, section 7:—

"As it is the law of nature, that, in general, a due proportion of time be set apart for the worship of God; so in his Word, by a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment, binding all men in all ages, he hath particularly appointed one day in seven for a Sabbath, to be kept holy unto him,* which from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week; and from the resurrection of Christ, was changed into the first day of the week,† which in Scripture is called the Lord's day,‖ and is to be continued to the end of the world as the Christian sabbath.¶"

*Ex. 20:8, 10, 11; Isa. 56:2, 4, 6, 7. †Gen. 2:2, 3; 1 Cor. 16:1, 2; Acts 20:7. ‖Rev. 1:10. ¶Ex. 20:8, 10; with Matt. 5:17, 18.

³⁹ Cox, Sab. Laws, pp. 150, 151.

⁴⁰ Id., 332.

This confession was approved (A. D. 1647) by the general assembly of the kirk, and ratified by the Scottish acts of parliament in 1649 and 1690. Yet as late as 1705 this same assembly passed an act against the profanation of the Lord's day "by multitudes of people walking idly upon the streets of . . . Edinburgh, . . . and *because the concurrence and assistance of the civil government will be absolutely necessary for the better curbing and restraining this crying sin.*"⁴¹

As to the Westminster Confession, the Methodists adopted it, as well as some of the Baptists, etc.; but after having seen how the Sunday was *not* worked into the English-speaking flesh and blood, even by all the laws until 1705, we will let Dr. Schaff speak of the extent of this new theory:—

"The Anglo-American theory of the Lord's day, which is based on the perpetual essential obligation of the fourth commandment, as a part of the moral law to be observed with Christian freedom in the light of Christ's resurrection, is of Puritan origin at the close of the sixteenth century, and was first symbolically sanctioned by the Westminster standards in 1647, but has worked itself into the flesh and blood of all English-speaking Christendom."⁴²

Returning to the Continent, we find that even the edict of 1689 could not prevent a new outbreak of the controversy. This time the professors of Groningen and Utrecht were the chief participators. Finally, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, matters ended by nearly all the Reformed bodies

⁴¹ Cox, *Sab. Laws*, p. 339.

⁴² *The German Reformation*, 2, par. 81, pp. 493, 494.

on the Continent acquiescing in the purely ecclesiastical view. Gradually this theory also gained ground in Germany, but Fecht, of Rostock (1688), refuted it, and the general superintendent Schwartz denounced it as "false doctrine, and to be fraught with evil consequences to the land." However, it found able defenders in Stryk and Buddaeus, and, also in a certain sense, in Spener, who founded the German pietists (1680). Spener rested the perpetuity of the Sabbath law on the blessing experienced, which Dr. Chalmers long afterward thus expressed: "That, while a day of unmeaning drudgery to the formalist, it is, to every real Christian, a day of holy and heavenly delight,—that he loves the law, and so has it graven on the tablet of his heart, with a power of sovereignty over his actions, which it never had when it was only engraven on a tablet of stone, or on the tablet of an outward revelation,—that, wherever there is a true principle of religion, the consecration of the Sabbath is felt, not as a bondage, but is felt to be the very beatitude of the soul."⁴⁸ In the light of this statement, true Sabbath-keeping is the work of God's law and Spirit, and not of civil or ecclesiastical legislation. After all this heated controversy, lasting over two centuries, and extending even across the waters, Mosheim, taking neither side, tried to find a golden medium of his own invention, and like hundreds of his predecessors, he failed.

Protestantism at the end of the eighteenth cen-

⁴⁸ Hessey, Bampton Lectures, p. 179.

ture finds itself divided into three large hostile camps,—the Continental, English-American, and the Gnostic,—one advocating the Sunday festival of the Reformers, another the Christian sabbath of the Puritans, and the third the mystic day of the Gnostics; but all crying for civil aid to stay up the human ordinance of the Papacy.

Most forcibly did old Cotton Mather observe:—

“The reforming churches, flying from Rome, carried some of them more, some of them less, all of them something, of Rome with them; especially that spirit of imposition and persecution which has too much cleaved unto them all.”⁴⁴

One sacred treasure which they all carried with them as they left their mother church, Babylon the Great, is the ancient festival of the sun. She had crushed the Sabbath of the Lord from her communion, and, having adopted the venerable day of the sun, she had, by virtue of a new law invented by her sophistry, changed this day into the Lord’s day of the Roman Church, as a signal mark of her authority over the Bible. The Reformed churches, flying from her communion, while at first protesting against her sophistry and power, still carried this unscriptural festival with them. However, by employing the same sophistry and by the use of similar pretenses later on, they were finally able to justify the observance of this Lord’s day of the Roman Church by virtue of the Sabbath commandment of the Bible, as the veritable Sabbath of the Bible, yea, as “the Christian sabbath,” and to

⁴⁴ Backus, *Hist. of New England*, 1871, I, 49.

enforce its observance by the arm of flesh. As the seamless coat of Jesus, the Lord of the Sabbath, was torn from him before he was nailed to the cross, so was the fourth commandment torn from the rest day of the Lord, around which it was placed by the great Lawgiver, and given to this papal Lord's day; and this Barabbas, the robber, thus arrayed in the stolen fourth commandment, challenged from that time onward, with astonishing success, the obedience of the world as the divinely appointed Sabbath of the most high God.



CHAPTER XXVII

THE SABBATH FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Sabbath observance the logical result — Traske — Brabourne — Spread of Sabbatarians — The Stennet family — John James's martyrdom — Bampfield — Status of English Seventh-day Baptists — Causes for decline — Mumford in New England — First Seventh-day Baptist church at Newport — Seventh-day Baptist General Conference — Israelites and Abrahamites — Sabbath suppressed in Transylvania — Russian Subotniki — Rabinowitch and his work — Tennhardt — His writings and labors — Count Zinzendorf a Sabbath-keeper — Blessed Sabbaths at Bethlehem — Konrad Beissel — Harmony between law and gospel — A new world provided for the Sabbath seed.

THE Edenic memorial of the creation of all things through Christ has not lacked faithful witnesses even in the darkest days of apostasy. Although the Reformers missed the priceless gem among the rubbish of man-made rest days; although the Puritans tried even to place a counterfeit sabbath in the divine setting of the ten commandments, yet the true Israel, having the ten words written in their hearts by the Holy Spirit, held forth the true Sabbath to the gaze of honest souls, radiant with the luster of God's own Word. Thus it was from the beginning, and so it was in England from the sixteenth century onward, as Chambers's Cyclopaedia attests: —

"In the reign of Elizabeth, it occurred to many conscientious and independent thinkers (as it had previously done to some Protestants in Bohemia) that the fourth commandment required of them the observance, not of the first, but of the specified *seventh* day of the week, and a strict bodily rest, as a service then due to God; while others, though con-

vinced that the day had been altered by divine authority, took up the same opinion as to the Scriptural obligation to refrain from work. The former class became numerous enough to make a considerable figure for more than a century in England, under the title of 'Sabbatarians'—a word now exchanged for the less ambiguous appellation of 'Seventh-day Baptists.'"¹

Papists had boldly challenged the Reformers: "If you turn from the church to the Scriptures, then you must keep the Sabbath with the Jews, which had been kept from the beginning of the world." Luther realized that if any one defended the morality and perpetuity of the ten commandments, "Sunday would have to give way, and the Sabbath must be kept holy."

The learned Bishop Prideaux, in his discourse at the Oxford University (1622), quoted with approval this statement from John Barklay:—

"If they [the Puritans] observe it as a sabbath, they must observe it because God rested on that day; and then they ought to keep that day whereon God rested, and not the first, as now they do, whereon the Lord began his labors."²

And even Charles I queried of the Parliament commissioners (April 23, 1647):—

"I desire to be resolved of this question, Why the new Reformers discharge the keeping of Easter? My reason for this query is, I conceive the celebration of this feast was instituted by the same authority which changed the Jewish sabbath into the Lord's day, or Sunday, for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the church's authority that changed the one and instituted the other;

¹ Chambers's Cyclopaedia, article, "Sabbath." vol. 8, p. 402, 1867.

² Cox, Sab. Lit., I, 165.

therefore my opinion is, that those who will not keep this feast may as well return to the observation of Saturday, and refuse the weekly Sunday. When anybody can show me that herein I am in error, I shall not be ashamed to confess and amend it; till when you know my mind."³

Thorndike, in his "Principles of Christian Truth," thus states the case:—

"Surely those simple people who of late times have taken upon them to keep the Saturday (though it were in truth and effect no less than the renouncing of their Christianity), did not more than pursue the grounds which their predecessors had laid, and draw the conclusion which necessarily follows upon the premises, that if the fourth commandment be in force, then either the Saturday is to be kept, or the Jews were never tied to keep it."⁴

And yet when some drew the only logical conclusion from this controversy between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, they were regarded as heretics by both parties. Bishop Cox says of John Traske:—

"This writer is mentioned by Heylin (part 2, chap. 8, par. 10) as one who, following the Sabbatarian principles of the Puritans to their legitimate consequences, 'endeavored to bring back again the Jewish sabbath, as that which is expressly mentioned in the fourth commandment, and abrogate the Lord's day altogether, as having no foundation in it, nor warrant by it. . . . For which his Jewish doctrines having received his censure in the Star Chamber, anno 1618, he was set on the pillory at Westminster, and thence whipped to the Fleet, and there put in prison, and about three years after wrote a recantation of all his former heresies and schismatical opinions.'"⁵

³ Cox, *Sabbath Laws*, p. 333, from *Relig. Car.*, p. 370.

⁴ *Works*, Oxford edition, 2, 416.

⁵ Cox, *Sab. Lit.*, 1, 152, 15.

It was when Traske was before the Star Chamber that Bishop Andrews first brought forward that now-famous First-day argument, that the early martyrs were tested by the question, "Hast thou kept the Lord's day?" Though the misery of the prison broke his spirit, his good wife, who had been a school-teacher of superior excellence, persevered. Pagitt says that she was particularly careful in her dealings with the poor, knowing that she would have to give an account for it, and then continues:—

"Therefore she resolved to go by the safest rule, rather against than for her private interest. . . . She was a woman endued with many particular virtues, well worthy the imitation of all Christians, had no error in other things, especially a spirit of strange unparalleled opinionativeness and obstinacy in her private conceits. . . . At last for teaching only five days in the week, and resting upon Saturday, it being known upon what account she did it, she was carried to the new prison in Maiden Lane, a place then appointed for the restraint of several other persons of different opinions from the Church of England. . . .

"Mrs. Traske lay fifteen or sixteen years a prisoner for her opinion about the Saturday Sabbath; in all which time she would receive no relief from anybody, notwithstanding she wanted much, alleging that it was written, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.' Neither would she borrow, because it was written, 'Thou shalt lend to many nations, and shalt not borrow.' So she deemed it a dishonor to her Head, Christ, either to beg or borrow. Her diet for the most part during her imprisonment, that is, till a little before her death, was bread and water, roots and herbs; no flesh nor wine, nor brewed drink. All her means was an annuity of forty shillings a year; what she lacked more to live upon she had of such prisoners as did employ her sometimes to do business for them." ⁶

⁶ Pagitt's *Heresiography*, pp. 196-210, London, 1661.

But the chain of God's witnesses is always preserved by the addition of new links, although a voice may be silenced in prison, or some may recant. A more ready pen was that of Theophilus Brabourne, a minister of the established church, at Norfolk. Of his book and person, Bishop Cox gives this full information: —

"Brabourne, T. . . . A Discourse Upon the Sabbath Day; wherein are handled these particulars ensuing: 1. That the Lord's day is not Sabbath day by divine institution. 2. An exposition of the fourth commandment, so far forth as may give light unto the ensuing discourse; and particularly here it is shown at what time the Sabbath day would begin and end, for the satisfaction of those who are doubtful on this point. 3. That the seventh-day Sabbath is not abolished. 4. That the seventh-day Sabbath is now still in force. 5. The author's exhortation and reasons, that nevertheless there be no rent from our church as touching practise (A. D. 1628). Page 238."

"Brabourne is a much abler writer than Traske, and may be regarded as the founder in England of the sect at first known as Sabbatarians, but now calling themselves Seventh-day Baptists. This sect arose in Germany in the sixteenth century. . . .

"The argument for the observance of the Lord's day from the practise of the apostles is thus handled by Brabourne: 'Now touching the constant practise of the apostles alleged: I deny it; . . . where can it be shown that Peter ever preached twice in all his life, or Paul, . . . on the Lord's day? Or let them put all the apostles together, and where is it found that amongst them all they ever at any time preached two Lord's days immediately and successively, one next following the other together?' . . . He even turns the argument against its employers: 'Whereas they build upon the practise of the apostles' preaching, so as on what day they preached constantly, that day must needs be a sabbath; why then, if this argument be a good one, Saturday, the Lord's Sabbath

on the seventh day, must needs be our Sabbath; for the apostles after Christ's resurrection did constantly preach upon the Sabbath day, which was the day before the Lord's day: see for the truth hereof these texts: Acts 13: 14, 42, 44; 16: 13; 17: 2; 18: 4.'—*Pages 33-36.* . . .

"And now let me propound unto your choice these two days: the Sabbath day on Saturday, or the Lord's day on Sunday. . . . If you keep the Lord's day, but profane the Sabbath day, you walk in great danger and peril (to say the least) of transgressing one of God's eternal and inviolable laws, the fourth commandment; but on the other side, if you keep the Sabbath day, though you profane the Lord's day, you are out of all gunshot and danger, for so you transgress no law at all, since Christ nor his apostles did ever leave any law for it.'—*Page 220.*"¹

Cox adds that the book is very poorly printed. Brabourne's apology is, that by reason of some troubles raised up against himself and his book, he had to leave, and peruse and correct his proofs away from the press. It is noticeable that Bishop Cox recognizes the link between the Sabbatarians springing up on the Continent the previous century and those who arose in England. Soon afterward, Brabourne must have written his *Defense*, the second edition of which appeared in 1632, according to Cox:—

"A Defense of that most ancient and sacred ordinance of God's, the Sabbath day. . . . Undertaken against all anti-Sabbatarians, both of Protestants, papists, antinomians, and Anabaptists.' . . .—*Second edition, 1632, page 633.*"

"For maintaining, on the ground of the morality of the Sabbath, and the want of divine authority for transferring it to Sunday, that the seventh day of the week, not the first, ought to be kept holy, and for his boldness in dedicating so

¹ Cox, *Sab. Lit.*, 1, pp. 157, 158.

heretical a work as this Defense to Charles I, Brabourne was summoned before the high commission, 'whose well tempered severity,' says Fuller, 'herein so prevailed upon him, that, submitting himself to a private conference, and perceiving the unsoundness of his own principles, he became a convert, conforming himself quietly to the Church of England. His followers, however, did not all accompany him back to orthodoxy.'"⁸

In his Defense (page 1), he remarked: "I am tied in conscience, rather to depart with my life than with his truth; so captivated is my conscience and enthralled to the law of my God." Davis writes: "For some reason, it is not possible to ascertain distinctly what, though probably overawed by the character of the assembly, he signed a recantation. . . . Nevertheless, he continued to assert that if the Sabbatic institution be indeed moral and perpetually binding, the seventh day ought to be sacredly kept."⁹ That this is so, we find from the following notice of another book of his:—

"Brabourne, T.—An Answer to Two Books on the Sabbath: the one by Mr. Ives, entitled, 'Saturday No Sabbath Day;' the other by Mr. Warren, 'The Jews' Sabbath Antiquated.' London, 1659."¹⁰

That Brabourne, as Gilfillan claims, finally kept no day, proves that although he failed to continue to keep the seventh day amid the trial of persecution, yet he remained firmly settled to the end, that if any day should be kept, it must be the Sab-

⁸ Cox, Sab. Lit., 1, 162.

⁹ History of the Sabbath Churches, p. 127.

¹⁰ Cox, Sab. Lit., 2, 6.

bath, and not Sunday. And no meaner man than the great poet Milton also arrived at that conclusion. He says, in a manuscript which Elzevir, of Amsterdam, feared to print:—

“For if we under the gospel are to regulate the time of our public worship by the prescriptions of the decalogue, it will surely be far safer to observe the seventh day, according to express commandment of God, than on the authority of mere human conjecture to adopt the first.”¹¹

Fallible though Brabourne was in putting his trust in princes, and weak when his expectations failed, yet Charles I charged two of his most able men to refute the whole Sabbatarian controversy: Dr. Heylin, of Westminster, and Bishop T. White, of Ely. That Brabourne partly occasioned this action, Mr. White thus attests:—

“Now because this Brabourne’s treatise of the Sabbath was dedicated to his Royal Majesty, and the principles upon which he grounded all his arguments (being commonly preached, printed, and believed throughout the kingdom) might have poisoned and infected many people either with this Sabbatarian error or with some other of like quality; it was the king, our gracious master, his will and pleasure, that a treatise should be set forth to prevent further mischief, and to settle his good subjects (who have long time been distracted about Sabbatarian questions) in the old and good way of the ancient and orthodoxical Catholic Church. Now that which his sacred Majesty commanded, I have by your Grace’s [Archbishop Laud] direction obediently performed.”¹²

Bishop White defends Sunday simply as a church ordinance. To the soundness of Brabourne’s argu-

¹¹ Cox, *Sab. Lit.*, 2, 46–54.

¹² *A Treatise of the Sabbath Day*, London, 1635, p. 311.

ments against the Puritans, he pays this compliment:—

“Maintaining your own principles, that the fourth commandment is purely and simply moral and of the law of nature, it will be impossible for you, either in English or Latin, to solve Theophilus Brabourne’s objections.”¹³

As to the indefinite time theory, his book contains this pithy notice:—

“Because an indefinite time must either bind to all moments of time, as a debt, when the day of payment is not expressly dated, is liable to payment every moment, or else it binds to no time at all.”¹⁴

Utter, in his *Manual of Seventh-day Baptists*, mentions a number of other Sabbath-keepers of that time as follows:—

“About this time, Philip Tandy began to promulgate in the northern part of England the same doctrine concerning the Sabbath. He was educated in the established church, of which he became a minister. Having changed his views respecting the mode of baptism and the day of the Sabbath, he abandoned that church, and ‘became a mark for many shots.’ He held several public disputes about his peculiar sentiments, and did much to propagate them.”¹⁵

By this time the controversy about calling Sunday “Sabbath” was at its height. Brabourne had, in his *Defense* (page 53), rightly complained that “by translating the name *Sabbath* from Saturday to Sunday, the common people, when they read in the Scriptures anything of note touching the Sabbath day, presently catch that in their mind upon

¹³ A Treatise of the Sabbath Day, p. 110.

¹⁴ Id., p. 73.

¹⁵ Id., pp. 19, 20.

the Lord's day, thinking it to be meant of that." Dr. Pocklington's book, following in the wake of Brabourne's, was burned in 1640. Archbishop Usher, who assisted J. Ley with his book, "Sunday a Sabbath" (A. D. 1641), charged Brabourne with having given "occasion to the raising up of these unhappy broils."¹⁶ Then in 1642 the true Sabbath found a new vindication: —

"Ockford, James.— The Doctrine of the Fourth Commandment. 1642. This book, written by a follower of Brabourne, is said by Cawdrey and Palmer, in their *Sabbatum Redivivum*, to have been 'confuted by fire, being adjudged to be burned.' (Vol. 2, p. 427.) He is answered by them in the same volume."¹⁷

The Puritans, then being in power, burned Ockford's book. But then a pithy writer, E. Fisher, published his "Christian Caveat" against the Puritans, of whom he affirms that "because they are neither able to produce direct Scripture nor solid reason for what they say, they labor to support their conceits by fallacies, falsities, and wresting of God's Holy Word." By 1653 five editions had appeared.

But though the Puritans had no better arguments than to burn the books defending the Word of God and the logical conclusion of their own premises, yet God provided stronger witnesses.

That the Sabbatarians were then a distinct body, and that they had been such for some time previously to 1654, is seen from the fact that there were

¹⁶ Cox, Sab. Lit., I, 200.

¹⁷ Id., I, 226

then about one hundred fifty adherents belonging to several groups in London. The Mill Yard Seventh-day Baptist organization exists in London to this day, and its records go back to 1673, when they had seventy members. Dr. Peter Chamberlain, who came from a long line of French Huguenot physicians, and had been physician in ordinary to three kings and queens of England before he joined the Sabbatarians, preached in Mill Yard Church as early as 1652; John James, about 1653; and William Sellers, 1657.¹⁸

In 1658 Thomas Tillam was minister of the Seventh-day Baptist church at Colchester, and published a book, "The Seventh-day Sabbath Sought Out and Celebrated."¹⁹

The next book, Cox mentions:—

"Stennet, Edward, *an English dissenting minister*.—The royal law contended for: or, some brief grounds serving to prove that the ten commandments are yet in full force, and shall so remain till heaven and earth pass away; also, the Seventh-day Sabbath proved from the beginning, from the law, from the prophets, from Christ and his apostles, to be a duty yet incumbent upon saints and sinners. London, 1658."²⁰

"Stennet, Edward.—The Seventh Day Is the Sabbath of the Lord. 1664."²¹ The author was born in the beginning of the century. He was an able minister of the established church, but on account of his dissent, he was deprived of his living. He

¹⁸ "Sabbath Observer," London, 1907.

¹⁹ Cox, Sab. Lit., 2, 447.

²⁰ Id., 1, 267.

²¹ Id., 2, 10.

then studied medicine, by the practise of which he could give his sons a liberal education and support himself. He had to suffer for his adherence to the Sabbath, experiencing much from those in power, by whom he was kept in prison for a long time. He wrote other treatises, now extinct, which all breathed the genuine spirit of Christianity. The Stennet family supplied able ministers to the Sabbath cause for four generations.

What strength the Sabbatarians had attained in England, and that their doctrines had already spread to America, is proved from Stennet's letters, dated Abingdon, Berkshire, 1668 and 1670: To "the remnant in Rhode Island who keep the commandments of God and the testimonies of Jesus." "Here in England are about nine or ten churches that keep the Sabbath, besides many scattered disciples, who have been eminently preserved in this tottering day, when many once-eminant churches have been shattered in pieces. The Lord alone be exalted."²²

In 1671 Wm. Sellers wrote a treatise: "An Examination of a Late Book Published by Dr. Owen, Concerning a Sacred Day of Rest." Cox adds:—

"In opposition to the opinion that *some one day in seven* is all that the fourth commandment requires to be set apart, the writer maintains the obligation of the Saturday Sabbath on the ground that 'God himself directly in the letter of the text calls the seventh day the Sabbath day, giving both the names to one and the selfsame day, as all men know that ever read the commandments.'"²³

²² Cox, Sab. Lit., 1, 268.

²³ Id., 2, 35.

The same Sellers, minister at Mill Yard, published "An Appeal to the Consciences of the Chief Magistrates Touching the Sabbath Day," as early as 1657, and a larger edition in 1679.

But as the Seventh-day Baptists increased in numbers, the enemy of the truth increased in fury. Dr. Cramp thus bears testimony:—

"The execution of John James was a horrible illustration of royal malice. John James was a Sabbatarian Baptist. His meeting-house was in Bullstrake Alley, Whitechapel, London. On the nineteenth of October, 1661, he was dragged from his pulpit and committed to Newgate, on the charge of uttering treasonable words against the king. The principal witness against him was one Tipler, a journeyman pipe-maker, a man whose character was so well known that the magistrate before whom Mr. James was taken, refused to receive his deposition, unless some other witness would corroborate it. Others were found who confirmed Tipler's testimony, but one of them afterwards confessed that 'he had sworn against Mr. James he knew not what.' In fact, there can be little doubt that the witnesses were suborned, probably bribed, to commit perjury. There is the more reason to believe this, because when the lieutenant of the Tower read the information laid against Mr. James in the presence of his congregation, and asked them how they could hear such doctrines, they all replied 'that they never heard such words, as they shall answer it before the Lord, and they durst not lie.' But the death of the victim was predetermined. It was no difficult matter to procure a verdict against him. He was tried and convicted on the nineteenth of November, and sentenced the next day to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

"So flagrant was the injustice that his wife was advised by her friends to present a petition to the king for his life, setting forth the facts which I have mentioned, and entreating his majesty's interposition. But they had miscalculated. Charles treated the heart-broken woman with gross brutality.

With some difficulty she met the king, and presented him with the paper, acquainting him who she was; to whom he held up his finger, and said, 'Oh! Mr. James—he is a sweet gentleman;' but following him for some further answer, the door was shut against her. The next morning she attended again, and an opportunity soon presenting, she implored his majesty's answer to her request, who then replied, 'He is a rogue, and should be hanged.' One of the lords attending him asked her of whom she spake. The king answered, 'Of John James, that rogue; he shall be hanged; yea, he shall be hanged.'"

"On the twenty-sixth of November, Mr. James was dragged on a hurdle, after the manner of traitors, from Newgate to Tyburn, the place of execution. His behavior under those awful circumstances was dignified and Christian. In his address to the multitude, referring to his denominational sentiments, he said, 'I do own the title of a baptized believer. I own the ordinances and appointments of Jesus Christ. I own all the principles in Heb. 6: 1, 2.' He charged his friends to continue their religious assemblies, at all risk. His closing exhortations were remarkably solemn and impressive, reminding the people of the days of the old martyrs. 'This is a happy day,' said one of his friends. 'I bless the Lord,' he replied, 'it is so.' When all was ready, he lifted up his hands, and exclaimed, with a loud voice, 'Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit.' So he died. His quarters were placed over the city gates, and his head was set upon a pole, opposite the meeting-house in which he had preached the gospel." ²⁴

Utter adds a few other details:—

"As he was asked what he had to say, why he ought not to be condemned, he said he would refer them to the following texts for consideration: Jer. 26: 14, 15; Psalms 116." "He was, however, sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. This awful sentence did not dismay him in the least. He calmly said, 'Blessed be God; whom man condemneth,

²⁴ Hist. of the Baptists, pp. 312-315.

God justifieth.' While he lay in prison, under sentence of death, many persons of distinction visited him, who were greatly affected by his piety and resignation." "Having finished his address, and kneeling down, he thanked God for covenant mercies and for conscious innocence; he prayed for the witnesses against him, for the executioner, for the people of God, for the removal of divisions, for the coming of Christ, for the spectators, and for himself, that he might enjoy a sense of God's favor and presence, and an entrance into glory." "After he was dead, his heart was taken out and burned, his quarters were affixed to the gates of the city, and his head was set up in Whitechapel on a pole opposite to the alley in which his meeting-house stood."²⁵

Such was the experience of an English Sabbath-keeper in the seventeenth century. It cost something to obey the fourth commandment in such times as those.

One of the most eminent Sabbatarian ministers of the last half of the seventeenth century was Francis Bampfield. He was originally a clergyman of the Church of England. The following extracts testify of his sufferings and earnestness:—

"But being utterly unsatisfied in his conscience with the conditions of conformity, he took his leave of his sorrowful and weeping congregation in 1662.

"After the act of uniformity, he continued preaching as he had opportunity in private, till he was imprisoned for five days and nights with twenty-five of his hearers, in one room, . . . where they spent their time in religious exercises; but after some time he was released. Soon after, he was apprehended again, and lay nine years in Dorchester jail, though he was a person of unshaken loyalty to the king."

"When he resided in London, he formed a church on the

²⁵ Manual, etc., pp. 21-23.

principles of the Sabbatarian Baptists, at Pinner's hall, of which principles he was a zealous asserter. He was a celebrated preacher, and a man of serious piety."²⁶

"All that knew him would acknowledge that he was a man of great piety. And he would in all probability have preserved the same character, with respect to his learning and judgment, had it not been for his opinion in two points; viz., that infants ought not to be baptized, and that the Jewish sabbath ought still to be kept."²⁷

On Feb. 17, 1682, he was arrested while preaching, and on March 28 was sentenced to forfeit all his goods and to be imprisoned in Newgate for life. In consequence of the hardships which he suffered in that prison, he died, Feb. 16, 1683.²⁸ "Bampffield," says Wood, "dying in said prison of Newgate, . . . aged seventy years, his body was . . . followed with a very great company of factious and schismatical people to his grave."²⁹

Bampffield published two works in behalf of the seventh day as the Sabbath,—one in 1672, the other in 1677. In the first of these he thus sets forth the doctrine of the Sabbath:—

"The law of the seventh-day Sabbath was given before the law was proclaimed at Sinai, even from the creation, given to Adam, . . . and in him to all the world. . . . The Lord Christ's obedience unto this *fourth word* in observing in his lifetime the seventh day as a weekly Sabbath day, . . . and no other day of the week as such, is a part of that perfect righteousness which every sound believer doth apply to himself in order to his being justified in the sight of

²⁶ Hist. Puritans, pt. 2, chap. 10.

²⁷ Crosby, Hist. English Baptists, vol. 1, p. 367.

²⁸ Calamy's Ejected Ministers, 2, pp. 258, 259; Lewis's Sabbath and Sunday, pp. 188-193.

²⁹ Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. 4, p. 128.

God; and every such person is to conform unto Christ in all the acts of his obedience to the ten words."³⁰

His brother, Mr. Thomas Bampffield, who had been speaker in one of Cromwell's parliaments, wrote also in behalf of seventh-day observance, and was imprisoned for his religious principles in Ilchester jail.³¹ His "Enquiry Regarding the Fourth Commandment," 1692, was answered by Dr. Wallis, of Oxford; and Bampffield published "A Reply" in 1693.

That the Seventh-day Baptists caused quite a stir during the seventeenth century appears from the fact that they are so often referred to in the numerous works written in defense of Sunday. Their pleading for a definite day instead of "one in seven," developed (in addition to the Gnostic no-day theory) a new conjecture — that God's seventh day was identical with Sunday. Astronomy, geology, the Gnostic play on figures, the round world, the arctic regions, etc., as well as persecution and slander, were brought forward to bolster up this new notion. That persecution caused the Seventh-day Baptists trouble also from false, backsliding brethren, is seen from J. Cowell's "The Snare Broken," 1677; yet in 1702 they could show a list of eighteen churches in England. In 1691 the Mill Yard Chapel was bought, which, being rebuilt on account of fire (1790), had to give way for railway extension in 1885. But with the eighteenth century their zeal

³⁰ Judgment for the Observation of the Jewish or Seventh-day Sabbath, pp. 6-8, 1672.

³¹ Calamy, 2, 260.

vanished. Carlov (1724) and Cornthwaite, who wrote five treatises from 1733 to 1740, are their only representatives, until Burnside arose, in 1825. The watchmen on the walls of Zion fell asleep; making the Sabbath of minor importance, they took charge of first-day churches, and thus lowered the standard of truth. Crosby, a first-day historian, sets this matter in its true light:—

“If the seventh day ought to be observed as the Christian Sabbath, then all congregations that observe the first day as such must be Sabbath-breakers. . . . I must leave those gentlemen on the contrary side to their own sentiments; and to vindicate the practise of becoming pastors to a people whom in their conscience they must believe to be breakers of the Sabbath.” ³²

Forty-four years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, Stephen Mumford, sent out by the London Seventh-day Baptists, arrived in Rhode Island; Elder Wm. Gibson followed in 1665. The historian Backus thus refers to the matter:—

“Stephen Mumford came over from London in 1664, and brought the opinion with him that the whole of the ten commandments, as they were delivered from Mount Sinai, were moral and immutable; and that it was the antichristian power which thought to change times and laws, that changed the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week. Several members of the first church in Newport embraced this sentiment, and yet continued with the church for some years, until two men and their wives, who had so done, turned back to the keeping of the first day again.” ³³

The following records Mumford's early success:—

³² Hist. English Baptists, 3, pp. 138, 139.

³³ Church Hist. of New England from 1783 to 1796, 11, sec. 10.

"Stephen Mumford, the first Sabbath-keeper in America, came from London in 1664. Tacy Hubbard commenced keeping the Sabbath March 11, 1665; Samuel Hubbard commenced April 1, 1665; Rachel Langworthy, Jan. 15, 1666; Roger Baxter, April 15, 1666; and William Hiscox, April 28, 1666. These were the first Sabbath-keepers in America. A controversy, lasting several years, sprung up between them and members of the church. They desired to retain their connection with the church, but were at last compelled to withdraw, that they might peaceably enjoy and keep God's holy day."³⁴

This report not only testifies of success, but it reveals the very weakness which caused the decline of the Sabbath cause in England; Mumford and his converts were willing to remain in church fellowship with the other Baptists, and four of his converts not only ceased to observe the Sabbath in 1668, but "wrote and spoke against it." Dr. Edward Stennet, being asked for advice, thus counseled them:—

"If the church will hold communion with these apostates from the truth, you ought then to desire to be fairly dismissed from the church; which if the church refuse, you ought to withdraw yourselves."³⁵

As the apostates would not withdraw from the first-day members, the seventh-day members had to do so, as Bailey states:—

"At the time of their change of sentiment and practise [respecting the Bible Sabbath], they had no intention of establishing a church with this distinctive feature. God, evidently, had a different mission for them, and brought them

³⁴ Hist. of the Seventh-day Baptist Gen. Conf. by Jas. Bailey, pp. 237, 238.

³⁵ Seventh-day Baptist Memorial, 1, 27-29.

to it through the severe trial of persecution. They were forced to leave the fellowship of the Baptist Church, or abandon the Sabbath of the Lord their God."³⁶

"These left the Baptist Church on Dec. 7, 1671."³⁷

"On the twenty-third of December, just sixteen days after withdrawing from the Baptist Church, they covenanted together in a church organization."³⁸

Such was the origin of the first Sabbath-keeping church in America.³⁹ The second of these churches owes its origin to this circumstance: About the year 1700, Edmund Dunham, of Piscataway, N. J., re-proved a person for laboring on Sunday. He was asked for his authority from the Scriptures. On searching for this, he became satisfied that the seventh day is the only weekly Sabbath in the Bible, and began to observe it.

"Soon after, others followed his example, and in 1707 a Seventh-day Baptist church was organized, with seventeen members. Edmund Dunham was chosen pastor, and sent to Rhode Island to receive ordination."⁴⁰

The Seventh-day Baptist General Conference was organized in 1802. At its first annual session, it included in its organization eight churches, nine ordained ministers, and one thousand one hundred thirty members.⁴¹ The conference was organized with only advisory powers, the individual churches retaining the matters of discipline and church government in their own hands.⁴²

³⁶ Bailey's Hist., pp. 9, 10.

³⁷ Id., p. 237.

³⁸ Id., p. 238.

³⁹ Manual of the Seventh-day Baptists, pp. 39, 40; Backus, chap. 11, sec. 10.

⁴⁰ Hist. Seventh-day Baptist Gen. Conf., pp. 15, 238.

⁴¹ Id., pp. 46-55.

⁴² Id., pp. 57, 58, 62, 74, 82.

After learning how the Lord in his providence transplanted the seed of the Sabbath truth to the virgin soil of the New World, and how soon it there developed into an organized body, we shall again direct our attention to the Old World, considering especially Moravia and Bohemia. With the brute force of arms, and by the most cruel intolerance, the Papacy succeeded in crushing not only the Sabbatarians and the Baptists, but also Protestantism in general. Amid the persecution, the traces of the Sabbatarians there became extinct. In the edict of tolerance, which Emperor Joseph promulgated (1782), certain people called "Israelites" and "Abrahamites" were especially excluded, and they, with the "deists," were enrolled in the army. An eye-witness took the pains to gather their history from their own mouths, and we quote the following extracts from his published report:—

"After the Reformation, the Protestant religion made rapid progress; but soon this doctrine was suppressed by the most cruel violence. Its adherents were executed and banished, and those who remained had to hold their views very secretly." "The more they were oppressed, the greater grew the dislike (transplanted from father to son) for the Catholic religion. They had no pastors. All Protestant theological books, especially the Bible, were forbidden by the most stringent orders, and taken from them whenever found."

"Therefore every one formed for himself an idea of religion as well as he could. Some saw that the Jews enjoyed a tolerance denied to them. The Jews could read the Old Testament, but they could not. Thinking that the Old Testament was also God's Word, they sought acquaintance with the Jews, to thus have access to the Bible. What was more natural than that, after several generations had passed,

they should hold to the doctrines of the Old Testament, having no correct knowledge of the teachings of the New, of which they were deprived, and that they should be inclined to unite with the Jews, who were more tolerated than themselves, and with whom they enjoyed in common the Old Testament as a divine book? These people were called Israelites." "Others, better read in the New Testament, . . . also saw from the Old Testament that Abraham served God acceptably without the ceremonial law, and before it was instituted. . . . They therefore rejected all human ordinances which displeased them in the Roman religion. . . . They called themselves Abrahamites." ⁴³

How the Protestants became deists through the same intolerance, one thus testified:—

"I was a Protestant for fourteen years. I bought many Protestant books. Twice I procured the Holy Bible, with great difficulty. But again and again they were taken away. Finally, I began to think: 'O Lord God, if thou constantly permitteth the spoiling of my books, it is not thy will that I should serve thee according to the books, but rather in harmony with reason.'" ⁴⁴

On page 16, the same author remarks:—

"I pray every honest Christian, who understands the value of zealously seeking after truth, to place himself into the position of these unfortunate people, from whom the divine revelation was taken away for centuries, although they still had a desire to learn from it. . . . Whoever wishes to censure, should first blame those who so many times took from them the written Word."

But what happened to these poor people? According to the imperial edict of March 11, 1783,

⁴³ Geschichte der Abrahamiten, Israeliten und Deisten in Böhmen. Ein Beitrag zur Toleranz-Geschichte, 1783, Wiener Bibliothek.

⁴⁴ Id., p. 15.

all men, "without regard to age, size, or health," were placed among the Hungarian regiments, stationed along the border, and not more than five or six were allowed in the same garrison. Or, as stated in the work from which we have just quoted (page 41): —

"In consequence of this decree there were (April 13, 1783) some one hundred twenty deists of both sexes, and also some so-called Israelites, or Christians who had apostatized to Judaism, conveyed under military guard to the different garrisons."

It would be useless to attempt to determine to what extent these so-called Israelites had apostatized to Judaism; one thing we know, that after two hundred years of most cruel persecution in Bohemia and Moravia, there were Christian Sabbath-keepers still being persecuted. As we consider the further history of the Sabbatarians in Transylvania, this will appear in still clearer light. Their history from 1635 to 1867 is thus described by Adolf Dux: —

"Among these was also Pechy, whom the prince soon afterwards imprisoned in one of his fortresses, and deprived of his goods. A number of Pechy's faithful followers experienced the same fate; many were taken prisoners, incarcerated in different fortresses, and that in such numbers that they were unable to procure enough chains for them. Others were gathered in the chief church at Dees, whence they were marched off to different portions of the country to do hard work on the new fortifications. A goldsmith named Toroczkaï was stoned by the enraged multitude at Dees. The condition of the Sabbatarians was dreadful." "In consequence of the catastrophe at Dees, their books and writings had to be delivered to the Karlsburg Consistory to become

the spoil of the flames. Thus only a few books were preserved. The Sabbatarians continued under the cover of one of the four state religions, but not in safety. Their customs being known, they were often scared out of their Sabbath rest, and forcibly compelled to labor. Persecuted as they were, no one wrote new books of prayer; they had to content themselves with the translation of a Jewish prayer-book. Their numbers diminished more and more until there remained only a few of them at Bözöd-Ujfallu, and at the same time their connection with the Christian religion became more and more loosened until it ceased entirely."⁴⁵

This description gives the gradual transition, and its causes. The "Evangelical-Lutheran Kirchenzeitung" throws still more light upon the subject:—

"Henceforth the sect remained obsolete. Transylvania came under the immediate rule of the Hapsburg dynasty; the Roman Catholics again took possession of many of the church buildings, promising an indemnity, but never paying it; also at Weisenburg the Roman episcopate was restored. For a long time the secretiveness of the sect assured their peace; but in 1728 new trials were instigated against some of its adherents, on the charge of high treason. The empress Maria Theresa sent (1750) Roman priests there, who were protected by a detachment of soldiers. In the Hungarian portion of Transylvania, the sect disappeared entirely. More resistance, however, was offered in another portion of the country—the free Szekler land. But even here the seventy to seventy-two villages of Pechy became mostly Catholic, while other communities turned Unitarians, and founded the school at Szkelykeresztén. Joseph II's edict of tolerance did not apply to the Sabbatarians, some of whom again lost all of their possessions."⁴⁶

Numberless persecutions, loss of all property, incarceration of so many of their preachers and stanch

⁴⁵ Aus Ungarn, pp. 289-291, Leipzig, 1880.

⁴⁶ Jahrgang 1876, 2, 254.

men "that they were unable to procure enough chains for them," destruction of their literature by fire, attempted conversions on the part of the Reformed, Catholic priests aided by soldiers forcing them to accept Romanism nominally, and compelling the remainder to labor on the Sabbath and to attend church on Sunday,—these were the methods employed for two hundred fifty years to turn the Sabbatarians to the greater liberties of a lawless gospel. By 1860 the thousands had dwindled down to one hundred fifty souls, who, instead of filling seventy-two villages, easily found shelter in one. Is it surprising that some of the small remnant, deprived of their shepherds, of their books, and of their possessions, should finally fall an easy prey to Jewish proselyting? Yet some of them kept up their profession of Christianity, as the author learned on a visit to Bözöd-Ujfallu, May 10, 1890. At Maros-Vasarhely he met a certain Abraham Lipot, who had long lived among the Sabbatarians as a teacher, and had collected considerable money for them, which was partially spent in erecting a school. Jewish innkeepers, settling among the Sabbatarians after 1860, are said to have given the first occasion for their being proselyted.⁴⁷

Bözöd-Ujfallu is a village of eight hundred inhabitants, consisting of Roman and Greek Catholics, United Greeks, Unitarians, Reformed, Jews, and a few Sabbatarians. To assure himself that some pro-

⁴⁷ Evang. Luth. Kircheng. 1876, p. 254; Dux, Aus Ungarn, pp. 275, 291.

fessing Christianity still kept the Sabbath, the author called on a Joseph Szallos, who met him at the gate, dressed in his national Sabbath dress. As he had served in the army, and had also been village judge for quite a time, he knew sufficient German to give details. As the law compelled every one to belong to some acknowledged religion, he was registered as a Roman Catholic, and because he paid his fees, the church closed its eyes to his Sabbath-keeping. He still read his prayers out of their old books, and rejoiced to learn of Christian Sabbath-keepers. But the author had been at his house scarcely half an hour when he was summoned to the priest, who had braced up his courage by something too strong even for him, and he stated that proselyting was contrary to the law. The author went over to the Jewish school; and what a peculiar sight, and what a confusion of voices! Soon the day of Judgment will decide upon whom the greatest blame rests for thirty families finally having joined the Jews in 1874. The doctrine of the Sabbath is not the cause of this, but the chief blame rests with those who, because these persecuted people preferred the Bible to tradition and the divine institution to the papal, wrested from them the lamp to their feet, took their possessions away, deprived them of liberty of conscience, and left them in darkness. After all, who are the true witnesses of divine worship — the brutal oppressors, or the unhappy oppressed?

We have followed this remarkable offshoot of the

Sabbath movement from the time of the Reformation to our own day, and have found some witnesses still left as a sign of its wonderful vital force in the midst of fallen Christendom and blind Judaism, who, professing Christianity, rest on the Sabbath of Jehovah.

In the sixteenth century we also found the Russian Sabbath movement suppressed by force, but not obliterated. Up to the present day there are some Subotniki, or Sabbatarians. Prof. F. M. von Waldeck attests the connection:—

“The Subotniki are in their doctrines near related to the Molokani; however, they observe Sabbath instead of Sunday, and hold that the Old Testament ordinances are still binding. They probably arose from a Judaizing sect, which was founded in the fifteenth century by a Karaite.”⁴⁸

The first clear traces we next find, are in the eighteenth century:—

“Of these sects [fifteenth century] the Molokani have maintained themselves up to the present day. Persecuted in the government of Moscow, they went to that of Woronesh, and there we find in the district of Bobrow alone, three hundred souls belonging to it, in the eighteenth century. At the same time quite a number lived in the government of Saratov. The Molokani kept the Sabbath and circumcised their boys. From among themselves they chose old men, well read in the Scriptures, to take charge of their worship.”⁴⁹ “By the latter half of the eighteenth century they had increased to some five thousand in the Woronesh government alone, a certain Uklein being the most active worker. But in 1769 they were found out and exiled. A number settled around the Sea of Azof, and some had to do penal work on the fortifications; but still their persecution in the northern

⁴⁸ Wissen der Gegenwart, 49, 163.

⁴⁹ Sternberg, Geschichte der Juden in Polen, pp. 123, 124.

provinces attracted the attention of honest people all the more, and so they kept spreading. During the mild reign of Alexander I they began to proselyte openly, and sent missionaries to the prairies of the Don, where in 1825 zealous Martin Godkow was seized and condemned to penal labor in the lead-mines of the Caucasus, for spreading the heresy." ⁵⁰

The correspondence between Count Kuscheleff-Bezborodko (on whose estates the Subotniki lived in the Woronesh government) and his inspector, Bartosh, throws further light on this subject. In his letter of Dec. 24, 1826, replying to the inspector, the count charges him to be careful not to believe idle tales with regard to the matter of circumcision. "If you have not caught any one at the deed, it is much wiser not to make a mistake, and to follow the principle that it is better to forbear with the guilty than to punish the innocent." ⁵¹ But the imperial government acted differently, and banished hundreds of these Subotniki to Siberia, and sent their children to penal colonies. The count dared to remonstrate with the representative of the minister, Lanskoy. The government became more forbearing, but the count had to submit three propositions to them, May 7, 1829: —

"Either join the Orthodox Church, or buy themselves free from the community of his possessions here, or to emigrate to his estates in the Crimea and the Caucasus.

"Many joined the Greek Church, but the majority moved to the Crimea and the Caucasus, where they remain true to their doctrines in spite of persecution until this present time. The people call them Subotniki, or Sabbatarians." ⁵²

⁵⁰ Sternberg, *Geschichte der Juden in Polen*, p. 124.

⁵¹ *Id.*, p. 125.

⁵² *Id.*, p. 126.

But that even some who outwardly joined the Greek Catholic Church still practised their former belief, is seen from the following:—

"*The Woronesh Eparchial*, June, 1877, the organ of the bishop of Woronesh, reports that the Subotniki living in this government, who thus far had been good Orthodox Christians and visited the Orthodox churches, begin to avoid the Orthodox Christians and to neglect attending the church. They form small companies. . . . Most of the Sabbatarians live in the districts of Palow and Bobrow. But some of the Orthodox in the neighboring territory of the Don, especially so at the station Michaelow, have accepted the Sabbatarian faith; they are regular Russian peasants."⁵³

There are some exiles in Siberia who still adhere to the Sabbath. Strong's Cyclopedia bears witness of this, on the strength of Platon's "Present State of the Greek Church in Russia," page 273. Speaking of the nineteenth century, it states:—

"Here and there in different parts of Russia, travelers have discovered, during this century, fragments of churches cherishing Jewish ideas; it is believed that these are remnants of the old sect of the Subotniki. In Irkutsk they exist under the name of 'Selesnewschtschini.'"⁵⁴

Besides these authentic evidences, the author personally knows, from his contact with Sabbatarians in Russia, that the Subotniki exist in different parts of the country, representing all shades of belief between Christianity and Judaism. The same intolerance has produced the same results in Russia as elsewhere. The connecting links between the Russian Sabbath-keepers of the four-

⁵³ Sternberg, *Geschichte der Juden in Polen*, p. 126.

⁵⁴ Vol 9, 190.

teenth and nineteenth centuries have thus been amply set forth.

But there is a brighter side to the picture. The efforts of noble Christian men to bring the gospel of Christ to the blinded children of natural Israel is bearing fruit. Since the New Testament has been translated into the Hebrew, quite a number have espoused the Christian faith. The late Joseph Rabinowitch was especially successful. During a visit in Palestine he became fully convinced that the great thing was not a return to the Holy Land, but a reform within. "Thus the light gradually dawned in the mind of this scribe that the only salvation of his people rested in their return to the old source of life, the Scriptures, and their accepting Jesus as our brother, in whom the ancient writings were fulfilled."⁵⁵ But while his converts accepted Christ, they retained the true Sabbath, which Dr. Luthardt thus approves:—

"From another letter of the same reporter [Pastor Faltin] we learn that a Christian Sabbath service is thought of. From principle, we can not deny their right to such a service, remembering that in some parts of the ancient church, as in Egypt and Asia Minor, both Sabbath and Sunday were kept together for centuries. In the Greek Church the Sabbath still possesses this prerogative above the other weekdays, that no texts from the Old Testament are to be read on it."⁵⁶

Pastor Faltin gives the following account of the first Sabbath assembly held by them, on Jan. 10, 1885:—

⁵⁵ Dr. Luthardt, *Evang. Luth. Kircheng.*, 1885, No. 3, p. 51.

⁵⁶ *Id.*, No. 4, p. 75.

"I have just returned from the first assembly of the Israelites of the new covenant. The house of worship was crowded. The Lord blessed abundantly. Texts were read from the New Testament. Our organ and small choir assisted. What a contrast, if I compare this live worship in the spirit of Christ with the formal services which I have heard in Switzerland on the part of the so-called Reform preachers."⁵⁷

The blessing of God can not fail if the natural Israel returns again to its Messiah, and again erects the eternal sign of the covenant between God and the faithful seed of Abraham.

There are also some traces of Christian Sabbath-keepers in Germany, who have become convinced of the Sabbath truth since the Reformation. At the end of the eighteenth century there lived in Nuremberg a certain Tennhardt, a barber by trade. When he was but twenty years of age (1681), he came into possession of a Bible, which he diligently read, and over which he earnestly prayed, until, in 1704, he experienced a change of heart, and according to his own saying, he had revelations from the Lord. He practised total abstinence, and abhorred tobacco. Shortly afterward, he became convinced of the Sabbath. Prelate Bengel thus describes his visit to him:—

"Tennhardt received me very cordially; he is modest, temperate, crucifies his flesh, and is much concerned about his soul's salvation. He hates lies with all his heart. He holds strictly to the doctrine of the Sabbath, because it is one of the ten commandments."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Dr. Luthardt, *Evang.-Luth. Kircheng.*, 1885, No. 3, p. 74.

⁵⁸ Bengel's *Leben und Wirken*, Burk, p. 579.

He states his own conviction as follows:—

"It can not be shown that Sunday has taken the place of the Sabbath, and that one must be observed instead of the other. Either the seventh day of the week must be retained, or all of the days of the week are alike. Then it is not certain that the early Christians observed both Sabbath and Sunday."⁸⁰

Tennhardt had great difficulty in getting his writings printed, but he finally succeeded in Erfurt, outside of Bavaria. He fully refuted the Lutheran conception that even Christians can not keep God's law, commenting on Rom. 3 : 31:—

"The law is established by faith, that it shall remain until the day of Judgment; but it will remain only among the true believers. Unbelief tears it down, by saying: One can not keep the law or the commandments; and it throws it down in such a manner that one part tumbles here, another there; but not so with faith, which makes new tables, and writes the law upon them, namely, upon the heart. The Holy Spirit reminds the believer continually, not to again transgress the law, while on the other hand the evil spirit says to the unbeliever, Thou canst not perfectly keep the ten commandments." "They think themselves believing Christians, all confessing, I believe; yet they should remember that faith can not only keep the commandments of God, but that it overcometh the whole world, with all that is therein, yea, not only *can* overcome, but already has overcome it."⁸⁰

He remarks concerning the theory of one day in seven and the Sabbath:—

"Therefore, the Sabbath is a great blessing from the Lord; and men have shamefully rejected and changed it, as

⁸⁰ Bengel's *Leben und Wirken*, Burk, p. 366.

⁸⁰ *Worte Gottes und Warnungs u. Erbauungs-stimme Jesu Christi*, pp. 43, 44.

if it did not amount to much. They vainly think that if a person keep one day in the week, not necessarily Saturday, then they have sufficiently obeyed the fourth commandment, and thus have permitted the devil to lead them astray. And as the Lord God has sanctified the last day of the week as a rest day, and appointed it as much for himself as for men, Antichrist, on the other hand, has appointed the first day of the week (which the first Christians used as after-Sabbath, or assembly day), and by this means has converted the right rest day into the most noisy day of the week." ⁶¹

Murdock's English edition of Mosheim simply mentions Tennhardt's name,⁶² but the German edition gives the following details about him:—

"Finally he gave up his profession to devote himself entirely to his work of reformation. To the city council at Nuremberg he handed his biography and his two writings: 'Word of God, or a Small Tract on the So-called Spiritual Office;' and 'Words of God, or the Last Voice of Warning and Mercy of Jesus Christ.' He was imprisoned in 1708, and examined by the clergy. However, he again regained his liberty the same year." ⁶³

Tennhardt made extensive missionary tours as far as Berlin, Saxony, and Silesia; his first writing was published in Erfurt in 1710, and it "caused such a stir that they wrote and preached against him publicly." Returning to Nuremberg in 1714, he was imprisoned the second time, but was again released. He went to Frankfurt in 1717, and died at Cassel in 1720, on his way from Saxony. His efforts were not without fruit, as Mosheim thus confesses:—

⁶¹ Kl. Auszug aus Tennhardt's Schriften, p. 49, printed 1712.

⁶² Eccl. Hist. Cent. 18, vol. 4, par. 16, p. 373.

⁶³ Kirchenges. Jahr. 18, Absch. 2, Hauptst. 9, p. 1076.

"J. D. Winkler has in his *Anecd. hist. eccl. nov. antiquis St. 7, s. 136 f.*, printed a letter of Eisler to the superintendent Reimann of Hildesheim. From this it appears that Tennhardt had also a defender in Pastor Golther, who published, under the name of Alethophilus, a Scriptural *Judicium Theol. of J. Tennhardt, 1711.*"⁴⁴

This treatise has eighty pages. It is divided into seven chapters. The sixth chapter deals with the Sabbath. This Lutheran pastor, referring to Jer. 6: 16, thus defends Tennhardt's views:—

"What Tennhardt writes by divine command about the Sabbath remains, therefore, a fact: this and no other day is to be kept, because it has in itself the special blessing of creation. . . . As to Col. 2: 16, this refers to the after-sabbaths, for the Jews celebrated Easter and other feasts a whole week. . . . These days were called sabbaths, because they sprang from the great immovable Sabbath, and depended on it as the branches on the trunk of a tree. . . . If in this text the right Sabbath had been meant, then the later Christians could have easily decided the matter, and might then have abolished the Sabbath, which, however, according to the testimony of church history, did not occur. Therefore God's institution has the preference above all church ordinances, no matter how ancient they may be, and how many councils affirmed them. Far better to set aside all other holidays instituted by man, than to neglect this rest day. Indeed, this pertains to the time and appointment of Antichrist, which already worked in secret in Paul's days. 2 Thess. 2: 7. The mystery of iniquity already worked inwardly as a hidden sore, which, in course of time, breaks forth. Then when the apostles had fallen asleep and had been removed, laws were made without fear, and God's precepts abrogated thereby. This Tennhardt styles the long night of Antichrist, lasting fifteen hundred years, during which but few souls have known the deep things

⁴⁴ Mosheim Kirchengesch., p. 1078, Anm.

of Satan (Rev. 2:24), or the mystery of lawlessness, and recognized it; and those who have perceived such light have been swallowed up by the prevailing darkness of Anti-christ." ⁶⁵

According to Mosheim, Tennhardt gained also a devoted adherent in Tobias Eisler, of Nuremberg, who had studied law, and for seven years acted as private secretary of the widowed duchess of Sachsen-Eisenach. He erected a monument in memory of Tennhardt, at Cassel, and published many of his writings and letters. ⁶⁶

When the court preacher, J. C. Scheurer, attacked Tennhardt in a treatise, an anonymous Lutheran defended Tennhardt in a work of one hundred forty-four pages, setting forth Scheurer's errors, and devoting eight pages to a review of his position on Sunday. Tennhardt was a great missionary worker, feeling urged to write letters to high and low, even to the emperor and princes. How zealously he labored, his own statement made in July, 1710, will show: —

"During the past month I have written in twenty-eight days, some four hundred twenty letters to different countries, to Spain, Portugal, France, England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Moscow, Hungary, Turkey, Italy, Savoy, Switzerland, Bohemia, Silesia, and divers places in Germany." ⁶⁷

Even to this day the effect of his writings still appears. There are people living in Wurtemberg

⁶⁵ *Schriftmaessiges Judicium*, pp. 39-41.

⁶⁶ Mosheim, *Kirchengesch.*, pp. 1077, 1078.

⁶⁷ *Worte Gottes u. Lebenslauf*, Tuebingen, 1838, 2, 409.

and Hessia, who as a result of these writings began to see the light on the Sabbath, and later united with the Seventh-day Adventists. Some kindly gave the author his writings. Only eternity will reveal what this zealous, humble worker for God has accomplished in these many countries where he sent his letters, or where he personally labored.

But there was a still greater missionary who observed the Sabbath of the Lord at this time — Count Nicolaus von Zinzendorf, the founder and the first bishop of the Moravian Church, who accomplished great things indeed, in awakening the missionary spirit in behalf of the dark heathen world. But that which probably led him to the Sabbath was the fact that he believed God's Word in all simplicity, and sought earnestly to do what he saw was right, through the strength of the Saviour, whom he dearly loved. His successor, Bishop A. G. Spangenberg, thus describes his attitude toward God's Word: —

"He loved to stick to the plain text of the Scriptures, believing that rather simplicity than art is required to understand it. When he found anything in the Bible stated in such plain language that a child could understand, he could not well bear to have one depart from it. Where it was manifest that either the intentions of the one speaking, or the connection of the speech with the preceding and the following, or else a still plainer passage of the Bible in speaking of the same matter, demanded another meaning of the words before him, then he was easily persuaded to depart from the sense which the words at first sight seem to convey." ⁶⁸

⁶⁸ *Leben des Grafen Zinzendorf*, 3, 546, 547, 1774.

Such sound views, coupled with the love of Christ, must lead to truth. This very principle caused him, for example, to introduce feet-washing among the brethren:—

"Because Jesus washed the feet of his disciples and expressly said: 'If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet;' etc., he took these words as they read; and was of the opinion that feet-washing could by good right not be omitted in the living church of Christ." ⁶⁹

He expresses his own opinion in his sermon of Feb. 21, 1752:—

"I have, as it is well known, introduced feet-washing again; and it has been with me until this day one of the most agreeable and respectable acts." ⁷⁰

As to his views about the Sabbath, we find the following words in a letter which he wrote from Texel "about the Jews," etc., in 1738, before he departed for America:—

"That I have during my lifetime not eaten of the foods which were formerly forbidden them; that I have employed the Sabbath for rest many years already, and our Sunday for the proclamation of the gospel — that I have done without design, and in simplicity of heart." ⁷¹

In his provisory testament, which he made before his departure, on Dec. 27, 1738, he states: "The days which we keep are Sunday as the Lord's resurrection day, and the Sabbath or the real rest day of our Lord, on which we keep the days of as-

⁶⁹ *Leben des Grafen Zinzendorf*, 3, 548.

⁷⁰ *Id.*, 3, 549.

⁷¹ *Büdingische Sammlung*, Leipzig, 1742, sec. 8, 224.

sembly and the Lord's supper."⁷² From this it clearly appears that he regarded the Sabbath as the real rest day, and had observed it as such for a number of years already, yea, that he had even celebrated the Lord's supper on it with the church. But we shall find still further and clearer evidences. In 1741 he journeyed to Bethlehem, Pa., to which place a number of Moravian brethren from Holstein had emigrated. While he was presiding there, the whole church had, under his leadership, introduced the Sabbath, after careful consideration, as Spangenberg's statement proves:—

"As a special instance it deserves to be noticed that, be it resolved with the church at Bethlehem to observe the seventh day as rest day. The matter had been previously considered by the church council in all its details, and all the reasons pro and con were carefully weighed, whereby they arrived at the unanimous agreement to keep the said day as Sabbath."⁷³

Spangenberg remarks concerning this:—

"For considerable time previous, the count had held the seventh day of the week in special esteem; as far as possible, on this day he gladly refrained from labor requiring the power of body and mind. On the other hand, on this day he loved and sought what agreed with the rest in God, and the peace of Jesus Christ, and whatever was to their furtherance. So, for example, he gladly held the Lord's supper and other liturgical meetings. Where there were children's asylums, he was accustomed to hold love feasts on this day with them, which he attended with other brethren and sisters, as well as with visiting friends. Where there were no children, he took the

⁷² Büdingsche Sammlung, Leipzig, 1742, sec. 8, 227.

⁷³ Zinzendorf's Leben, 5, 1421, 1422; Varnhagen von Ense Biographische Denkmale, Berlin, 1846, 5, 301.

brethren and sisters home with him to the Sabbath love feasts, which he made agreeable as well as edifying, by charming and profitable speeches, songs, and music. At these love feasts they generally partook only of tea and white bread. The count intended to lighten the labors of his domestics, who served in the kitchen and were otherwise employed, taking such with him to the love feasts, while other brethren and sisters served." ⁷⁴

How the Lord blessed this body of Christian Sabbath-keepers at Bethlehem, Spangenberg thus informs us:—

"Moreover, the Saviour approved of the labors of the count in Bethlehem at this time, bestowing his *special* favor, and everything there took a very blessed course. This I gather from a letter from the church elder, Anna Nitschmannin, in which she states, among other things: 'I can not describe to you how charming and lovely everything appears at Bethlehem. In my whole life I have not felt so happy as there.'"⁷⁵

Zinzendorf's reasons for the observance of the Sabbath day were, according to Spangenberg:—

"On the one hand, he believed that the seventh day was sanctified and set apart as a rest day immediately after the creation; but on the other hand, and principally, because his eyes were directed to the rest of our Saviour Jesus Christ in the grave on the seventh day."⁷⁶

Spangenberg, who herein differed from Zinzendorf, and under whose leadership the Sabbath disappeared among the Moravian brethren, sought to weaken the impression, by asserting that Zinzendorf had not done this on account of the law of

⁷⁴ Leben Zinzendorf, 5, 1422, note.

⁷⁵ Id., 5, 1423, 1424.

⁷⁶ Id., 5, 1422, note.

Moses, "for then he would have had the same, to keep the other precepts of Moses." Here Spangenberg states his own opinion, and he evidently labors under the same cloud as did the popes and Reformers, not distinguishing between the decalogue and the ceremonial law. Though Zinzendorf esteemed Sunday in a certain sense (as a day on which he should do preaching, but not as a rest day), yet he experienced the severity of the Pennsylvania Sunday laws, under which we shall find that many observers of the true Sabbath have suffered, even unto the present day. One Sunday he, with his daughter, composed some hymns at Sobus. The justice of the peace found him writing, and on Monday he fined each of them six shillings, because they had written on Sunday, and were therefore Sabbath-breakers.⁷⁷

Spangenberg further observes:—

"He did not urge his opinion concerning the Sabbath upon any one. And although he introduced it at the founding of the church at Bethlehem, as mentioned above, yet he afterwards perceived the difficulty — that people who had to maintain themselves by their daily toil, could not keep two days in the week; he expressed himself accordingly, and left it with each one's conscience. But as for *himself*, with his house, he adhered firmly to this aforementioned practise until his end."⁷⁸

But before Zinzendorf and the Moravians at Bethlehem thus began the observance of the Sabbath and prospered in spite of the fears of Spangenberg,

⁷⁷ *Leben Zinzendorf*, 5, 1437.

⁷⁸ *Id.*, p. 1423, Anm.

there was a small body of German Sabbath-keepers in Pennsylvania. They are found in the counties of Lancaster, York, Franklin, and Bedford, and in the central and western parts of the State. They originated in 1728 from the teachings of Conrad Beissel, a native of Germany. They practise trine immersion and the washing of feet, and observe open communion. They encourage celibacy, but make it obligatory upon none. Even those who have chosen this manner of life are at liberty to marry if at any time they choose to do so. They established and successfully maintained a Sabbath-school at Ephrata, their headquarters, forty years before Robert Raikes had introduced the system of Sunday-schools. These people have suffered much persecution because of their observance of the seventh day, the laws of Pennsylvania being particularly oppressive toward Sabbatarians.⁷⁹

Count Zinzendorf and Conrad Beissel corresponded with each other some, and the following extract shows how simple-minded men, filled with God's Spirit, solved the problem over which so many learned theologians have stumbled, yea, even a Luther, a Zwingli, a Calvin, and a Knox. Beissel writes, Nov. 9, 1741:—

"The majority of true theologians have acknowledged that there is no more dangerous thing than if a man touches the gospel without the true works of a changed mind. The gospel has not the punishment but the forgiveness of sins.

⁷⁹ Rupp's *History of all the Religious Denominations in the United States*, pp. 109-123, second edition; Bailey's *History of Seventh-day Baptist Gen. Conf.*, pp. 255-258.

Therefore we admit that the gospel does not profit a man without the inward change of heart. For this very reason there are so few Christians, for, as the righteousness of the Jews does not suffice, and they therefore need conversion, so likewise the lawless Gentile rests in the gospel, whence such a lawless antichristendom has arisen, as is manifest at the present time." ⁸⁰

Definite traces of Christian Sabbath-keepers during a period of eighteen hundred years have been discovered. An unbroken chain extends from Jerusalem to Plymouth Rock. The bright light of the apostolic church gradually darkened before the growing apostasy, until, in the providence of God, this darkness finally recedes before the ever-strengthening rays of light issuing from the divine Word. The gospel church, full of life and sanctified energy, suffering from persecution from without and troubles from within, yet walking by faith in God's commandments, was superseded by the intolerant supremacy of the man of sin, presuming to change God's times and law, and treading them, as well as his saints, under foot by establishing his own righteousness until, after the long night of the mystery of iniquity, the mystery of godliness prevailed. When God's Word gained the victory over tradition, righteousness by faith conquered meritorious works, God's commandments triumphed over lawlessness, the restorers of God's law appeared, the foundation of many generations was built again as men turned their feet from the holy day of the Lord's rest; faith once more

⁸⁰ Büdingsche Sammlung, 13, 64-67.

established all of God's commandments, the law and the gospel were fully harmonized, and men full of evangelical missionary zeal came upon the stage of action, who showed how God's holy Sabbath becomes the truly blessed day in the dispensation of the Spirit. And, although the Sabbath of Jehovah seemed suppressed in the Old World, yet its seed was carried to the virgin soil of the New. Was the earth to help the church by the opening up of a new world, where, in divine providence, a liberal government was to spring up, a government that would foster the development of the seed into a vigorous plant whose grafts, full of new life, could be carried into all the world?—Such was the sure word of prophecy.



CHAPTER XXVIII

GOD'S HOLY SABBATH WORLD-WIDE

A prophetic salutation — Fulfilled prophecies enlighten — "Providence" in a New World — Increased knowledge of the prophecies a sign of the end — General preaching of the gospel another sign — The 2300 days of Dan. 8: 14 — The great advent movement — Bitter disappointment — The true sanctuary and service — The first Seventh-day Adventist church — Truth refined in the crucible of affliction — A world-wide movement — The third angel's message a living reality — Interesting statistics — Rev. 14: 12 fulfilled.

TO the remnant in Rhode Island, who keep the commandments of God and the testimonies of Jesus,"—such was the greeting sent by their faithful shepherd from London, in the Old World, to the little flock of Christian Sabbath-keepers in the New World, as early as 1668. The text suggested reads thus: "And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ." Rev. 12: 17. The small remnant at London, one of whose faithful shepherds had just been dragged from the pulpit and executed, and his head placed on a pole opposite his chapel, simply for keeping God's commandments, had experienced the wrath of the dragon, as God (for their comfort) had anciently foretold; and Dr. E. Stennet sent to the New World a message of greater prophetic import than he ever dreamed of.

At the beginning of the New Testament history of God's commandment-keeping people, we saw the

Israel of the new dispensation clothed with all the light of heaven — of the sun, of the moon, and of the stars. Out of Israel came forth the Man Child, whom, from the very beginning, Satan tried to kill, seeking to employ pagan Rome as his instrument. But this Child grew up a perfect example of obedience to every jot and tittle of the law of God, for man's transgression of which he was to die as the Lamb of God,— a free-will offering for the salvation of all who by faith would follow in his footsteps. Caught up to God and to his throne as victor over Satan, sin, and hades, Christ cast out into the earth Satan and his angels, filled with great wrath against the woman and her seed.

This wrath was abundantly experienced by the twelve apostles, who, as representatives of the twelve tribes, were chosen to gather out a people for the Lord, not only from among the lost sheep of the tribes of Israel, but also from among the Gentiles, and thus build anew (but of "living stones") the tabernacle of David by the simple proclamation of the gospel. Acts 15: 15-17. Thousands of faithful witnesses for Jesus perished as a sacrifice to Jewish blindness and pagan persecution. But as the mystery of lawlessness, secretly beginning its career even during the days of the apostles, ripened into the Papacy, untold numbers of those who held to God's Word, and to his law, and to his holy Sabbath, were called to seal their faith in Jesus with their own lives. While thus experiencing the fulfilment of prophecy in their lives, God's Holy Spirit

directed their attention to the sure word of prophecy "as unto a light that shineth in a dark place," and it became their hidden spring of "patience," and their source of heavenly comfort. In the prophecies of Daniel they saw the Papacy clearly outlined as the little horn of which it is written, "He shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws." And as the Pope of Rome assumed to be the vicar of the Son of God, and, as such, the infallible oracle to explain God's Word, to alter divine laws, and to substitute papal decretals; as he professed to be lord over the church and over the kings, to give pardon and to anathematize, to suffer or to persecute; yea, as he even claimed to create Christ himself as a daily sacrifice for the living and the dead, they saw in him "the man of sin," "the mystery of lawlessness," sitting as God, "in the temple of God," as Paul had foretold in 2 Thess. 2: 1-7. The "Mystery, Babylon the Great," was solved, as they beheld what John had foretold in the Revelation of Jesus. And as they were persecuted by it, and had to flee from it into the high mountains, the Alps, and to the dense forests of Moravia and Bohemia, "into the wilderness," being called by the Pope "the beasts of the desert," they realized that there had risen out of the sea (the multitudes of people) that beast which was to make war with the saints, and to overcome them. Rev. 13: 7.

But there was that blessed hope to buoy up their

courage even in the darkest hour,—“the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.” As “that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed,” the revelation of him only increased their hopes. But they learned more: the night of apostasy would give way to a dawning day; the saints were “given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time,” and then the judgment should sit, and take away his dominion and destroy it. Dan. 7: 25, 26. “Power was given unto him to continue forty and two months.” Rev. 13: 5. The church would be fed in the wilderness “a thousand two hundred and threescore days,” or “for a time, and times, and half a time.” Rev. 12: 6, 14. As they were led into captivity and killed with the sword, they knew that at the end of the time appointed, the persecutors would themselves be led into captivity and killed with the sword. As those of whom it was said, “Here is the patience and the faith of the saints,” they had “more patience in their sufferings than did their enemies in tormenting them.” As Wyclif, Tyndale, Huss, and other Reformers unanimously declared the Papacy to be Antichrist, the Sabbatarians, knowing that as such it had presumed to change the time of the Most High, endeavored to raise up the foundations of many generations, and to repair the breach that had been made in God’s law, by turning their feet from the Sabbath, and developing a remnant to whom the words of Rev. 12: 17 might be truly applied.

As the faithful remnant was about to be swallowed up by the flood of water cast out of the serpent's mouth, not only did God stay the power of the serpent by the Reformation in northern Europe, but strange tidings of the discovery of a vast new world, reached the ears of the oppressed. And while adventurers thirsting for gold and worldly honor were rushing to South America, God mysteriously guarded and reserved North America "for the spread and the sway of a purer faith. The inestimable treasures of truth, which had just been recovered from the débris of ages, were destined to find here a theater for their fullest expansion and for the unfolding of their noblest products."¹ This land should be the land of the free, the true child of the Reformation, and men who had learned the lessons of Christian liberty from God's Word in the trying school of persecution, would lay the foundation of a new government in which freedom of conscience and the right of the individual would be sacredly guarded. The earth helped the woman indeed; a *new* government arose, coming up out of the earth, having two horns like a lamb. Rev. 13: 11. And as intolerance threatened this fair land, Roger Williams, a noble Baptist, after enduring many persecutions, finally found in the territory now called Rhode Island (1636) a safe retreat, which he fittingly called "Providence." "He was the first person in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude

¹ Dr. E. J. Wolf, "The Lutherans in America." New York, 1890, p. 103

the doctrine of the liberty of conscience."¹ Rhode Island was the very colony in which the first Seventh-day Baptist missionaries from London raised up their first church (1671). In 1776 the United States of America declared its independence, and threw off the tyranny of the Old World. Its Constitution, Article 6 and Amendment 1, reads: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." True to its lamblike character, it was the first government to assure liberty of conscience, separating state and church.

In 1754 John Wesley, in referring to this predicted new government, commented: "He has not yet come, though he can not be afar off; for he is to appear at the end of the forty and two months of the first beast." And at the very time when this new government grew out of a new continent, the eldest son of the Papacy, France, was in the pangs of a most terrible revolution. Not only were hundreds of Catholic priests and bishops killed, but the Pope himself was taken prisoner in 1798, and died in captivity. As three and a half times equal forty-two months, or twelve hundred sixty days, and as a prophetic day stands for a year, the twelve hundred sixty years of papal supremacy must have ended at that time. In the year 1771, Prelate Roos, in commenting on Dan. 12:7, stated,

¹ Bancroft, History of the United States, 1, 375.

"The time of the end commences when the three and a half times of the scattering of the holy people are past." So, then, this date marks the beginning of the time of the end.

One of the great tokens of the time of the end is the earnest searching of the prophetic word, for then "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." Dan. 12:4. How this was fulfilled at that time, Dr. Isaak Da Costa attests:—

"Among the many and manifold signs is one of the most remarkable indeed, that in our day more than ever hearts feel drawn to the study of the prophetic books. Never was the attention of Christians everywhere so directed to the study of unfulfilled prophecies as now. This interest, this searching, characterizes an entirely new epoch in church history, the beginning of which can be placed at the end of the eighteenth century, and the increasing development of which one especially notices in the nineteenth. It synchronizes with the 'period of revolution,' of secular history."¹

Hand in hand with the increase of prophetic knowledge was the greatest effort ever put forth in the circulation of the Bible and religious literature. In this period the great Bible and tract societies were formed: 1779, the Religious Tract Society, London; 1780, the Naval and Military Bible Society; 1804, the British and Foreign Bible Society; 1814, the German Bible Society of Berlin; 1816, the American Bible Society, etc.

Sir Isaac Newton, in commenting on Rev. 14:6, remarks: "If the general preaching of the gospel be approaching, it is to us and our posterity that

¹ *Israel*! J. d. Voelker, p. 8.

those words in Dan. 12:4 and Rev. 1:3 mainly belong." The nineteenth century is generally termed the "century of missions," and the founding of the greatest missionary societies exactly synchronizes with the same "period of revolution:" there were formed in 1792, the Baptist; 1795, the London; 1799, the Church of England; 1814, the Wesleyan; 1816, the general Baptist; and in 1824, the Scotch Presbyterian societies. These, however, were the preparatory steps for another movement that sustains the closest relation to them. The preaching of the everlasting gospel of Rev. 14:6, 7, to which Isaac Newton referred, is but the first of the three messages which go to prepare the way for the advent of the Son of man to reap the world's harvest, as set forth in Rev. 14:14-20. A threefold advent message bearing the everlasting gospel to all the world is the outcome of this earnest search of the Scriptures, and their wide-spread circulation helps to prepare the way for it. Before the promised Messiah came, "the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness" was to be heard, and a messenger was to come to prepare the way of the Lord before him.⁴ Likewise, before our Saviour comes the second time in the glory of the Father, the threefold message of Rev. 14:6-12 must go to all the world to prepare for his advent: a people who "keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus."

⁴ Isa. 40:3; Mal. 3:1; John 1:23; Matt. 11:10.

And the sure word of prophecy did not fail here. A number of men, in different parts of the world and unknown to one another, searching diligently in the book of Daniel, simultaneously arrived at the same conclusion,—that the full explanation of the two thousand three hundred prophetic days of Dan. 8: 14 was given in Daniel 9, and that the seventy weeks, or four hundred ninety years, determined upon Israel and Jerusalem, were but the first part of the two thousand three hundred years. As it was generally agreed that the four hundred ninety years began in 457 B. C., when the command of Artaxerxes went forth to restore and build Jerusalem, the two thousand three hundred years would begin at the same time. Further, as at the end of the sixty-nine weeks, or four hundred eighty-three years, Jesus was anointed the Messiah, and as he was crucified in the midst of the week, and as the gospel began to be preached to the Gentiles in A. D. 34, this prophetic period was established beyond question. Its exact partial fulfilment did indeed “seal up the vision and prophecy,” or confirm them. Muehe, quite a prominent Lutheran minister, in referring to Bengel’s computations, writes:—

“A searching of prophetic time can not be forbidden, . . . because Peter states (1 Peter 1: 10–12) that even the prophets searched as to the time to which these prophecies pointed. Daniel had calculated the seventy years of captivity from Jeremiah. The Lord reproved the priests and the scribes of his time because they understood not the signs of the times. They indeed might and should have known from Dan. 9: 25, that Christ must come at that time. We

need not fear that by such diligent searching we shall look too intently into the Lord's council chamber."⁸

During the years 1810-35, unknown to one another, Kelber and Wolff, of Germany; Irving and Way, of England; Davis, McGregor, Krupp, and Miller, of the United States, all reached the same conclusion about the two thousand three hundred days of Daniel, and began to publish treatises stating their convictions. The most pronounced movement, however, was in the eastern part of the United States, where Wm. Miller, assisted by many earnest associates, carried on a great revival. When J. Litch's calculation of the prophetic periods in Rev. 9: 5, 15, which he had published in 1838, was fulfilled to the very day, in 1840—the power of the sultan actually passing into the hands of the allied European powers at that time,—the confidence of the people in the year-day principle was greatly strengthened. More wonderful still, we are informed by Bishop S. Gobat, in his "Leben" (Basel, 1884, p. 119), that Mohammed Ali, the pasha of Egypt, began his war against Turkey entirely on the strength of the light gathered from prophecy in 1828, to the effect that Turkey was about to come to an end.

The following statement from the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church shows what power characterized this advent movement:—

"From 1840 to 1844 there was in the United States a general

⁸ Ist das Ende nahe? p. 14.

religious awakening, the M. E. Church having its share, as it increased 257,465 members in 1843-44."⁶

We find the same in Germany, especially in Wurttemberg and in Silesia, where Bengel's explanation of Revelation led many to expect that the Lord would come about 1836. From Germany it spread to Russia, where it was the prime cause of the great Stundist movement. In Sweden, where the men preaching it were cast into prison, little children, called *rupare* (crying with a loud voice), proclaimed it with great power. England was also quite thoroughly stirred, and many accepted the g'ad tidings.

Elder J. Marsh could truly write in the *Voice of Truth*, January, 1845:—

"No case can be more clearly substantiated with facts than that this message [of Rev. 14:6, 7] has been carried to every nation and tongue under heaven, within a few past years, in the preaching of the coming of Christ in 1843, or near at hand. Through the medium of lectures and publications, the sound has gone into all the earth, and the word unto the ends of the world."

But not only did 1843 pass, but also Oct. 22, 1844, on which day, answering to the tenth day of the seventh month of the Jewish dispensation, Christ was expected to come out from the holy of holies to bless his people and to cleanse the earth. This was indeed a most bitter disappointment to the thousands of honest souls who had expected to meet their Lord, and in view of it had earnestly striven

⁶ Geschichte des Methodismus, 2, 136, L. S. Jacoby, Bremen, 1870.

for the white raiment, the spotless garments of the righteousness of Christ. Their disappointment was by no means the first disappointment that had been experienced by his true followers. The disciples expected that Christ would set up the kingdom of Israel; and on his entry into Jerusalem, their expectations had risen to the highest pitch, only to be sorely disappointed when he was crucified. Thousands in the Roman and Greek churches had at various times expected his second advent, and even the Reformers thought it very near. But none of these expectations were warranted by so many prophetic dates, so convincing an array of signs, and such marked power as was the great advent movement in the first half of the nineteenth century. And that the prophetic calculations of these advent believers were correct, is fully sustained by the statements of prominent students of prophecy; H. Grat-tan Guinness, of London, in his Calendar of prophetic dates first published in 1879, begins the two thousand three hundred days with 457 B. C., and ends them in 1844.⁷

As no flaw could be found in the calculation, God-fearing men began to search into the nature of the event. Heretofore, the cleansing of the sanctuary had been supposed to refer to the cleansing of the earth by fire; but a careful examination of the one hundred forty-six texts in which this word occurs, revealed the fact that the earthly tabernacle of the Old Testament was simply a pattern of that in the

⁷ "The Approaching End," eighth edition, London, appendix A.

heavens. As early as 1771, the Lutheran prelate Ross, Bengel's disciple, wrote:—

"But that Moses saw the typical signification of the ceremonial laws, and that others might have come to the same knowledge through him, appears, because he saw the heavenly antitype of the earthly tabernacle on Mount Sinai. Ex. 25:40; 26:30; Acts 7:44; Heb. 8:5. He did not behold a shadow of the earthly tabernacle, as one might show a picture or an object by a magic lantern or by a painting, but he saw the true heavenly sanctuary, of which the earthly sanctuary was a type. Heb. 8:5. Thus Moses learned, and through him all Israelites might have known, that there was a heavenly sanctuary and an earthly; and as the earthly had its priests and sacrifices, likewise the heavenly must also have a priest and a sacrifice; for without this a sanctuary or temple in heaven was in vain. . . . Moses saw the heavenly sanctuary, but not as John, long after him, saw it."⁸

The priests on earth served "unto the example and shadow of heavenly things," and their daily and annual service was a shadow of the daily and final service of our great High Priest. As the Adventists, although not understanding the place of the cleansing, believed and taught that judgment was to be meted out in 1844, it remains an indisputable historical fact that the first angel's message, "Fear God, and give glory to him; *for the hour of his judgment is come*: and worship him that made heaven, and earth," etc., was truly given at that time, and is still being preached in all the world as "the everlasting gospel."

As the churches generally rejected the message

⁸ Einl. in die Bibl. Geschichte, Stuttgart 1876, pp. 312, 333, 903, 904.

from God, and cast its believers from their midst, the second message was associated with the first: "Babylon is fallen, is fallen."

But God in his wonderful providence, desirous that the people waiting for the Lord, as well as those who had been walking heretofore in the way of his commandments, should have all the light, brought some Seventh-day Baptists in contact with the Adventists, who had up to that time been observers of Sunday. A faithful Seventh-day Baptist sister, Mrs. Rachel D. Preston, moved from New York State to Washington, N. H. Here she became interested in the doctrine of the glorious advent of Christ near at hand. Being instructed in this subject by the Adventist people, she in turn taught them of the claims of the law of God, so that as early as 1844 nearly the entire church at Washington, N. H., which consisted of about forty persons, became observers of the Sabbath of the Lord, and then and there the first Seventh-day Adventist church in the world was organized. This church exists to this day. Wonderful to say, also in 1844 some Adventists in southern Germany, convinced from studying the Bible, began to keep the true Sabbath. The author has made the personal acquaintance of an elderly sister who began the observance of the Sabbath at that time. Thus God's truth is bound to neither language nor country — "the wind bloweth where it listeth."

Several Adventist ministers received the Sabbath truth from the Sabbath-keepers at Washington,

N. H., during the year 1844. One of these, Elder T. M. Preble, published the first Adventist treatise on the Bible Sabbath, Feb. 13, 1845. In this we read:—

“Thus we see Dan. 7: 25 fulfilled, the little horn changing ‘times and laws.’ Therefore it appears to me that all who keep the first day for the Sabbath, are Pope’s Sunday-keepers, and God’s Sabbath-breakers.”

Through Elder Preble’s treatise, Capt. Joseph Bates, who had quite a prominent part in the great advent movement, accepted the despised Sabbath truth, devoting his last dollar to its promulgation. He was one of the first to see that the central object of the sanctuary is the ark of God, and that under the mercy-seat is God’s holy law, containing the Sabbath. He also called attention to the proclamation of the third angel’s message relative to God’s commandments. Thus one by one the glorious truths for our time were unfolded from the sure word of prophecy. The eyes of the Adventists were now turned heavenward, where they beheld, in the opened temple, Christ officiating as their great High Priest before the mercy-seat, which covered God’s holy law, and from which he dispenses pardon and forgiveness. The true Sabbath, written with God’s own finger, appeared in heavenly luster as the eternal seal between Jehovah and the true Israel, in whose hearts it was to be written by the Holy Spirit; and as the full import of the third angel’s message of fearful warning was unfolded, it became evident that the sealing time of Israel had begun. Thus

the bitter disappointment of 1844, which discouraged so many, proved to the persevering seeker after divine truth, only the crucible to bring forth the threefold message of Revelation 14 in all its completeness, developing a people to whom the words in Rev. 14: 12 could be truthfully applied.

Shortly after Captain Bates had received the Sabbath truth, two others destined to be its powerful exponents began to keep the Sabbath,—Elder James White, who was instrumental in starting the publishing work among Seventh-day Adventists, and Elder J. N. Andrews, whose ready pen gave shape to the fundamental principles held by them. In 1846 Mrs. E. G. White, who was to give a spiritual impress to the work, united with the denomination.

But was the faith in the prophetic truths that was thus refined in the crucible of disappointment, justified by developments? During the middle of the nineteenth century a few believers in New England, who were poor in this world's goods, but who were rich in faith, acquainted with but one language, were fully persuaded that, according to the light they had received, this threefold message would go with power throughout all the earth, and gather a people out of all nations, who would walk in its light, and wait for its Lord. To-day one may begin in Alaska, to the extreme northwest, and pass through Canada, the United States, Mexico, and Central and South America, and he will find about seventy-five thousand believers spreading the first, second, and third angel's messages, and walking in their light;

he may turn toward the many islands of the Pacific, where he will find hundreds of believers scattered here and there, and thousands more in Australia; or, starting in the Eastern hemisphere, he may begin at Iceland and Lapland on the north, and travel through the heart of Europe and Africa until he reaches Cape of Good Hope, or he may begin at the western point of Europe and go eastward until he reaches Siberia, Korea, China, and Japan, or southward to India, and in these lands he will find about twenty-five thousand Sabbath-keepers, active in their churches and missions,— the one true Israel of God, having one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one Sabbath. Thousands of gospel workers are proclaiming this everlasting gospel in a large number of tongues to Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, white and black, pagan and Mohammedan. A hundred or more printing-presses, distributed over all the continents and among the islands, are constantly engaged the year round — and often work day and night — in preparing books, tracts, pamphlets, and journals, and thousands of willing hands are busy in scattering these publications by the million, like the falling leaves of autumn. In all lands hundreds of young people are being educated to swell the list of faithful workers. The physical welfare of man also receives due consideration. Over a hundred physicians and eighteen hundred nurses are employed as medical missionaries, and there are sanitariums and medical missions on all continents. The denomination discards narcotics and alcoholic drinks. Liberal

gifts and tithes of this live body, which God's grace has made willing to sacrifice for him, supply the necessary means to send forth these workers into every clime under heaven. This is God's work. This is the fruit of belief in his sure word of prophecy. As early as 1895, the Hauck-Herzog Realencyclopedia very fittingly stated: "The Seventh-day Adventists are at present a mighty, aggressive denomination, and they will continue to prosper, especially in America, for some time to come."⁹

The third angel's message has become a living reality, and its loud voice and mighty influence will be felt more and more. Its beginnings were small, and the work grew very slowly at first. The first general meeting was held in 1855 at Battle Creek, Mich. The first conference was organized in 1861, and in 1863 five such conferences were joined together as the General Conference. About that time there were three thousand five hundred members, and about \$8,000 annual income. At the end of 1910 there are over 100,000 believers, with nearly 3,500 churches and companies, representing all parts of the world. The General Conference Committee now consists of forty-six members. Its headquarters is at Takoma Park, Washington, D. C. There are 23 union and 106 local conferences, and 87 missions, employing 4,346 workers; their tithes and offerings for supporting the gospel work amounted to \$2,223,767 for 1910. Their institutions represent an investment of \$6,659,940; there are 86 educa-

⁹ Adventisten, I, 195-198.

tional institutions, 28 publishing houses, and 74 sanitariums. The enrolment in the higher schools shows 7,169 students taught by 561 teachers. The sales of the publishing houses in 1910 amounted to \$1,560,510, and 610 workmen are employed in getting out publications in over 69 languages. They publish 126 weekly and monthly journals. About 33 000 patients received medical care that was rendered by the 1,989 physicians and nurses engaged in this work.

In North America, including Canada, there are 12 union and 65 local conferences, with a membership of 66,500. In South and Central America, with the West Indies, there are three union conferences, and over 7,500 members. In the Australasian Union Conference, which is composed of Australia and many islands of the Pacific, there are 4,600 members. Europe forms a division of the General Conference. It has six union and 24 local conferences, and about 22,000 members. It looks after the missions in Asiatic Russia, and Turkey, and in northern and eastern Africa. South Africa also forms a union conference with over 1,000 members, and its mission work extends to Nyassaland and to the border of the Kongo. The Seventh-day Adventist Mission Board has direct oversight of the work in China, Korea, Japan, India, and the West Coast of Africa, where there are about 2,500 believers, and whither quite a strong missionary force has been sent during the last few years.

A comparison with the Seventh-day Baptists will

show the strength that the sure word of prophecy has been to the Sabbath movement. At present there are 9,500 Seventh-day Baptists, nearly all of whom are in the United States; they have a few churches in England and Holland, and a mission in China and in Java. As to schools, they have five academies, one college, and a university. The American Tract Society is the publishing agency of the Seventh-day Baptists, and has its headquarters at Plainfield, N. J., where their church organ, *The Sabbath Recorder*, is published. The Seventh-day Baptists do not lack men of education, of talent, and of means, but they do lack the power of the prophetic message to make the Sabbath a live issue.

Besides these two live bodies of Sabbath-keepers, there is still the Abyssinian Church, which formally keeps the seventh day, together with the first, as the author can testify, having attended their services in Jerusalem and Asmara, and conversed with some of their leading men.

God's Sabbath, so long despised and buried under human ordinances, again shines forth not only from the sacred page of the Bible and from the divine law in the heavenly sanctuary, but also through the lives of thousands of its loyal observers in all parts of the world. The Sabbath movement is not only a living issue in the time of the end, but it is *the* great issue of the third angel's message in Revelation 14, and of the sealing work in Revelation 7.

Israel of old read the prophecies pointing so clearly to the coming Messiah, every Sabbath day; and when



Christ came among his own countrymen in exact fulfilment of these prophecies, they rejected him, yea, they crucified him, and persecuted his followers. The dry branches were broken off and dispersed among the nations, as a warning example of the fate to be meted out to unbelief; and their once glorious temple and city are trodden under foot to this day. But the true Israel, accepting the prophetic messages of John, and continually searching the Holy Scriptures, recognized in Jesus of Nazareth the promised Messiah; men of unwavering faith held him up as the only One in whose name salvation is found, and thousands accepted the glad tidings. Christ, whom the builders rejected, became the chief corner-stone of the building.

From childhood, nominal Christians learn the ten commandments, and use them in their confessional, or ask God to incline their hearts to keep them; they bewail the profanation of the "Christian sabbath;" they clamor for increased secular Sunday legislation; they lean upon the arm of flesh. The true Sabbath is presented to them from God's own Word, in the light of his law, which the Spirit of God is ever willing to write upon their hearts; a solemn warning, a clear, prophetic message, is presented to them with a loud voice, but they turn deaf ears to it. Shall Jerusalem's doom become the general and final doom, not of one city, but of the whole world? But again there appears a true Israel, not of flesh nor of one nation, but an Israel of the Spirit, and of all nations, kindreds, tongues,

and people; and to them this prophetic message brings welcome light, for which they have long sought. They delight in God's law; they turn their feet from the divine rest day, and call it "the holy of the Lord, honorable." By faith in Christ they ride over all the difficulties which tower up before them as mountains. They do not clamor for Sabbath laws, but thirst for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit that it may write the divine law upon their hearts, and seal them with the perpetual sign between God and his true Israel,— a work to be finished in the end of time. As thousands are sealed with God's own seal, through the world-wide proclamation of the third angel, not only are the rejected foundations of many generations again raised up, but the prophetic salutation to the Sabbath-keepers of Rhode Island, now stands forth as a fact manifested in all the world: "*Here* is the patience of the saints: *here* are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus."





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CHAPTER XXIX

THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY

A human institution under various guises — The weekly cycle changed — Catholic Sunday — Continental Sunday — *Figmentum Anglicanum* Confederacies — Difference of theory and practise — International federation — Prize essays — Sunday question still unsolved — The best Constitution to be amended — Catholic support — Socialism a renaissance of Puritanism — A modern crusade — Its new sign of victory — The sealing work — The mark of the beast — Roman challenges — Final war with the remnant.

TOWARD the middle of the eighteenth century the Sunday institution still bore the evidences of its human origin. The different promoters had all left their stamp upon it to mark the different stages of its development, and the various ways of its observance plainly revealed the different motives from which they were once prompted. As to its history, its antiquity is not to be questioned. Serving as a feast of mirth, in the remote ages of paganism, it easily found favor in the Christian church, when some of the church Fathers dedicated it in the second century to a similar purpose in the Christian church. The pagans who flocked, half converted, into the fold of Christ, were still attached to the day of the sun, and were therefore willing to honor it, though the reasons for so doing had undergone a change. But when the character of its observance was to be altered, the Roman Cæsar had to be implored to lend the aid of his universal power in its behalf. Although he himself was not as yet a member of the Christian church, he promulgated

the first law in its favor, serving a double purpose and a common cause in honor of the "venerable sun," represented by Christ, the "Sun of Righteousness," and Apollo, the invincible sun-god. Both church and state now legislated in favor of it. As the Roman bishop fell heir to the throne of the Cæsars, these laws increased in number and severity. If any one refused to obey, he might lose his right hand, or pay large fines. Divine miracles, apparitions, and letters from heaven were adduced to disperse any doubts as to the original motives or design of its early promoters. Schoolmen well versed in philosophy attempted to prove that although the Sunday institution was contrary to God's ancient law, yet he had promulgated a new law, and, in consequence, the papal church had full authority not only to retain Sunday as a sign of its power, but to establish it with divine commands.

As we can trace on an ancient building its various kinds of architecture, so Sunday bears the different marks of the various stages of its development and the various manners of its observance. The Roman ecclesiastical Sunday we have followed from its pagan foundations. In the eleventh century a schism occurred which resulted in the East in the Greek ecclesiastical manner of its observance. Matters became, however, more serious when, in the sixteenth century, the Reformers arose, who insisted in general on the Bible as the sole rule of faith, and charged that the theories heretofore employed in the support of Sunday were papal and sophistical.

However, they did not see the glory of the divine Sabbath, but, charmed by the antiquity and generality of the rival institution, invented a new theory and created the Reformed method of keeping the day. But their immediate successors, dissatisfied with this new practise, proposed another method, between the Roman and the Reformed, known as the Episcopal. Yet not content with these various existing manners of observing Sunday, a stranger one yet appears,—the Puritan,—the originators of which, though leaving the old institution, were audacious enough to claim for their new theory the sanction and the command of the Word of God.

Thus about the year 1750 we find a multitude of theories and divers manners of observance, showing plainly the different stages of development in rearing up the Sunday institution, for the honor of which church Fathers, princes, popes, schoolmen, reformers, doctors of theology and law without number, and churches have toiled, and state and church have shared the cost in common.

The only remedy for this motley array of theories and manners of observance would be to blend them by united legislation, and to base them on some uniform foundation, to which all could agree. To tell the truth, there are divers opinions as to the purpose of this institution: some, in harmony with its original design, want to devote it to joyful feasts or holidays; others wish it partly for that, and partly for rest; and still others wish it for absolute rest. But the word Sunday is a generic one, and as such,

it can stand for all ideas. Should any trouble arise over the real purpose of Sunday, especially on the part of the noisy party, there might be recourse to the remedy employed in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, or later in Scotland: some soldiers with fixed bayonets may be on hand to see that all agree, in harmony with Christian liberty, to rest and worship God at the same time — all under *one grand, universal panoply*.

With the rise of the French Revolution, a new danger threatened the Sunday institution. In the same France where Gregory of Tours had employed his miracles, where the most Sunday laws had been enacted, where the Sabbatarians had been exterminated, where Thomas Aquinas developed his sophistry, where even Protestantism could exist only as the "church of the wilderness," "the eldest son" of the church rebelled against his intolerant, corrupt mother, and threw off her grievous yoke. What papal Rome had presumed by changing God's time and law, what a Tyndale had foreshadowed, what the Reformers considered within the power of man, — that was done by an atheistic nation: in 1793 they changed the weekly cycle of seven into a cycle of ten, appointing every tenth day to be marked by intermission in labor. Heaven-daring as was their deed, yet even they did not carry out what antinomians suggest by wresting the words of Paul "unto their own destruction," to esteem every day alike. However, the weekly cycle was again restored in 1802 by the monarchy.

As this revolution occurred on papal soil, we shall trace cause and effect here. The scholastic Sunday theology was codified by the council of Trent. However, since the infallibility of the Pope was declared in 1870, Pope Pius IX could justly claim that "the tradition is I," and on the principle that this continued inspiration rests with the Pope, the Papal See is at liberty to modify the Roman ecclesiastical Sunday theory to suit the emergency, as the end justifies the means. So far as the elaborate system is concerned, the papal church has been successful in entangling its deluded followers with it, so that all difference between the Sabbath and a festival has been obliterated, and their practise, in spite of all legislation, is in harmony therewith. Butler's Catechism illustrates how catechisms and priests have effaced this distinction:—

"Say the third commandment. *Ans.*—Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. *Ques.*—What is commanded by the third commandment? *Ans.*—To sanctify Sunday. *Ques.*—Which is the chief duty . . . ? *Ans.*—Assisting at the holy sacrifice of the mass. *Ques.*—How are we to keep holy days? *Ans.*—As we should keep the Sundays. *Ques.*—What traditions of the Christian religion existed before the several books of the New Testament were . . . written? *Ans.*—The substitution of Sunday, as a holy day, for the Sabbath, or Saturday."—*Pages 34, 40, 58.*

The Catechism of the Diocese of Paris, 1857, thus gives the Sabbath commandment in metrical version: "*Les Dimanches tu garderas, en servant Dieu dévouement*" (The Sundays shalt thou observe, by serving God thereon devoutly).

The new law restoring Sunday in France threatened fine and imprisonment, but as it was not backed by public opinion, it remained a dead letter until its repeal (1880). Dec. 22, 1854, Pope Pius IX sanctioned the French Association for the Observance of the Lord's Day, exciting the zeal of the faithful by special indulgences. Even something similar to the epistle of Eustace was produced,—the miracle of "*Notre Dame de la Salette*."¹ Many tracts were written. Thus the former chaplain of Napoleon I, Abbé Mullois, in "Sunday for the People" (page 10), writes:—

"Well, my friends, there is a law of God which enjoins the sanctification of Sunday; it is a paragraph in the divine code, a paragraph fallen upon the earth amidst the lightning and thunder of Sinai. This is what God has said: 'I am the Lord, remember the Sunday, to keep it holy.'"

At the World's Fair (1899) an international conference called by the French government passed forty-eight resolutions in favor of Sunday. Shortly after that, a "six-day law" was passed, allowing only six days' work a week for women and children, but leaving it to employers to determine upon the day of rest; however, in 1893 this day was specified as Sunday.

The able Socialist, P. J. Proudhon, tells us what the French Sunday is, after all these endeavors:—

"Sunday in the towns is a day of rest without motive or end; an occasion of display for the women and children;

¹ Hessey, Bampton Lectures, p. 359.



of consumption in the restaurants and wine shops; of degrading idleness; of surfeit and debauchery. The workmen make merry, the *grisettes* dance, the soldier tipples, and the tradesman alone is busy."

And a leading Catholic author and Sunday promoter, Abbé Gaumé, echoes the same ideas: "Thus by a disorder which cries for vengeance to Heaven, the holy day is the day of the week most profaned."²

Italy has the same legal proviso — that the weekly rest is a matter to be settled between proprietors and workmen. A prominent priest of Brooklyn, Father S. Malone, thus views the situation: —

"The church in France and Italy has lost much of her prestige, and the consequence is a very lax observance of the Sabbath by the masses. Unbelieving men at the head of the governments in both countries allow the people to do just as they please, and we see labor and pleasure the characteristics of the Sunday on the Continent."³

Belgium is simply "little France." In Spain and Portugal, on Sunday multitudes rush from the confessional to the bull-fight. Mexico and papal South America present the same aspect. Russia and the states under the sway of the Greek Church still adhere to Constantine's policy, in having markets on the "venerable day of the sun," to further church-going. Thus the total failure of the ecclesiastical theory is manifest: its results are a holiday divided between church-going, work, and pleasure.

In the German empire a stricter Sunday law was enacted March 7, 1888, which forbids employers

² Crafts, "Sabbath for Man," p. 149.

³ Id., p. 64.

to compel work on Sunday. In commercial business, the employees are not to work longer than five hours on Sunday. As to its religious observance, it is where the Reformers left it,—a church holiday devoted to pleasure, work ceasing only within the time specified by the police regulations. The same is true of Austria-Hungary, and other countries on the Continent. The Continental Sunday still remains the great eyesore to the English-speaking divines, while their Continental colleagues still, to a great extent, style the English-American Sunday by the same term that was used by the Dutch divines at Dort, in 1618: *Figmentum Anglicanum*, or “An English fiction.”

¶ This “Anglo-American theory of the Lord’s day,” as Dr. Schaff fitly terms it, received a new impetus through the atrocities of the French Revolution. The General Assembly, meeting at Edinburgh on March 1, 1798, solicited in a “Warning and Admonition to the People of Scotland,” the co-operation of the people with the British government in carrying on a war with France, on the ground, among many other reasons, that the French “have effaced from their calendar that day upon which Christians have, from the beginning, celebrated the resurrection of the Lord Jesus.”⁴ This marks the era of the *modern Sunday crusade*, or, to use the words of one of its most ardent champions, Rev. W. F. Crafts, “sabbath crusade.” And yet in its very beginning, one of the able advocates of the

⁴ Cox, *Sab. Laws*, p. 340.

"Christian sabbath," Bishop Horsley, in his three sermons on Mark 2: 27, observing the reaction from the Scotch Sunday law, gave this wise counsel to Sunday reformers:—

"The present humor of the common people leads perhaps more to a profanation of the festival than to a superstitious rigor in the observance of it, but, in the attempt to reform, we shall do wisely to remember that the thanks for this are chiefly due to the base spirit of puritanical hypocrisy, which in the last century opposed and defeated the wise attempts of government to regulate the recreations of the day by authority, and prevent the excesses, which have actually taken place, by a rational indulgence."⁵

But how soon this spirit was revived, however, is seen from a "Pastoral Admonition of the Sanctification of the Sabbath," which was issued in 1834 by the General Assembly, to be read from every pulpit in Scotland. It is thus worded:—

"With deep concern, we have learned that in various parts of the country there has been, for a number of years past, a great increase of unnecessary traveling on the Lord's day, both for purposes of business and amusements; that shops have been kept open on that day for the sale of provisions and other articles of traffic; that multitudes, forgetful of their most sacred duties and their immortal interests, have become accustomed to wander in the fields, to frequent scenes of recreation, or to spend their time in riot and drunkenness. . . . Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we would persuade and adjure the hardened, by all that is bitter in remorse, . . . by all that is wofully agonizing in the gnawing of the worm that dieth not, and in the fire that is not quenched, to awaken from the dream of guilty insensibility, and to flee from the wrath to come to the hope set before them in the gospel."⁶

⁵ Cox, Sab. Laws, p. 120, note.

⁶ Acts of the General Assembly, pp. 1163-1165.

As both Protestant and Catholic churches, and civil and religious legislation, thus far had failed to make the human church ordinance of Sunday the divine Sabbath rest "according to the commandment" of God, a new plan was devised by the organization of special societies for this express purpose. The first, as far as we can learn, was the Society for Promoting the Due Observance of the Lord's Day (London, 1831); then, in January, 1839, the Scottish Society for Promoting, etc., was formed at Edinburgh, and in 1840 came the Philadelphia Sabbath Association. }

A very interesting incident occurred in connection with the organization of the Evangelical Alliance, which is recorded by Cox:—

"When the fundamentals of the Alliance were under discussion at the first conference on Christian union, at Liverpool, it was found that there was *such a variety of opinion respecting the Scriptural ground and authority on which the Sabbath was to be based*, that it was deemed prudent and forbearing not to introduce it amongst the various topics that form the doctrinal statement of our common faith, but to give it place, instead, among the sundry objects for common action, with respect to which we could safely combine, without attempting to decide the precise terms upon which united action should be carried on. When the Alliance itself was formed by the conference assembled in London in 1846, although the original doctrinal basis was enlarged, these objects, amongst which Sabbath desecration was one, were still left in the same position."⁷

But the great Babylon of Sunday theories appears in still another instance. When the British Organ-

⁷ Sab. Laws, pp. 367, 368.

ization of the Evangelical Alliance was formed, the subject of Sabbath desecration was handed to the Northwestern Division, but there were among the members of the special committee appointed to consider it, "*such different views on the theoretical, not the practical, part of the subject*" that it was referred back. The only valuable result was the collection of statistics, which were submitted in October, 1848, when the British Organization resolved: —

"That this conference, on consideration of the vast and growing amount of Lord's day desecration in this country, and the great evil entailed on the country thereby, feel it a solemn and binding duty to lift up their voice against this crying sin."⁸

But if the best English divines can not agree on the *Scriptural ground and authority* of their theory, how can the people be expected to agree in practise? Although the Evangelical Alliance even put the immortality of the soul in its platform, yet, to insure agreement, Sunday was left out. However, where the law and the testimony are lacking, they will say, "A confederacy," and that their confederacies still increase the following facts will show: —

1847. Sabbath Alliance of Scotland.

1856. Maryland Sabbath Association.

1875. Sunday League, London.

And what the Evangelical Alliance would not admit in 1846 resulted in the founding (1876) of the International Federation for the Observance of Sunday Rest societies, with headquarters in Calvin's

⁸ Sab. Laws, p. 368.

city, Geneva. Not less than twelve world's congresses in leading cities of Europe and America have been held under the auspices of this international Sunday federation, several of them being in connection with world's fairs, as at Chicago, Paris, and St. Louis. The first paragraph of the "Declaration of Principles" reads:—

"The Federation . . . proposes, by the help of God, to labor to restore for the good of all, a better observance of the day of rest, known under the old covenant by the name of the Sabbath, and transferred by the primitive church, under the name of the Lord's day, to the first day of the week in remembrance of the resurrection of Christ."

In 1888 the American Sabbath Union was organized. One of its leading spirits and writers is Dr. W. F. Crafts. There is a number of other societies; such as, the Lord's Day Alliance of Canada and Sunday Rest Association (London).

Another means employed to stimulate Sunday observance has been the writing of prize essays in its favor. Though Thomas Aquinas and the schoolmen exhausted their ample stock of philosophy, though Dr. N. Bownd vainly tried to tap a still deeper vein, who knows but that "for filthy lucre's sake" some modern genius may yet bring out some new and taking theory, to make the world keep Sunday as a rest day? John Henderson, of Park, England, is the one who (1847) first conceived the idea of offering three prizes for the three best essays upon the "Temporal Advantages of the Sabbath to the Laboring Classes." In three months ten

hundred forty-five essays were received; the prizes were increased to one hundred, five of which came from Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.⁹ This innovation quickly spread from Great Britain to the Continent and to North America, prizes of even one thousand dollars being offered. When, in 1847, "a friend of God in the blessed England" felt constrained to contribute a prize of one hundred fifty pounds and another of one hundred pounds for the two best German essays to set forth the blessings of Sunday, Dr. F. Liebetrut and others freely responded. The noted Catholic historian, Döllinger, thus describes the failure of this new attempt to remove the insuperable hindrance to establish Sunday observance on Protestant principles:—

"Krausold, Liebetrut, and others, have shown that the principles of the Reformation have rendered it impossible to found upon them an obligation to the solemn observance of the Sabbath. The Sabbath has fallen with the Mosaic law; the Sunday is not to be found commanded as a holy day in the New Testament; the church has no higher authority to introduce such a holy day: to its commands, therefore, there is as little obedience due (through evangelical freedom) as to the ordinance respecting fasting, confession, and so forth. How, then, is it possible to make a Protestant population comprehend that they are bound to the observance of the Sunday as a holy day? The numberless councils for the last thirty years that have been held upon this question have, as a matter of course, only served to establish the complete impossibility of solving it."¹⁰

However, a special issue in the United States of

⁹ Gilfillan, *The Sabbath*, p. 167.

¹⁰ *Church and Churches, or Papacy and Temporal Power*, London, 1861, p. 309.

America demands some attention. Seventh-day Adventists, as early as 1847, claimed from Rev. 13: 11-18, that the time would come when this lamblike government, where church and state are separated, would speak like a dragon, and, contrary to its present Constitution, would persecute those who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus. The first small cloud appeared in February, 1863, when representatives of eleven denominations met at Xenia, Ohio, and drew up an amendment to the United States Constitution. This amendment was adopted by the national convention, Jan. 27, 1864. A new organization, the National Association to Secure the Religious Amendment of the United States Constitution, was thus added to the list. In article 2 of its constitution we read: "The object of this society shall be to maintain existing Christian features in the American government; to promote needed reforms in the actions of the government touching the Sabbath." Their official organ bears the significant name of the *Christian Statesman*.

Dec. 2-8, 1908, a still more powerful organization, with a strong Sunday plank in its platform, was organized in Philadelphia. Not less than four hundred thirty delegates, representing thirty denominations, constituted the first quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Another still stronger party is the Roman Catholic Church. Its aim is outlined by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical of Nov. 7, 1885, wherein all Catholics in the United States are exhorted that

they must "penetrate wherever possible in the administration of civil affairs, and . . . do all in their power to cause the constitutions of States, and legislation, to be modeled in the principles of the true church." A long editorial, "Rome in the United States," points out plainly that it is only a matter of time until Rome will gain her point, and that politicians already feel that, wherever she casts her influence, in that direction the scales will turn.

It is very significant that the first German authority on law, Prof. P. Hinschius, declares that, though the United States acknowledges the entire separation of church and state in its Constitution, yet it goes far beyond this principle in the way in which it enjoins Sunday observance, often forbidding the most innocent amusements. That the judges are influenced by the prevailing sentiment, he assigns as the only reason the courts do not declare such ordinances unconstitutional."¹¹

✓ The address of Pope Leo XIII delivered March 20, 1881, reveals the deep interest he took in the Sunday movement:—

"The observance of the sacred day which was willed expressly by God from the first origin of man, is imperatively demanded by the absolute and essential dependence of the creature upon the Creator." "And it is precisely to this fatal tendency, which to-day prevails, to desire to lead mankind far away from God, and to order the affairs of kingdoms and nations as if God did not exist, that to-day is to be attributed this contempt and neglect of the day of the Lord."¹²

¹¹ Staat und Kirche, p. 222.

¹² "Sabbath for Man", pp. 60, 61.

The American Catholic prelates followed in December, 1884, with a special pastoral letter:—

"One of the surest marks and measures of the decay of religion in a people is their non-observance of the Lord's day. In traveling through some European countries, a Christian's heart is pained by the almost unabated rush of toil and traffic on Sunday. . . .

"The church mourned, protested, struggled, but was almost powerless to resist the combined forces of popular avarice and Cæsar's influence, arrayed on the side of irreligion. . . . The Lord's day is the poor man's day of rest; it has been taken from him—and the laboring classes are a seething volcano of social discontent. . . . Let all our people 'remember to keep holy the Lord's day.'" ¹³

This Catholic statement mentions another strong factor in favor of Sunday,—it is the "poor man's rest day." Dr. Crafts says:—

"Even more than in the United States, Continental agitations against Sunday work have originated in labor organizations. Socialism is leading a renaissance of Puritanism." "The 'Sunday rest movement' is being urged all over Continental Europe—the suspension of industry, without any restraint of Sunday vices." "Antichristian associations of working men in France and Germany and an antisabbath convention in the United States have made the right to such a rest a plank in their infidel platforms." ¹⁴

While Sunday reformers are willing to accept the offered hand of infidels, papists, or any one who will assist them, yet this same author shows what must inevitably follow:—

"Protestants, Catholics, and skeptics, monarchists and republicans, cooperated in 1890-92 in promoting the Sun-

¹³ "Sabbath for Man," pp. 594, 595.

¹⁴ *Id.*, pp. 17, 18, 231.

day-rest movement on humanitarian and hygienic grounds. There was too little of appeal to divine authority and conscience, too little law. The movement somewhat reduced the Sunday toil and traffic, but not the Sunday dissipation, and was chiefly valuable as showing that to make the sabbath a holiday makes it a workaday and a devil's day." ¹⁵

That Sunday reformers consider this movement a crusade, Mr. Crafts thus expresses:—

"Leo XIII has given his hearty indorsement to Count Cissei, of France, in his crusade for a better observance of the Lord's day." ¹⁶

Now, the crusaders had a cross as their sign or mark, as they went forth to slay and torment infidels and heretics. We shall let Mr. Crafts inform us what is the mark of this movement:—

"As Columbus and other explorers of his period were accustomed to set up a cross in each new land discovered, in anticipation of conquering it for some Christian kingdom, so the Lord's day has been set up in every land of our world, as a monument of its anticipated conquest for its divine Lord. There is no other token of Christian unity, of world unity, like this oft-recurring, everywhere-present Lord's day, dedicated to the universal Lordship of Christ. It is as if a monarch sent a messenger every week to all his subjects to touch each one of them upon the shoulder and remind him that his Lord would have him remember to be loyal. Controversy has led some of us who believe that the Lord's day is also the Christian sabbath, to slight the former title, because some who use it make each selfish sinner 'the son of man,' who is 'lord of the Sabbath,' and separate the day from the decalogue. But the Lord's day, in its proper use, is the more regnant term, the sign in which we are to conquer." ¹⁷

¹⁵ "Sabbath for Man," p. 584.

¹⁶ *Id.*, p. 60.

¹⁷ *Id.*, p. 662.

A most striking coincidence! Under Constantine's theocracy "the venerable day of the sun" became the "significant and expressive sign of the union" between paganism and Christianity, as the fitting seal of the false universal theocracy. In the twentieth century, under an attempted union of church and state in America, this same Sunday, as the "Lord's day," becomes the great "token of Christian unity" between Protestants and infidels, the sign of loyalty "in which we are to conquer." But there is another statement equally striking in a German "Sunday book," published in 1866, and containing three hundred twenty-eight pages. This was issued by the Christian Union in north Germany, in a ten thousand edition to begin with. "How beautiful is the Sunday in Scotland; . . . a thousand essays of which Scotch working men declared in its favor," are the words which serve as introduction, on pages 9, 10. Then it applies the one-day-in-seven theory to the Lutheran wording: "Thou shalt keep holy the holy day." After quoting some texts and church Fathers in behalf of Sunday, section 3, "The Sabbath a Sign," follows. From Ezekiel 9, Revelation 7, Ex. 31: 13, 14, and Revelation 13, it is then shown that —

"there is to be, on one hand, the enforcement of the mark of the beast, which the rude, impudent, wicked desecrators of the Sabbath bear manifestly and openly, who are separated from God and his holy church. . . . Their part will be eternal torment."

"But blessed are they who bear God's sign, and whom the man in linen had marked with the inkhorn. As truly as the

Sabbath is the sign of the covenant between the true God and his people, so truly must this sign be found with those who belong to God's people."¹⁸

This is a fair acknowledgment that the sealing work of Revelation 7 is nothing less than the perfecting in number and character of the true Israel in the last days, by the special threefold message of Revelation 14, and that the Sabbath, instituted in Eden by Christ, will be the distinctive sign between them and their God, wherewith they are sealed; and, further, that the great issue set forth in Revelation 13 and 14 will be the observance of the true Sabbath. These evident truths are perverted by the writer of this book on Sunday, who, blinded by the one-day-in-seven theory, applies them to Sunday.

Now, as the true Sabbath, the seventh day of the week, and not Sunday, is the seal between Christ and his people, the token of true loyalty to him and his Father's law, the breaking of that Sabbath is the "mark of the beast." This "mark" is definitely fixed in Rev. 13:17, as the "mark, or the name, of the beast" described in Rev. 13:1-10, which we found to be the Papacy. Prelate Bengel's comments on Revelation 13 are of special import:—

"The beast here described is the Papacy. But what adds to the difficulty is that during the last few years some in the evangelical church have not only let go of the right explanation, but contend against it, although ever since the time of the Waldenses, this has been confirmed by the blood of so

¹⁸ Sonntagsbuch, Eisleben, 1866, pp. 29-38.

many witnesses for the truth; it has also been sustained at great cost by the Reformation; it has been proven by the ever-increasing light, and there is a positive necessity to persevere in the tribulation to come. From the truth of this explanation, neither enemies nor friends of the truth can move us."¹⁹

The last issue will be between the observance of the Sabbath of God and the "mark" of the Papacy, which will contain its name. But the distinctive mark of the Papacy we have found to be Sunday, called the "Lord's day." Thus the final issue comes between Sabbath and Sunday. But in Rev. 13: 18, we read: "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and this number is six hundred threescore and six." The Papacy is a government; the Pope is a "man," and the official title on which he bases all his decretals, all his indulgences, the power to forgive sins, etc., is *Vicarius Filii Dei*, "Vicar of the Son of God." Latin is the official world-wide language of the Papacy. Taking the letters in this title that have a numerical value, this is the result: —

V I C a r I V s f I L I I D e I

5 1 100 1 5 1 50 1 1 500 1 = 666

The Pope pretends that he has, in honor of Christ and by virtue of the authority conveyed to him as vicar of the Son of God, changed the seventh-day Sabbath into the first-day "Lord's day," although

¹⁹ Erklärte Offenb. Joh., Stuttgart, 1834, pp. 423, 438.

Christ himself instituted the seventh day at creation by his own rest, blessing, and sanctification. A few extracts will show that the Papacy vaunts this change as a sign of her authority to-day, as much as she did in the days of the Reformers:—

"The Catholic Church of its own infallible authority created Sunday a holy day to take the place of the Sabbath of the old law."²⁰

"The Bible says, 'Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day.' The Catholic Church says, No! By my divine power I abolish the Sabbath day, and command you to keep the first day of the week. And lo, the entire civilized world bows down in reverent obedience to the command of the holy Catholic Church!"²¹

"Reason and common sense demand the acceptance of one or the other of these alternations: either Protestantism and the keeping holy of Saturday, or Catholicity and the keeping of Sunday. Compromise is impossible."²²

These are papal challenges scattered broadcast in one country within less than a year. The German Catholics distribute "prize riddles for Protestant preachers," against the prize essays. The first of these "riddles" is, To supply a clear and definite text for Sunday observance.²³

The great burden of the third angel's message is, therefore, not only to warn, as did the Reformers, against the Papacy as the power which perverts the gospel, but also in addition to this, to warn against the Papacy as the power which presumed

²⁰ *Kansas City Catholic*, Feb. 9, 1893.

²¹ Father C. Enright, C. S. S. R. of the Redemptoral College. *Kansas City, Mo.*, June, 1893.

²² *Catholic Mirror* (Cardinal Gibbons's organ), Dec. 23, 1893.

²³ Bonifacius-Broschueren, 18, 1887, Paderborn.



to change God's times and law, and thus to develop a people who will not only keep "the faith of Jesus," but also "the commandments of God." Rev. 14: 12. And this issue is to come first and most prominently in the very country where it would be least expected,—in the most liberal government, which was so long the refuge of persecuted Protestants,—that country which has grown up out of the earth into a vast republic since the Papacy received her deadly wound during the French Revolution,—the United States of America. That pagan Rome should have persecuted the early Christians in their observance of the Sabbath of Jehovah; that the Papacy should have done so during her long reign; or that Russia, and even Protestant Europe, where a union of church and state still remain, intolerance simply changing names and objects, should do so, is a fact for which some excuse might be offered; but that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the very country whose Constitution guarantees liberty of conscience to all its citizens, and which leads in modern inventions, should show such an intolerant spirit, seems incredible. And yet the sure word of prophecy never fails. While most of the States of the Union have exemption clauses in their Sunday laws, which favor those who conscientiously observe the seventh day as the Sabbath, there have been instances where these were lacking, or where they had been stricken out. During the winter of 1884-85 the exemption clause in the Sunday law of Arkansas was repealed. A number of

Seventh-day Adventists were at once arrested and fined. Even the supreme court upheld the decision of the lower court, until Arkansas reinstated its exemption clause, in 1887. Tennessee, however, still has no exemption clause.

This subject is ably dealt with in "American State Papers,"²⁴ from which we quote the following statements:—

"It is a fact, however, that no less than seventeen out of the forty-eight States in the United States having Sunday laws have actually prosecuted conscientious observers of the seventh day. These States are Alabama, California, Georgia, Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee, Virginia, and Texas. Sunday laws are a prolific source of religious persecution, as is evidenced by the fact that from 1885 to 1896, as a result of their enforcement, over one hundred Seventh-day Adventists in the United States, and about thirty in foreign countries, were prosecuted for quiet work on the first day of the week, resulting in fines and costs amounting to \$2,269.69, and imprisonments totaling 1,438 days, and 455 days served in chain-gangs."

If the lamblike government speaks as a dragon, what can we expect of the others? Can we wonder if we learn that hundreds of Seventh-day Adventists in the Old World have for years been fined, imprisoned, and exiled? The author knows instances on the continent of Europe, the Sunday frolic of which has become a proverb among English-speaking Sunday reformers, where the police have been sent some ten miles to the homes of Sabbath observers in a

²⁴ Revised edition, pp. 733, 734.

forest, to see whether or not they were working on Sunday after they had rested on the Sabbath day "according to the commandment."

This indicates against whom this Sunday crusade will be directed. Protestants, Romanists, skeptics, infidels, working men, all unite to set up the mark of the Papacy in all lands. Mr. Crafts and other Sunday reformers are traveling everywhere, and scores of mighty associations work for the "international world's Sunday." Not only the Pope, the Roman clergy, but even the Virgin has spoken in favor of it. None other than Mr. Crafts gives us the details: In 1872 the *Asociacion para la Observacion de los Dios Festivos* was organized in Santander, Spain. It published a ten-page tract, "*El Domingo*." The larger part of the publication speaks of the need of suspending work on Sunday, "chiefly based on French writings, but liberally fortified by the Sabbath laws of some of the United States, and by Old Testament texts and arguments. It is almost Puritan in severity." But on the last page these words are used to rally their co-religionists to a new crusade:—

"Well known are the words that the one most holy Virgin spoke to the children shepherds of the Alps in the Mount of la Salette, and which she charged them to repeat to all men: 'Blasphemy and the profanation of feast-days are the sins that most deeply arouse the indignation of my Son. Tell my people that if they do not cease from these sins, great punishment will fall upon the world; as also if they depart from these evil things, days of happiness will be their lot.'"²⁵

²⁵ Crafts, "Sabbath for Man," pp. 155, 156.

The modern crusade is on. Sunday is the sign by which the crusaders expect to conquer disloyalty to Christ, to the government, to the church, to the Virgin Mary, and to the interests of the working men. Death to Israel is the charge flung out to irritate the masses against the remnant of Sabbath-keepers in the last days. Will the crusade actually be carried on?—The prophetic word, of which it is said, “Here is wisdom,” answers:—

“And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.”





CHAPTER XXX

THE ETERNAL SABBATH REST OF ISRAEL

The divine building — One "Master Workman" — Memorials of God's creation — Its great object — The final struggle of the remnant — The great victory — The overcomer's reward — The Sabbath on the new earth.

DURING the twentieth century the observance of God's true Sabbath was revived, and its divine origin was clearly manifested. Its history begins in Eden, and continues the six thousand years of time, and reaches over into eternity. Christ was its "master workman,"¹ chosen by his Father to establish it, and he laid its foundation in Eden; by his Spirit he implanted in the heart of man the command to honor the Sabbath, and he bestowed his blessing and his sanctification upon it. He had it set up as a memorial of his wonderful works; he engraved his own name upon it; and his name and his memorial will endure throughout all generations. As human ordinances dishonored its beneficial object, the divine Master Builder himself came, and, removing the rubbish of human tradition, he gave it a new luster by his mighty miracles. The twelve apostles and the ancient church, filled with God's Spirit, observed it faithfully. As a rival institution gradually arose, and the enemy of truth succeeded in directing the wisdom, and the power, and the

¹ Prov. 8 : 30, A. R. V

might of man unto it, and in bringing the divine institution into disrepute as "Jewish," the humble followers of Christ quietly continued on their way. Then those honoring the rival institution issued severe commands, to hinder obedience to God's sacred law; but in spite of the ever-increasing severity of these commands, a few remained true even in the face of death. As the faithful witnesses fell at their post of duty, the Sabbath, like a building uncared for, fell into decay, and in the darkness of the Middle Ages it was almost lost sight of. However, with the dawn of the Reformation, willing builders sprang up everywhere, who, in order to fulfil Isa. 58:12-14, put their hands anew to the work, to "build the old waste places," and to "raise up the foundations of many generations." Even those professing to make the Word of God their only rule of faith and conduct treated these faithful followers of the Master Builder but little better than they had been treated in previous centuries. As the time of the end comes, the bands are broken; knowledge from the sure word of prophecy increases; the threefold message of Revelation 14 is heard everywhere, preparing a people for the coming of the Lord,—a people who will stand in the day of Judgment, when the divine law shall be the standard by which all will be tested; and then is fulfilled the prophecy, "Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." They behold the ark of the testament in the opened temple in heaven. They

look not only upon Jesus as their great High Priest before the throne of mercy, but they also see under that throne God's law and the fourth commandment. Confiding in his help, they at once set to work. Though the Sabbath covers a period of six thousand years, yet it has only *one* "Master Workman," shows but *one* uniform design, is consecrated to but *one* object, is erected by *one* command, is finished by *one* spirit, is built by *one* Israel, and will ever serve to glorify *one* God, and his only Son Jesus Christ.

Not many wise after the wisdom of men, not many mighty, not many noble, work to build up the old waste places; and it is neither the might nor the spirit of man that accomplishes the work, but it is the Spirit of God. The builders are but few; they belong to the despised "minority." They are only a handful, as it were; but they do not cry out, "A confederacy:" they do not need the help of Catholics, nor of infidels; for, beholding the plummet in the hand of the divine Master Workman, they greatly rejoice in seeing the top stone put into place, knowing that their redemption draws nigh. The seventh day is not reared up anew as Pithom and Raamses were built of old (for the workmen on these ancient cities were slaves driven to their labor by the severest of laws), but it stands forth as a glorious monument of the love shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit. It is the work of free men who delight in the law of God, and who, at their own expense and often amid the severest persecutions, honor the per-

petual memorial of God's rest after he had created all things by Christ.

The observance of the Sabbath is sometimes advocated on hygienic grounds, because man lives longer if he rests one day in seven, which is doubtless true. It is claimed that God will bless in basket and store, if we obey him, and this has proved true in the experience of many; and it is also urged that man needs a set time for divine worship. These are all important considerations, though the Scriptures say little about them; they are great incidental advantages and blessings. However, man never would have grown old in Eden, where he was surrounded with blessings, and did not need to toil as we do; and yet even there the Sabbath was given for his good. The chief reason assigned in the Bible for the Sabbath is that it was ordained to commemorate the creation of the heavens and the earth.

As the memorial of the creation, the Sabbath ever reminds us of the true reason why worship is due to God; namely, because he is the creator and has created all things through Christ. The Sabbath, rightly understood, lies at the very foundation of divine worship, teaching this great truth in the most impressive manner, which no other institution does. The true ground of all worship lies in the distinction between the Creator and the creature. The weekly Sabbath was given as a constant reminder of this fact, that it might never become obsolete or be forgotten. Adam received

the Sabbath in his innocence, and notwithstanding the perversity of God's professed people, the Lord has preserved this sacred institution throughout the entire period of man's fallen state.

The twenty-four elders redeemed from among men, in the very act of worshipping Him who sits upon the throne, state the reason why worship is due to God: "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created."² Therefore, even in the glorified state, this great truth is worthy of remembrance. It is for this very purpose that the everlasting gospel is being preached: "Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters."³

God seals his Israel in this time of judgment by writing in their hearts this very memorial, so that they may learn this song of praise, even here. And "blessed is the man . . . that layeth hold" on the Sabbath, when his "salvation is near to come;" for the Lord will give him in his house "a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters," even "an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off."⁴ Accordingly, we read in Rev. 14:1, A. R. V., of the one hundred forty-four thousand sealed ones, "having his name [the Lamb's], and the name of his Father, written on their foreheads."

² Rev. 4:10, 11.

³ Rev. 14:7.

⁴ Isa. 56:2-5.

They will be the special body-guard of the Lamb.

The remnant of Israel will go through great tribulation. The decree will go forth, "that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name." "Small and great, rich and poor, free and bond," are to submit or be killed. Rev. 13: 15-17. And to increase the deception, great miracles will seem to be performed in favor of Sunday; even Elijah's sign will be counterfeited: "He maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth." "Then shall that wicked be revealed, . . . whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause shall God send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie."⁵ Then in a special sense the just shall live by faith; then their patience in keeping God's word will be tried as gold in the fire, and God's promise is to them: "Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth." They now know that their Saviour will come *quickly*, and they look up. Amid the last plagues, in which the unmingled wrath of God will be meted out to those who despise the divine truth and warnings, no plague will come nigh them: "A thousand shall fall at thy side,

⁵ 2 Thess. 2 : 8-13.

and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee.”⁶ Man may sneer, but God will comfort.

After seeing the terrible oppression of God’s people, Rev. 13: 15-18, the revelator continues: “And I saw, and behold, the Lamb standing on the mount Zion, and with him a hundred and forty and four thousand, having his name, and the name of his Father, written on their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and the voice which I heard was as the voice of harpers harping with their harps: and they sing as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four living creatures and the elders.”⁷

Michael, the great prince, now stands up for the children of his people, as of old when Pharaoh and his host perished in the Red Sea. He delivers them by his coming; and they “that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God. And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints.”⁸

But still greater things await them. The second Adam, the Lord of the Sabbath, shall bear rule over the glorious inheritance promised to Abraham and his spiritual seed, and “the kingdom and do-

⁶ Ps. 91 : 7.

⁷ Rev. 14 : 1-5, A. R. V.

⁸ Rev. 15 : 1-3.

minion, and the greatness of the kingdom *under* the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.”⁹ The prayer of his waiting people—“Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done *in earth*, as it is in heaven”—is now answered. When the glory of the Lord fills the new earth as the waters cover the sea, the memorial of creation still shines in never-fading luster:—

“For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain. And it shall come to pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord.”¹⁰

As the “earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God,” when they are glorified in their Father’s house, so Paul, looking forward to this very time, said, “There remaineth therefore a Sabbath rest for the people of God.”¹¹

The reason why this monthly gathering of all the redeemed host from every part of the new earth is to be in the New Jerusalem, may be found in the language of the apocalypse:—

“And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of

⁹ Dan. 7 : 27.

¹⁰ Isa. 66 : 22, 23.

¹¹ Heb. 4 : 9, A. R. V.

fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."¹²

They are indeed blessed for having kept the commandments of God; for they have right to the tree of life, and enter in through the gates into the city. The redeemed of Israel, having come "out of great tribulation," "hunger no more, neither thirst any more," but the Lamb "shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters," and each successive Sabbath they meet to worship God and the Lamb. They thus attest the sacredness of the Sabbath, even in that holy state, and set the seal of the Most High to the perpetuity of his great Edenic memorial.

¹² Rev. 22 : 1, 2.





ADDENDUM

IN addition to the matter presented in chapter 19, two important statements made by Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople (398-407 A. D.), may be cited, which picture conditions as they existed among the churches of the East in his day. This father proves beyond all question that there then existed many uncircumcised Christians who kept the Sabbath, and who were still tolerated by the Eastern Church.

In his comments on Gal. 1:7 ("Homilies on Galatians") this noted patriarch first bewails the thousand errors that were daily "introduced into the church, which," he says, "is divided into as many parties, and we are become a laughing-stock to Jews and Greeks. But if a proper rebuke had at first been given to those who attempted slight perversions, and a deflection from the divine oracles, such a pestilence would not have been generated, nor such a storm have shaken the churches." "There are many of us now who fast on the same day as the Jews, and keep the Sabbath in the same manner; and what shall I call our tolerance of this, noble or miserable? Again, many Gentile customs are observed by some among us,—omens, auguries, presages, distinctions of days, a curious attention to the circumstances of their children's birth, and, as soon as they are born, tablets with impious inscriptions placed upon their unhappy heads."¹

Commenting on Gal. 2:17, he continues: "Though few are now circumcised, yet, by fasting and observing the Sabbath with the Jews, they ["many," in the original Greek²] equally exclude themselves from grace. If Christ avails not to those who are only circumcised, much more is peril to be feared where fasting and Sabbatizing are observed, and thus two commandments of the law are kept in the place of one. And this is aggravated by a consideration of time: . . . what apology can they find for such observance, at the very time when the Jews themselves, in spite of their strong desire, can not keep it? Thou hast put on Christ, thou hast become a member of the Lord, and been enrolled in the heavenly city, and dost thou still grovel in the law? How is it possible for thee to obtain the kingdom? Listen to Paul's words, that the observance of the law overthrows the gospel, and learn, if thou wilt, how this comes to pass, and tremble, and shun this pitfall. Wherefore dost thou keep the Sabbath, and fast with the Jews? Is it that thou fearest the law and abandonment of its letter? But thou wouldst not entertain this fear, didst thou not disparage faith as weak, and by

¹ "Library of the Fathers," Oxford, 1845, vol. vi, p. 15.

² Greek πολλοι, Latin, *multi*, in the original. See J. P. Migne, *Patrologia*, series Græca, 61, p. 643, Paris, 1859.

itself powerless to save. A fear to omit the Sabbath plainly shows that you fear the law as still in force; and if the law is needful, it is so as a whole, not in part, nor in one commandment only; and if as a whole, the righteousness which is by faith is little by little shut out. If thou keep the Sabbath, why not also be circumcised? and if circumcised, why not also offer sacrifices? If the law is to be observed, it must be observed as a whole, or not at all. If omitting one part makes you fear condemnation, this fear attaches equally to all the parts. If a transgression of the whole is not punishable, much less is the transgression of a part; on the other hand, if the latter be punishable, much more is the former. But if we are bound to keep the whole, we are bound to disobey Christ, or by obedience to him become transgressors of the law. If it ought to be kept, those who keep it not are transgressors, and Christ will be found to be the cause of this transgression, for he annulled the law as regards these things himself, and bid others annul it."³

These citations are in many respects of the greatest significance. They clearly prove that the church Fathers made no difference between the Sabbath of the decalogue and the sacrifices or the circumcision of the ceremonial law. However, as these quotations from Chrysostom themselves show, for hundreds of years many Christian observers of the Sabbath in the East understood this difference, for they kept the Sabbath, but were neither circumcised nor did they offer sacrifice. Although the church still tolerated these believers, Chrysostom calls this toleration in question, not knowing whether it ought to be styled "noble" or "miserable;" for anathemas had already been pronounced against it. See page 409.

³ "Library of the Fathers," pp. 42, 43. See also "The Nicene and Post-nicene Fathers," Christian Literature Company, New York, 1889. Edited by Philip Schaff, vol. xiii, pp. 8, 21.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF AUTHORITIES QUOTED IN THIS WORK

Ambrose (about 340-397), born in Gaul, but when young went to Rome. He devoted himself chiefly to the study of law. As a statesman, he was vigorous and indomitable; as a theologian, he was both a scholar and a philosopher. He is the author of the proverb, "When in Rome do as Rome does," a statement made with reference to Sabbath observance. See page 476.

Anastasius II, a native of Rome. Was elected pope in 496, in place of Galasius I. He wrote a letter to Clovis, king of the Franks, on his conversion to Christianity. Died 498.

Andrews, Lancelot, born in London, 1555; died at Winchester, Sept. 25, 1626. Was educated in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, of which he afterward became master. He published ninety-six sermons, an edition of which in five volumes forms a part of the Anglo-Catholic Library, Oxford, 1841-43.

Aquinas, Thomas, born at Aquino, Italy, about 1226; died March 7, 1274. He received the elements of his education in the monastery of Monte Cassino, and afterward studied under the celebrated Albertus Magnus at Cologne. Was graduated as bachelor of theology at Paris, and was made a professor at Naples. His greatest work is the "Summa Theologiæ," a doctrinal standard of Roman Catholicism.

Arcadius (377-408), son of Theodosius, emperor of Rome; remarkable as (from 395) the first emperor of the East, with his capital at Constantinople, his brother Honorius reigning at Rome as emperor of the West. He was succeeded by his son Theodosius II.

Asterius, bishop of Amasea, in Pontus; died about 410. His sermons were spoken of with praise at the second synod of Nicæa. Several ascribed to him are still extant.

Ananias, born in Alexandria, of Christian parents, in 298 or 299; died there, May 2 or 3, 373. Received common-school education of his time; studied Greek philosophers and poets; was made a deacon by Bishop Alexander, and played a most prominent part at the council of Nicæa, in the definition of the creed named after that council. Against the Arian doctrine—that the Son of God was created out of nothing, not coeternal with God, and not of the same nature as God, but only of a similar nature—he fought heroically.

Athelstan, king of the English (895-940), was a son of Edward the Elder, and therefore grandson of Alfred the Great. He succeeded his father in 925, and extended still farther the sway of his dynasty, obtaining many victories over the Welsh of Devonshire, Cornwall, and Wales proper.

Augsburg, Confession of. In June, 1530, the Diet of Augsburg met, Charles V of Germany being present. Charles, in alliance with the Pope, was prepared to attempt a settlement of the religious difficulties in Germany. The Protestants were anxious for reconciliation, and this desire was expressed in the Confession of Augsburg, which was presented to the diet. The aim of the confession, composed for the greater

part by Melancthon, was to show that Luther's opinions were not heretical.

Augusti, Johann Christian Wilhelm, born at Eschenberga, Germany, Oct. 27, 1772; died at Coblenz, April 28, 1841. Was a very active man and a prolific writer. He assisted De Wette in translating the Bible into German (1809-14).

Augustine, Aurelius, bishop of Hippo-Regius; son of Patricius, a heathen, and Monica, a devoted Christian; born at Tagaste, in Numidia, Nov. 13, 353; died at Hippo, North Africa, Aug. 28, 430. He taught rhetoric in Tagaste and Carthage, and was sent to Milan in answer to a request for a professor of rhetoric, at which place he was converted. His two most celebrated and interesting works are the "Confessions" and the "City of God."

Backus, Isaac, an American Baptist minister; born in Norwich, Conn., in 1724. He published numerous works, among which is a "History of the Baptists in New England." Died in 1806.

Bancroft, George (1800-91), American historian, statesman, and diplomat; born in Worcester, Mass. He was graduated (1817) at Harvard, and studied for five years at the universities of Göttingen, Leipzig, Berlin, and Heidelberg, specializing in history. His "History of the United States" shows much diligent and skilful research.

Barnes, Albert, an American clergyman and Bible commentator; born at Rome, N. Y., in 1798; died at Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1870. Studied theology at Princeton Seminary, and in 1830 became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia. His reputation rests mainly on his commentaries and notes on different books of the Bible, his "Notes on the New Testament," in eleven volumes, having had a circulation of over one million volumes. He was a noted antislavery man.

Barnabas, Epistle of, a spurious Christian writing of the second century, falsely attributed to Barnabas, the companion of Paul; accepted as genuine by Origen, Jerome, and Clement of Alexandria. Its spurious character was generally admitted by the time of Eusebius. It consists of two parts: (1) chaps. 1-17, designed to instruct the Christian in true Christian knowledge, especially as regards the relation of Christianity to the Old Testament dispensation; and (2) chaps. 18-21, a delineation of the "two ways"—the acceptance or rejection of the Christian life. The epistle is violently anti-Jewish in tone, and maintains that Christians alone are the inheritors of the promises. The latter portion is closely related to the Didache, and Holtzmann believes both to be redactions of a work called "The Two Ways." Harnack dates the epistle about 130-131, Lightfoot earlier than 79.

Baronius, Cæsar, born at Sora, in Naples, Oct. 31, 1538; died in Rome, June 30, 1607. This most learned and laborious historian of the Roman Church was educated at Veroli; was appointed cardinal (1596), and librarian of the Vatican (1597). His demonstration of the historical identity of the Western with the primitive church is elaborated in his famous *Annales Ecclesiastici*, which first appeared in Rome in twelve volumes, 1588-1607.

Basil, surnamed The Great; born at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, about 330; died there, Jan. 1, 379. Was a leader in the Arian controversy, resolutely opposing Arianism; was a distinguished theologian, a liturgical reformer, and a famous preacher. Of his writings there remain at least seventeen homilies on the Psalms and on Isaiah, besides other works. Basil succeeded Eusebius (370) as bishop of Cæsarea.

Basnage, Jacques, born at Rouen, in Normandy, Aug. 8, 1653; died at The Hague, Dec. 22, 1723. Studied theology at Saumur, Geneva, and Sedan; was pastor at Rouen, and author of several historical works. He was a powerful preacher, and acquired still greater fame as a diplomat.

Baxter, Richard (1615-91), English non-conformist divine. Was an able, earnest, and eloquent writer and preacher. Entering the church in 1637, he acted, on the outbreak of the Civil War, as chaplain to one of the Parliamentary regiments.

Beissel, Johann Conrad (1690-1768), German-American religious propagandist; was born at Eberbach, in the palatinate. Studied theology, was banished for irregular religious views, and settled in Germantown, Pa., about 1720. Beissel established the first community of Seventh-day Dunkards, 1728.

Bengel, Johann Albrecht, an eminent Lutheran theologian; born at Winnenden, in Wurtemberg, Germany, in 1687. Finished his studies in the theological college at Tübingen; was employed for many years as pastor at Denkendorf, and about 1749 became prelate at Alpirsbach. His edition of the Greek Testament, published in 1734, is esteemed a standard work. His great contribution to exegetic scholarship was his *Gnomon Novi Testament*, published in 1742. He died in 1752.

Bingham, Joseph, born in 1668, at Wakefield, Yorkshire, England; died Aug. 17, 1723, at Havant, near Portsmouth. Studied at Oxford, and became a fellow of University College; was appointed rector, first of Headbourn-Worthy, near Winchester, and then, in 1712, at Havant. His great work, the "Antiquities of the Christian Church," first appeared in English (London), in eight volumes, 1708-22.

Binterim, Anton Joseph, a German Catholic theologian; born at Dusseldorf in 1779. Published "Memorable Things Respecting the Catholic Church" (seven volumes, 1825-32), and other works. Died in 1855.

Bucer, Martin, a celebrated German Reformer, and friend of Luther; born in 1491, near Strassburg, where he was professor of theology for twenty years. He died about 1550.

Bloomfield, S. T., D. D., an English divine and scholar; born about 1790. Published an edition of Dr. Robinson's "Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament," also a "Greek Testament With English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory," and other valuable works of the kind. Died in 1869.

Bollandus (Bolland), J., a Jesuit father of the Low Countries, settled in Antwerp. He carried out the idea of Heribert Rosweyd, to collect all the various legends about the martyrs and saints of the church into one great standard martyrology, which he intended should

fill eighteen volumes. In 1643 the first two volumes were published. Bolland died soon after the beginning of his labor, but not until he had seen the work fairly started.

Bonifacius (Boniface), the monastic name of Winfried, archbishop and great "Apostle of Germany;" a native of Crediton, Devonshire, England; born 680. Trained in Benedictine monasteries at Exeter, later at Nursling; was ordained priest; was consecrated to the bishopric in 723. He founded four cathedrals. During an open-air confirmation service in Friesland, in 755, Boniface and his converts were massacred by the heathen.

Bower, Archibald, born at Dundee, Scotland, Jan. 17, 1686; died in London, Sept. 3, 1766. Was educated at Douay; went afterward to Italy; became a Jesuit, and member of the Inquisition of Macerata. In 1726 he returned to England, and became a member of the Established Church; was made librarian to the queen in 1748. His principal work is his "History of the Popes."

Brandt, Gerard, born in Amsterdam, Holland, July 25, 1626; died there, Dec. 11, 1685. Was first pastor of the Remonstrant Church in Nieukoop, then (1660) in Hoorn, and finally (1667), in Amsterdam. He wrote a "History of the Reformation in the Low Countries."

Buck, Charles, born in 1771. Labored in the ministry of the Independents of England until his death, in 1815. Author of the "Theological Dictionary," a work which is so admirably composed that it can not become entirely out of date.

Bullinger, Heinrich, born at Bremgarten, in the canton of Aargau, Switzerland, July 18, 1504; died at Zürich, Sept. 17, 1575. Was educated in the school of Emmerich, and studied at Cologne. He contributed much to establish the Reformation in Switzerland. His writings are numerous.

Butler, Alban, born at Northampton, England, 1710; died at St. Omer, May 15, 1773. Was educated at Douay, and labored for some time in the Roman Catholic mission in Staffordshire. His "Lives of the Saints," the product of thirty years' labor, is a compendious and popular reproduction of the *Acta Sanctorum* (Acts of the Saints).

Calamy, Edmund, an English theologian; born in London, February, 1600; died there, Oct. 29, 1666. Was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He published forty-one works, vigorously upholding liberty of conscience as the foundation of non-conformity.

Calmet, Augustine, French theologian and historian; born at Mesnil-la-Horgue, in the diocese of Toul, France, Feb. 26, 1672; died at Senones, Oct. 25, 1757. Entering the Benedictine order, he was successively professor of theology in the abbey of Moyen-Moutier (1696), prior of several monasteries, and in 1728 became abbot of Senones, where he remained to the end of his life.

Calvin, John, born at Noyon, in Picardy, France, July 10, 1509; died at Geneva, Switzerland, May 27, 1564. Entered the college of the Capettes, where he displayed extraordinary precocity. At the age of twelve he became chaplain to the chapel of the Gésine. He next entered (1523) at the college of La Marche. While in Paris he wrote in support of the "new religion;" but persecution became too strong, and

he had to flee to Basel, where, in 1536, he wrote his "Institutes of the Christian Religion." He next went to Geneva and then to Strassburg, and was appointed pastor of a church and professor of theology in both places. In 1540 he attended the Diet of Worms, and in 1541 that of Ratisbon. As a theological writer, Calvin is remarkable for clearness, method, and scientific exactitude.

Campbell, Alexander, founder of the denomination known as the Disciples of Christ; born near Ballymena, Ireland, Sept. 12, 1788; died at Bethany, W. Va., March 4, 1866. Was educated at Glasgow University, and emigrated to the United States (1809). He was famous as a debater, and earnestly opposed religious establishments and Sunday legislation. Bethany College (West Virginia), founded in 1841 by him for the education of ministers, was endowed by him at his death.

Canute, called The Great, king of England, Denmark, and Norway (995-1035). On the death of Edmund Ironside, Canute was proclaimed king of all England. In 1028 he invaded Norway, and added to his dominions. He died suddenly at Shaftesbury, England.

Carlstadt, Andreas Rudolf Bodenstein (1483-1541), born at Karlstadt, in Franconia, and died at Basel. Studied theology at Wittenberg, where he became pastor (1508) and professor (1515). He was a Reformer of the most extreme stamp, outstripping Luther, with whom he held controversy. He denied the real Presence, and was a bitter opponent of images. Compelled to flee (1528) from Saxony, he found shelter in Switzerland, where he remained till his death. In 1531 he was appointed pastor of Alstätten, in the Rhine valley, and in 1534 professor of theology in Basel.

Cassian (Cassianus), Johannes, born between 350 and 360; died between 440 and 450. Was educated in a monastery at Bethlehem. He visited Egypt and Constantinople, at the latter place being made a deacon (403) by Chrysostom, and Marseilles (415), where he established two religious societies, one the abbey of St. Victor. He was canonized after his death.

Cave, William, a learned patristic scholar and author; born at Pickwell, Leicestershire, England, Dec. 30, 1637; died at Windsor, Aug. 4, 1713. After being chaplain to Charles II, he became canon of Windsor (1684), and vicar of Isleworth, Middlesex (1690), till his death. In his different works he makes use of over two thousand Fathers, and writers upon the Fathers.

Chambers, William (1800-83), Scottish publisher; born at Peebles. Started a bookselling business at Edinburgh. In 1859 he endowed the Peebles Institute. His many works were all successful.

Chemnitz, Martin, the most important German Lutheran theologian of the second half of the sixteenth century; born at Treuenbrietzen, Brandenburg, Nov. 9, 1522; died at Brunswick, April 8, 1586. In 1554 he became pastor at Brunswick. His was not a creative mind; order, arrangement, systematization, was his talent. In that direction lie also his literary merits.

Childebert I, king of the Franks, the third son of Clovis and Cloilde. He inherited the kingdom of Paris, and began to reign in 511. He died in 558.

Chrysostom, Joannes, born at Antioch, 347; died at Comana, in Pratas, in 407. The most famous of the Fathers of the Greek or Eastern Church. Monasticism attracted him powerfully soon after his conversion, and he joined a society of hermits living in the mountains, outside Antioch, living thus about six years, until failing health compelled him to return to civilization. He returned to Antioch in 380, and was ordained a deacon by Meletius. In 398 he removed to Constantinople; by force was compelled to accept the patriarchal ordination from Theophilus of Alexander, and thus found himself head of the whole Greek Church. Shortly before his death he was banished in consequence of various charges made against him. Separate editions of his single works are numerous.

Clarke, Adam, commentator; born at Moybeg, north of Ireland, 1760 or 1762; died in London, Aug. 26, 1832. From 1782 to 1805 he traveled as a Methodist itinerant; from 1805 to 1815 he held an appointment in London. From 1815 till his death he devoted himself to literary work. In 1808 Aberdeen University made him LL. D. He wrote many elaborate works.

Clement of Alexandria (Titus Flavius Clemens), one of the church Fathers. Teacher of Origen; also a teacher in the renowned catechetical school; eventually succeeded Pantænus (about 200). Died about 220.

Commodian, born at Gaza, in Syria; educated in paganism. By reading the Bible he was led to Christianity, and stands in the history of the church as one of her first Latin poets. Two of his works are still extant, "Instructiones" and "Carmen Apologeticum."

Constantine, surnamed The Great, Roman emperor from 306 to 337; born in 274, at Naissus, in Upper Mœsia. After the death of his father he was proclaimed emperor by the legions of Gaul. His victory over Maxentius, near Rome, in 312, gave him possession of Italy. In 330 he founded Constantinople. He introduced a new system into the Roman empire, dividing the military from the civil administration, and establishing in each department officials of different grades, whose dependence on himself secured his authority. The first Sunday edicts known to history were issued by him.

Crafts, Wilbur Fisk (1850), American clergyman; born at Fryeburg, Maine. Was graduated in 1869 at Wesleyan University. From 1883 to 1888 he was pastor of the First Union Presbyterian Church of New York. He founded the American Sabbath Union in 1889, and the International Reform Bureau in 1895. His chief work is "The Sabbath for Man."

Cramp, John Mockett, D. D., a Baptist divine; born at St. Peters, Kent, England, July 25, 1791. In 1844 he became president of the Baptist college at Montreal. He published "Text Book of Popery" (1831), "The Reformation in Europe" (1833), "Lectures for the Times" (1844), "Baptist History" (1868), and other works. Died at Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Dec. 6, 1881.

Cranmer, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury; born at Aslacton, Nottinghamshire, England, July 2, 1489; burned at the stake in Oxford, March 21, 1555, under Queen Mary. Ordained in 1523, he taught and lectured at Cambridge. His writings relate exclusively to Refor-

mation questions, evince wide reading, but no profound thought. Yet, by his mastery of the thoughts of others, he made a very skilful and influential advocate of the truth. His "Defense of the True Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament" was a powerful attack upon transubstantiation. His two great Protestant points were the repudiation of papal supremacy, and the importance of the translation of the Scriptures. At the stake he evinced his courage by voluntarily placing his right hand, with which he had formerly betrayed the truth, into the fire, and holding it there.

Crosby, Thomas, a Baptist minister of London, and author of "History of English Baptists From the Reformation to the Reign of George I" (1740), said to be the best work on that subject.

Cyprian, Thascius Cæcilius (about 200-258), one of the church Fathers. A pagan by birth, and of wealthy parentage, he became a teacher of rhetoric at Carthage. He was at one time head of the whole African church. In 257 persecution broke out under Valerian, and Cyprian was banished, and in 258 suffered martyrdom.

Daae, Ludvig Ludvigsson, a Norwegian historian; born in Aremark, Dec. 7, 1834. Published local and diocesan histories, valued for thoroughness and impartiality, and collected much material for Norwegian history from Danish sources.

Da Costa, Isaak, a Dutch poet and theologian; born in Amsterdam, Jan. 14, 1798; died there, April 28, 1860. Embraced Christianity in 1821; wrote a number of theological works, dealing chiefly with criticisms of the Gospels.

Damianus, Peter, Roman Catholic ecclesiastic and reformer of the Italian church; born at Ravenna, 1007; died at Faenza, Feb. 23, 1072. Joining the hermits of Fonte Avellano, he wrote his famous letters to Popes Gregory VI and Clement II, attacking particularly the simony in the church and marriage among clergy. Made bishop of Ostia and cardinal in 1058.

Dante Alighieri, born at Florence, May, 1265; died Sept. 14, 1321. Considered the greatest poet of Italy, and one of the three greatest poets of the world. He also applied himself to painting and music, and later to theology and philosophy, and became master of all the science of his age.

D'Aubigne, Jean Henri Merle, born at Eaux-Vives, near Geneva, Aug. 16, 1794; died at Geneva, Oct. 20, 1872. A celebrated Swiss Protestant church historian, after 1830 professor of historical theology at the École de Théologie Évangélique, at Geneva. His greatest work is the "History of the Reformation."

Didache, The, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. A didactic work for use in the early church, discovered by the metropolitan Bryennius at Constantinople, and published in 1883: date and author unsettled. It is considered of great importance for the earliest church history.

Dionysius of Corinth, became bishop of that city in 170, and wrote eight letters,—to the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, Nicomedians, etc.,—which enjoyed a great reputation in their time, and are greatly praised

by Jerome. They are lost, however, and only fragments of them have been preserved by Eusebius.

Dollinger, Johann Joseph Ignaz von, born at Bamberg, Bavaria, Feb. 28, 1799; died at Munich, Jan. 10, 1890. A German theologian, and after 1871 leader in the "Old Catholic" movement; was appointed professor of ecclesiastical history and law at Munich University in 1826. Between 1850 and 1860 he was led to declare that the Pope's temporal power was not essential to the Roman Catholic Church, regarding which a prolonged controversy ensued. He opposed the decree of papal infallibility of the Vatican council of 1869-70, and was excommunicated in 1871. The work "The Pope and the Council" (1869) by "Janus," was written by him, and contains his arguments against the dogma of papal infallibility.

Dowling, John, born in Sussex, England, May 12, 1807; died in New York, July 4, 1878. He is best known by his "History of Romanism." He was pastor of the Berean Baptist Church in New York City for many years.

Dwight, Timothy, born at Norwich, Conn., Nov. 16, 1828. An American scholar; graduated at Yale College in 1849; became professor of sacred literature and New Testament Greek in the divinity school at Yale in 1858; was appointed president of Yale College in 1886 (resigned 1899); and was a member of the New Testament Revision Committee.

Ebrard, Johann Heinrich August, a prominent German Protestant theologian; born at Erlangen in 1818. Became professor of theology in 1847; edited a review called "The Future of the Church" (1845-47), and wrote, besides other works, "Christian Dogmatics" (two volumes, 1852), and "The Divine and Human in Christianity" (1844). He died July 23, 1888.

Eck, Johann Maier von, born at Eck, Bavaria, Nov. 13, 1486; died at Ingolstadt, Bavaria, Feb. 10, 1543. A German theologian, one of the most active opponents of Luther and the Reformation. He became professor of theology at Ingolstadt in 1510, which institution he actually ruled for the rest of his life. He was a man of great learning and a vigorous defender of the Roman Catholic Church.

Edgar, a king of England; born in 944; died July 8, 975. Ascended the throne in 958 as successor to his brother Eadwig. He ruled the whole nation (West Saxons, Northumbrians, and Mercians), and his quiet reign gained for him the surname The Peaceful.

Edwards, Justin, D. D., an American clergyman; born in Westhampton, Mass., April 25, 1787; died at Virginia Springs, Mass., July 23, 1853. He, with fifteen others, founded the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance (1825). He was president of the seminary at Andover, Mass. (1837-42), and author of numerous popular tracts and of a work upon "The Sabbath." He should not be confounded with Jonathan Edwards or his son of the same name, both of whom were noted clergymen of New England (1703-58, 1745-1801).

Epiphanius, a learned theologian; born of Hebrew parents, in Palestine, about 315; died at sea near Cyprus, 403. In 367 he became bishop of Constantia (the ancient Salamis), in Cyprus. He took a

prominent part in the theological controversies of his day, and was present at the synods of Antioch (376) and Rome (382), where questions pertaining to the Trinity were debated.

Erasmus, Desiderius, a scholar and critic; born at Rotterdam, probably Oct. 28, 1465; died at Basel, Switzerland, July 12, 1536. He aimed to reform without dismembering the Roman Catholic Church; at first favored, but subsequently opposed, the Reformation, and engaged in a controversy with Luther. His chief literary work was an edition of the New Testament in Greek with a Latin translation, published in 1516.

Esdras, The Books of, the first two of the books of the Apocrypha. The first book consists, to a large extent, of matter compiled or transcribed from the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The second is mainly of an apocalyptic character.

Ethelred II, born in 968, and succeeded his half-brother, Edward the Martyr, as king of the Anglo-Saxons in 978. In 1002 Ethelred ordered a general massacre of the Danish settlers in his realm, which was avenged by Sweyn, king of the Danes, who took London in 1014. He died in 1016.

Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea; born probably at Cæsarea, about 264; died there about 349. A celebrated theologian and historian, sometimes called "the father of church history." He was appointed bishop of Cæsarea about 315, and in 325 attended the council of Nicæa, where he was appointed to receive the emperor Constantine with a panegyric oration. He wrote a universal history, and a "Life of Constantine."

Evanson, Edward, an English clergyman and controversialist; born at Warrington, Lancashire, England, April 21, 1731; died at Colford, Gloucestershire, Sept. 25, 1805. Became vicar of South Mimms in 1768, and rector of Tewkesbury in 1798. He wrote "Dissonance of the Four Generally Received Evangelists."

Fabricius, Johann Albert, German classical scholar; born at Leipzig, Germany, Nov. 11, 1668; died at Hamburg, April 3, 1736. Was appointed professor of rhetoric and moral philosophy in the gymnasium of Hamburg, in 1669. He is regarded as the founder of the history of classical literature.

Farrar, Frederic William, English divine and author; born at Bombay, British India, Aug. 7, 1831; died in 1903. Was educated at the Universities of London and Cambridge; was head master of Marlborough College, 1871-76; was select preacher to Cambridge University in 1868 and 1874-75, and canon of Westminster and rector of St. Margaret's in 1876.

Frank (Franck), Sebastian, a German writer and mystical theologian; born at Donauwörth, Bavaria, 1499; died at Basel, Switzerland, 1542. Standing aloof from Catholics and Protestants, he suffered persecution at the hands of both. He was a printer at Ulm from 1533 till 1539, then at Basel.

Frith, John, an English Reformer and martyr; born at Westerham, Kent, about 1503; died at the stake, July 4, 1533. Took the degree of B. A. at King's College, Cambridge, in 1525; went abroad in 1528 to

avoid religious persecution; resided for a time at the university of Marburg, and was associated with Tyndale in his literary work. He returned to England in 1532; was arrested for heresy, and burned at the stake in Smithfield, London.

Fritzner, Johan (1812-93), Norwegian philologist; born at Askö, near Bergen. Was assistant at cathedral school at Bergen, and subsequently pastor at Vadsö.

Gibbon, Edward, English historian; was born at Putney, Surrey, England, April 27, 1737; died at London, Jan. 15, 1794. Served in the militia (1759-70), attaining the rank of colonel. In 1774 he was elected to Parliament. His great work is "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," still the chief authority for the period which it covers, and one of the greatest histories ever written. Gibbon was twenty-three years completing this work.

Gibbons, James, an American Roman Catholic prelate; born at Baltimore, Md., July 23, 1834. Became archbishop of Baltimore in 1877, and cardinal in 1886, the first American cardinal. Author of "The Faith of Our Fathers" and "Our Christian Heritage."

Gieseler, Johann Karl Ludwig, a German Protestant theologian; born at Petershagen, Germany, about 1792. Was distinguished as an ecclesiastical historian. In 1818 he published an able "Historical and Critical Essay on the Origin of the Gospel;" obtained the chair of theology at Göttingen in 1831. His principal work is the "Manual of Ecclesiastical History," which was not completed until after his death, which occurred in 1854.

Gindely, Anton, Bohemian historian; born at Prague, Bohemia, Sept. 3, 1829; died at Prague, Oct. 24, 1892. Was successively professor of history at Olmütz (1853-55) and Prague. He made an exhaustive study of the period of the Thirty Years' war.

Goldastus, Melchior, a German historian and publicist; born Jan. 6, 1576 (or 1578), near Bischofzell, Switzerland; died at Giessen, Germany, Aug. 11, 1635. His works did great service to the study of the older documents of Germany.

Gratian, Augustus, Roman emperor (367-383); born at Sirmium, Pannonia, April 9, 359; killed at Lyons, Aug. 25, 383. On the death of his father, in 375, he succeeded to the throne. In 383 Maximus was proclaimed emperor by the troops in Britain, and defeated Gratian near Paris; the latter fled toward Italy, but was overtaken near Lyons and killed.

Greenham, Richard, an English Puritan divine; born about 1630. Was rector of Dry Drayton, England, for many years. He left sermons and other religious works. Died in 1591.

Gregory of Nyssa, born in Cappadocia, Asia Minor, about 332; died about 395. After being a teacher of rhetoric, he was in 372 compelled by Basil to accept the bishopric of Nyssa, near Cæsarea. He was a copious writer, and the chief speculative theologian of "the three great Cappadocians."

Grotius, Hugo, born at Delft, Netherlands, April 10, 1583; died at Rostock, Germany, Aug. 28, 1645. A celebrated Dutch jurist, theologian, statesman, and poet, and founder of the science of international law.

Guntram, king of the Franks; died March 28, 593. Received the sovereignty of Orleans and Burgundy on the death of his father, Clotaire I, in 561.

Gurney, Joseph John, an English philanthropist, and minister of the Society of Friends; born at Earlham, near Norwich, England, Aug. 2, 1788; died there, Jan. 4, 1847. He was an associate of Mrs. Fry, his sister, in prison reform, and of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Zachary Macaulay in the antislavery movement.

Hackett, Horatio Balch, an American Biblical scholar and exegete; born at Salisbury, Mass., Dec. 27, 1808; died at Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 2, 1875. Was graduated at Amherst in 1830, studied theology at Andover and in Germany, and afterward taught ancient languages in Brown University and Biblical literature in Newton Theological Seminary. The latter chair he held for thirty years (1839-70), when he was appointed professor of New Testament Greek in Rochester Theological Seminary.

Haddan, Arthur West, born in England, 1816; died at Barton-on-Heath, in England, Feb. 8, 1873. After a distinguished career at the University of Oxford, he retired (1857) to his country parsonage at Barton-on-Heath, and passed the remainder of his days in pastoral and literary labor. He was a scholar of tireless industry.

Hadley, James, an American scholar; born at Fairfield, N. Y., March 30, 1821; died at New Haven, Conn., Nov. 14, 1872. Was professor of Greek in Yale College (1851-72). His Greek Grammar was published in 1861. He was known particularly as a linguist and philologist, but the range and thoroughness of his intellectual acquirements were remarkable.

Hadrian, Publius Ælius, Roman emperor (117-138); born at Rome, Jan. 24, 76; died at Baia, Italy, July 10, 138. Distinguished himself in the Dacian war. In 119 he began his travels throughout the empire, which lasted the greater part of his reign. It was at this time that he visited Great Britain, and constructed the famous wall bearing his name, and stretching seventy-three miles, from the Solway to the Tyne.

Hall, Joseph, a learned divine and eloquent preacher of the Church of England; born in Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, England, July 1, 1574; died at Higham, near Norwich, Sept. 8, 1656. Was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and became bishop successively of Exeter and Norwich.

Hallam, Henry, an English historian; born at Windsor, England, July 9, 1777; died at Penshurst, Kent, Jan. 21, 1859. Was graduated with the degree of B. A. at Oxford in 1799; was afterward called to the bar, and was for many years a commissioner of stamps. In 1812 he withdrew from the practise of law and devoted himself to historical studies. He was a careful, laborious, and critical investigator, with a sound, vigorous literary style.

Harnack, Adolf, a noted German Protestant theologian; born at Dorpat (Yuryev), Russia, May 7, 1851. Was professor successively at Leipzig, Giessen, Marburg, and (1888) Berlin. His most important work is in the department of the history of the ancient church. His "History of Dogma" is an epoch-making work.

Harris, James Rendell, English Biblical scholar; was professor at Johns Hopkins University, of Baltimore, and at Haverford College, Pennsylvania; in 1903-04 was professor of theology at the University of Leyden, in Holland. An accomplished editor of MSS. of the New Testament and of the early Christian writings. In 1889 he discovered an important Syriac MS. of the seventh century in a convent on Mt. Sinai.

Hase, Karl August von, a noted German Protestant theologian and church historian; born at Steinbach, Saxony, Germany, Aug. 25, 1800; died at Jena, Jan. 3, 1890. Was professor at Leipzig (1829-30) and at Jena (1830-83).

Hefele, Karl Joseph von, a German Roman Catholic ecclesiastic; born at Unterkochen, in Württemberg, Germany, March 15, 1809; died at Rottenburg, June 5, 1893. Opposed the dogma of infallibility at the Vatican council of 1870, but in 1871 submitted to the papal authority. He was bishop of Rottenburg (1869) and church historian; became professor of theology at Tübingen (1840). His great work is "Conciliengeschichte."

Hegesippus, an ecclesiastic writer of the second century, and the earliest historian of the Christian church. The Tübingen School regarded him as belonging to the Judaizing section of the church, but this is greatly contested. Died in 180.

Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm, German theologian; born at Fröndenburg, Westphalia, Germany, Oct. 20, 1802; died at Berlin, May 28, 1869. Became the champion of the strictest Lutheran orthodoxy, professor at Berlin, and the most bitter opponent of the new liberal school of Scripture interpretation.

Henke, Heinrich Philipp Konrad, a German Protestant theologian and church historian; born at Hehlen, Germany, July 3, 1752; died at Helmstädt, May 2, 1809. Was professor of theology at Helmstädt (1777-86), and later vice-president of the consistory and curator of the Carolinum at Brunswick.

Heylin, Peter, an English church historian and controversialist; born at Burford, England, Nov. 29, 1600; died at London, May 8, 1662. Was graduated at Magdalen College, Oxford; was appointed chaplain to the king in 1629; was a High Anglican, and very bitter against the Puritans.

Hilary, a Gaulish prelate and theologian; born probably at Poitiers, France; died there, Jan. 13, 368. Became bishop of Poitiers about 353, and was a noted opponent of Arianism. Hilary was one of the most conspicuous and original characters of early Christianity. His power lay essentially in his thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures.

Hippolytus, a distinguished ecclesiastical writer; is supposed to have been born in the East, and to have died in exile in Sardinia. At the beginning of the third century he was a presbyter, conspicuous for learning, eloquence, zeal, and moral earnestness. Greek was his native tongue; his chief work was "Philosophumena."

Honorius, Roman emperor (395-423); born at Constantinople, Sept. 9, 384; died at Ravenna, Aug. 27, 423. In 399 he ordered all pagan temples to be destroyed at once, but was unable to enforce such

a law. In North Africa, where in many places the pagans outnumbered the Christians, the Christians were made to suffer for the laws against paganism. In 409 he suddenly changed his mind, and a decree placed the pagans on an equal footing with the Christians; but in 416 they were again excluded from all offices in the army and in the administration.

Hooker, Richard, a celebrated English divine and theological writer; born at Heavitree, Exeter, England, about 1553; died at Bishopsbourne, Nov. 2, 1600. He held for a time the Hebrew lectureship at Oxford, and in 1585 was made master of the Temple. Out of the disputes which there beset him grew the "Ecclesiastical Polity."

Horsley, Samuel, a learned and eloquent prelate of the Church of England; born in London in 1733; died at Brighton, Oct. 4, 1806. Having edited Newton's works (1785), he became bishop of St. David's (1788), was translated to Rochester (1793) and made dean of Westminster, and then bishop of St. Asaph's (1802). He is notable for a controversy with Priestly, in which he opposed Socinianism.

Hospinian, Rudolph, born at Altorf, Nov. 7, 1547; studied at Marburg and Heidelberg, and was appointed, first director of the gymnasium, then pastor at Zürich, where he died March 11, 1626. He was a prolific writer, mostly polemical.

Hoveden, Roger de (about 1117-1200), an English chronicler; born in Yorkshire, England. Filled important offices at the court of Henry II, became one of the northern forest justices, and finally professor of theology at Oxford.

Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (70 or 71); one of the so-called Apostolic Fathers. Reliable information regarding him is very scant. He is best known by the epistles circulating under his name, the total number being fifteen, most of which, however, are regarded as spurious. According to Eusebius he suffered martyrdom under Trajan in 109.

Irenæus, one of the most distinguished authors and theologians of the early church; born in Asia Minor, about 115; died at Lyons, probably in 202. Studied under Polycarp, removed to Rome about 155; became bishop of Lyons in 177.

Jaeger, Johann Wolfgang, a German Lutheran divine and theological writer; born at Stuttgart, Germany, in 1647; died in 1720.

Jerome, Eusebius Hieronymus, one of the greatest of the Latin fathers; born at Stridon, Pannonia, about 340; died at Bethlehem, Sept. 30, 420. After studying with his father Eusebius, a Christian, he went to Rome, where he was introduced into Greek philosophy and Roman literature. He became a presbyter at Antioch in 379, and in 382 returned to Rome, where he became secretary to Pope Damasus. He published a Latin version of the Bible, known as the Vulgate.

Josephus, Flavius, a celebrated Jewish historian; born in Jerusalem, in 37; died about 100. Was of illustrious priestly descent, and related to the Maccabean house; had good educational advantages, and early evinced superior talent and knowledge. In 64 he was sent by the Jews on a mission to Rome. On returning he found his countrymen bent upon throwing off the Roman yoke at all hazards, from which he

at first tried to dissuade them. At the outbreak of the Judeo-Roman war (66) he was entrusted by the Sanhedrin with the governorship of Galilee, where he fortified various military positions, and drilled an army of 100,000 men. When Jotapata was taken by Vespasian by storm, in 67, Josephus, who had defended it for forty-seven days, was taken prisoner to Rome, and after two years, when Vespasian was proclaimed emperor (69) in harmony with a prediction made to him by Josephus when captured, he obtained his liberty. He went with Titus to Palestine, remained in his train till the close of the war, and accompanied him to Rome for the triumph after the fall of Jerusalem, in 70. His chief works are "The History of the Jewish War" and "The Jewish Antiquities," both of which are written in clear and pure style, his descriptions being remarkably vivid.

Justin Martyr, one of the earliest apologists of Christianity; born of Greek parents at Flavia Neapolis, in Palestine, about 100. He devoted himself to the study of philosophy, and became an adherent and teacher of the Platonic system. Originally a pagan, he afterward embraced Christianity, for the defense of which and his opposition to paganism he is said to have been martyred in Rome under Marcus Aurelius.

Kitto, John, an English compiler; born at Plymouth, England, Dec. 4, 1804; died at Cannstadt, Germany, Nov. 25, 1854. In 1829 he went with a private missionary party to Bagdad. Although a layman, he was made D. D. by the University of Giessen in 1844. He published "The Pictorial Bible" and the "Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature."

Knox, John, the greatest of the Scottish Reformers; born at Gifford, in East Lothian, Scotland, in 1505; died in November, 1572. Was ordained a priest about 1530, openly renounced the Roman Catholic religion in 1542, and was appointed chaplain to Edward VI about 1551. In 1559 he became the master spirit of the Reformation in Scotland.

Lang, Andrew, a Scottish miscellaneous writer; born at Selkirk, Scotland, March 31, 1844. Entered Baliol College, Oxford, in 1863; having been graduated with a classical first class, in 1868 he was elected a fellow of Merton College. He translated the "Odyssey" with Professor Butcher, and the "Iliad" with Walter Leaf and Ernest Myers.

Lange, Johann Peter, a German Protestant theologian; born at Sonnhorn, Prussia, April 10, 1802; died at Bonn, July 9, 1884. Was professor of theology at Zürich (1841), and later (1854) at Bonn. He published the commentary "Bibelwerk" (1856-76: English translation by Schaff).

Leo I, Flavius (400-474), Byzantine emperor, native of Thrace; was the first emperor of Constantinople crowned by a bishop. He defeated the Huns in Dacia, but while on an expedition to reconquer Africa his fleet was destroyed by the Vandals, off the coast of Carthage.

Leo VI, surnamed The Wise and The Philosopher, Byzantine emperor (886-911), son of Basil I. He died in 911.

Luthardt, Christoph Ernst (1823-1902), Lutheran theologian; was born at Maroldsweisach, Franconia, Germany. Became professor at Leipzig, where he died. His works display a clear and well-informed mind, and have enjoyed a vast popularity.

Luther, Martin, German Reformer; born at Eisleben, Prussian Saxony, Nov. 10, 1483; died there, Feb. 18, 1546. His early education was obtained at Magdeburg and at Eisenbach; in 1501 he entered the University of Erfurt, took the bachelor's degree in 1502 and the master's in 1505. In 1508 Luther was called to the chair of philosophy at the University of Wittenberg. His first important action in the direction of ecclesiastical reform was his publication, Oct. 31, 1517, on the church door at Wittenberg, of ninety-five theses against the sale of indulgences by the Dominican Tetzel. This has been called the birthday of the Reformation. The doctrines most emphasized by Luther were the supremacy of the Word of God, righteousness by faith, and the equal freedom and value of all men in God's sight. In him were combined a penetrating insight into facts, a lofty courage, indefatigable energy, strong faith, and a sincere and simple piety. The Lutheran translation of the whole Bible into German, completed in 1532, was published in 1534.

Macarius the Elder, or, the Egyptian, born about 300, in Upper Egypt; died 391, in the desert of Scetis. Grew up as a pupil of Antonius; was ordained priest in 340, and directed the monastic community of Scetis for half a century. Several monasteries in the Libyan Desert still bear his name.

Maccabees, Books of the, the last two books of the Apocrypha. They contain a record of the historic struggles of the Maccabees from 168 to 135 B. C. The first book was written in Hebrew, the second in Greek. The second chapter of the latter contains an account of the hiding of the ark of the covenant in Mt. Nebo, by Jeremiah, just before the seventy years' captivity.

Mansi, Giovanni Dominico, born at Lucca, Italy, Feb. 16, 1692; died there, Sept. 27, 1769. He early entered the *Congregatio Matris Dei*, became archbishop of his native city, and developed an astonishing literary activity. He published new and valuable critical editions of the works of Dom Calmet, Baronius, Baluze, Fabricius, and others; but his greatest literary undertaking was a history of the church councils, which he did not complete.

Mather, Cotton, American clergyman and author; born at Boston, Mass., Feb. 12, 1663; died there, Feb. 13, 1728. Took his B. A. when less than fifteen years and six months old; was ordained, as joint pastor with his father, May, 1685, and held that position until his death. He wrote a book on witchcraft, and is known to have been in full sympathy with the Salem witchcraft crusade of 1692, in which a score were put to death, most of them by hanging. As an author, he was learned and voluminous, three hundred eighty-two of his printed works having been catalogued.

Maximus, bishop of Turin, lived in the middle of the fifth century. His numerous writings consist of homilies and sermons, and are very rich in interesting notes on the history and character of Christian life in those days when the waves of migration rolled heavily over the country. The principal edition of his works is that of Rome (1794), reprinted by Migne.

Migne, Jacques Paul, a prominent Roman Catholic theologian; born at St. Flour, Cantal, France, Oct. 26, 1800; died in Paris, Oct. 25,

1875. Educated at the theological seminary in Orléans; became a professor at Châteaudun; was ordained priest (1824), and was curate at Puiseaux, in the diocese of Orléans. He went to Paris in 1833, where he founded a paper, *L'Univers Religieux*, and established a large publishing house.

Melanchthon, Philipp, the eminent friend and collaborator of Luther in the German Reformation; born at Bretten, Baden, Germany, Feb. 16, 1497; died at Wittenberg, April 19, 1560. He was educated at Tübingen; became professor of Greek at Wittenberg in 1518; revised the Augsburg Confession in 1530; drew up the Apology in 1530; and took part in the various Protestant conferences with the Roman Catholics.

Melito of Sardis, the only bishop of that place mentioned in the literary monuments of the first three centuries; flourished in the middle of the second century, and acquired great fame by his activity in the church and in literature. Of his numerous works, only fragments have come down to us, collected by Routh; but both Eusebius and Jerome have given complete lists of them.

Miller, William, born in Pittsfield, Mass., February, 1782; died in Low Hampton, N. Y., Dec. 20, 1849. Receiving a captain's commission, he entered the army in 1810. On his return from the army, he moved to Low Hampton, N. Y., in 1812. From infidelity, he finally became an earnest student of the Bible. In 1836 his lectures on the prophecies and the second advent were printed in some of the public journals of the day, and were afterward issued in book and pamphlet form. His work, culminating in the great advent movement of 1840-44, resulted in an increased interest in the study of the Bible, particularly of the prophecies.

Milman, Henry Dart, D. D., church historian; born in London, Feb. 10, 1791; died at Sunninghill, near Ascot, Sept. 24, 1868. Was educated at Eton and at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he was graduated in 1814. In 1821 he was elected professor of poetry at Oxford; in 1835 he was made canon of Westminster and rector of St. Margaret's. In 1840 he published the "History of Christianity Under the Empire," and later his "History of Latin Christianity."

Montalembert, Chas. Forbes de, born in London, April 15, 1810; died in Paris, March 12, 1870. A French historian, orator, publicist, and politician (representing the Roman Catholic and clerical interest). He was educated in England by his grandfather, James Forbes. In 1828 he accompanied his father to Stockholm, where he made his literary début. He maintained the Gallican view concerning the church and the authority of the Pope.

Mosheim, Johann Lorenz von, the most learned theologian of the Lutheran Church of his age, and author of "Institutiones Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ;" born at Lübeck, Germany, Oct. 9, 1693 or 1694; died at Göttingen, Sept. 9, 1755. He entered the university of Kiel in 1716; in 1719 he became a member of the faculty of philosophy, and in 1723 accepted a call as professor of theology at Helmstädt, and professor at Göttingen in 1747.

Nazianzen, Gregory, one of the Fathers of the Eastern Church; born at Nazianzus, Cappadocia, about 325; died about 390. He was

leader of the orthodox party at Constantinople (379), and was made bishop of Constantinople in 380.

Neander, Johann August Wilhelm, German church historian; born at Göttingen, Germany, Jan. 16, 1789; of Jewish parents; died at Berlin, July 14, 1850. After being baptized in 1806, he was appointed extraordinary professor of theology at Heidelberg in 1812, and at Berlin professor of church history (1813-50). His chief work is his "General History of the Christian Religion and Church," a production of such value and merit as to earn for its author the title "prince of church historians."

Neville, George, an English archbishop; born about 1433; died June 8, 1476. Was younger brother of the Earl of Warwick. He became archbishop of York in 1465, and was lord chancellor (1460-67).

Olshausen, Hermann, a German Protestant theologian; born at Odeslohe, Germany, in 1796. Was appointed professor of theology at Königsberg in 1827. He published a "Biblical Commentary on All the New Testament," which has been highly commended, and other religious treatises. Died at Erlangen in 1839.

Origen, surnamed Adamantius, was probably born at Alexandria, 185 or 186, and died at Tyre, probably 253. One of the Greek Fathers of the church. He was educated at Alexandria, and was head of the celebrated catechetical school in that city from about 211 until 231 or 232. He was an extremely prolific author, and wrote on a great variety of subjects pertaining to theology.

Paris, Matthew, born in the beginning of the thirteenth century; died 1259. One of the most learned men of his age. He became a monk at St. Albans in 1217. His great work is the "Historia Major," or "Chronica Majora."

Peter, bishop of Alexandria, succeeded Theonas in 300. He was beheaded in the reign of Maximinus II, in 311. He is eulogized by Eusebius.

Philaret, Vasili Drosdoff (1783-1867), Russian ecclesiastic; became archbishop of Tver in 1819, and metropolitan of Moscow in 1825. He used his great influence in favor of the abolition of serfdom.

Philastrius, a noted heretic-hunter of his time; born probably in Italy; died as bishop of Brescia, July 18, 387. Especially noticeable are his attacks on the Arian bishop, Auxentius, the predecessor of Ambrose, and his appearance at the council of Aquileia (381), where the two Arian bishops, Palladius and Secundianus, were condemned.

Philo Judæus, a Hellenistic philosopher and theologian; born probably at Alexandria, about 20 B. C.; died about 40 A. D. Went to Rome about 40 A. D., at the head of an embassy of five Jews, to plead with Caligula for the uninterrupted exercise of their religion. Very little is known of his life.

Photius, a celebrated Byzantine prelate and scholar; born in the first decade of the ninth century; died in 891. Held the lay offices of captain body-guard and chief secretary to the emperors Michael III, Basilius the Macedonian, and Leo the Philosopher; was raised to the patriarchal dignity in 857, and held the office for ten years, when he was deposed.

Pliny, The Younger, born at Como, Italy, 62; died in 113. A Roman author, nephew of the elder Pliny. He was a consul in 100, and later, governor of Bithynia and Pontica. His "Epistles" and a eulogy of Trajan have been preserved. The most celebrated of his letters is one to Trajan concerning the treatment of the Christians in his province.

Powell, Baden, an English scientific writer; born in London, Aug. 22, 1796; died there, June 11, 1860. Was graduated at Oxford in 1817, and was professor of geometry at Oxford from 1827 until his death. His works are numerous.

Prideaux, Humphrey, a learned English divine and historian; born at Padstow, in Cornwall, in 1648. Was educated at Oxford. He opposed the acts of James II which caused the revolution of 1688. One of his principal works is the "History of the Connection of the Old and New Testament," which was much esteemed and has often been reprinted. He died in 1724.

Prynne, William, Puritan pamphleteer and lawyer; born at Swainswick, Somerset, England, 1600; died in London, Oct. 24, 1669. Was graduated at Oxford University in 1621, entered Lincoln's Inn in the same year, and was afterward called to the bar. He was imprisoned twice, but after his release in 1652, was appointed by Charles II keeper of the records in the Tower.

Purchas, Samuel, born at Thaxted, Essex, England, in 1577; died at London, September, 1626. An English clergyman and author, best known from his works of travel. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was graduated M. A. in 1600, and some time afterward B. D., with which degree he was also admitted at Oxford in 1615, and in that same year was collated to the rectory of St. Martin's, Ludgate, London.

Ranke, Leopold von, a celebrated German historian; born at Wiehe, Germany, Dec. 31, 1795; died at Berlin, May 23, 1886. Was educated at Leipzig; became extraordinary professor of history at Berlin in 1825, and retired from his professorship in 1871. He wrote many works, among which his "German History in the Period of the Reformation" added to his fame.

Ritschl, Friedrich Wilhelm, a German philologist, and professor of classical literature at Bonn; was born in Thuringia, Germany, in 1806. He published several critical treatises on the classics, and a number of antiquarian works. Died Nov. 9, 1876.

Ruinart, Thierry, born at Rheims, France, June 10, 1657; died in the monastery of Hautvillers, in the vicinity of his native city, Sept. 27, 1709. In 1674 he entered the Congregation of St. Maur, and in 1682 he settled at St. Germain-des-Prés as the pupil, and soon as the friend and coworker, of Mabillon. His first great work was the "Acta primorum Martyrum."

Schaff, Philip, a German-American church historian, theologian, and miscellaneous writer; born at Chur, Switzerland, Jan. 1, 1819; died at New York, Oct. 20, 1893. Was graduated at the University of Berlin in 1841. In 1844 he accepted a professorship in the theological seminary of the German Reformed Church of the United States, at Mer-

cersburg, Pa. He removed to New York City in 1863, and was appointed professor of sacred literature in Union Theological Seminary there in 1870. He was president of the American committee for the revision of the authorized version of the Bible.

Sears, Barnas, distinguished as an educator; born at Sandisfield, Mass., Nov. 19, 1802; died at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., July 6, 1880. Was graduated (1825) at Brown University, and took a course in theology at Newton Theological Seminary. He was appointed secretary and executive agent of the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1848, and in 1855 was elected president of Brown University. In 1857 he resigned to become general agent of the Peabody Educational Fund. He wrote a "Life of Luther."

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, a distinguished philosopher; born in Corduba, Spain, about 8 B. C.; died by suicide at his villa near Rome, 65 A. D. He was a senator under Caligula. In 41 he was banished to Corsica, but in 49 was recalled. In 54 he obtained virtual control of the government, which he exercised in concert with the pretorian prefect Burrus.

Severus, Sulpicius, a Christian historian; born in Aquitania, Gaul, about 363; was the author of "Historia Sacra," and a "Life of Saint Martin," in Latin. He has been styled "the Christian Sallust." Died about 410.

Shepard, Thomas, Puritan, born at Towcaster, England, Nov. 5, 1605; died at Cambridge, Mass., Aug. 25, 1649. Was graduated M. A. at Emmanuel College, Oxford, in 1627; employed as chaplain to Sir Richard Darly for a year, and in 1634 sailed for America. He played a prominent part in the synod at Cambridge, which ended the Antinomian controversy.

Sidonius Apollinaris, a Christian author; born at Lyons about 430; died in 482 or 484. Was descended from a noble family, received a careful education, and was appointed governor of Rome in 467, and afterward raised to the rank of a patrician and senator. In 472 he succeeded Eparchius as bishop of Clermont.

Socrates, a Greek church historian; born in Constantinople about 380, and died after 440. His work is a continuation of that of Eusebius, and covers the period from 306 to 439.

Sozomen, Salamanes Hermias, an ecclesiastical historian; born probably near Gaza, Palestine, about 400; died about the middle of the fifth century. He was the author of a church history (edited by Valerius in 1659).

Spangenberg, Augustus Gottlieb, born July 15, 1704, at Klettenberg, Prussia; died Sept. 13, 1792, at Berthelsdorf, Saxony. Was graduated in 1726 at the University of Jena as master of arts. In 1732 he was induced to accept the position of adjunct of the theological faculty of the University of Halle, and superintendent of the schools connected with Francke's Orphan-House. His work in America was particularly distinguished.

Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn, an English divine, historian, and theological writer; born at Alderley, England, Dec. 13, 1815; died at Lon-

don, July 18, 1881. Was a tutor in Oxford (1841-51), and professor of ecclesiastical history (1856-63), and was appointed dean of Westminster in 1864. He traveled extensively, and delivered many sermons and addresses, which were later published.

Stubbs, Philip (about 1555-93), Puritan pamphleteer. He wrote many works, one of the chief being "Anatomic of Abuses."

Sylvester I, bishop of Rome (314-335), the principal event of whose pontificate was the council of Nicæa (325), which defined the articles of the Christian faith, and also determined the order of the hierarchy in the various provinces of the empire. The epistles and decretals attributed to Sylvester are now considered apocryphal.

Tertullian, a celebrated ecclesiastical writer, one of the Fathers of the Latin Church; born at Carthage, about 150; died about 230. His writings are very numerous. He was converted to Christianity about 192; lived in Rome and Carthage; became a Montanist about 203.

Theodore of Tarsus, an English prelate, of Greek origin; archbishop of Canterbury (668-690). Died in 690.

Theodoret, a Greek exegete, preacher, and church historian; born at Antioch about 390; died about 457. Was a member of the School of Antioch. About 423 he became bishop of Cyprus, was deposed about 448, and was restored by the council of Chalcedon in 451. He wrote commentaries, controversial works, and a continuation of the history of Eusebius.

Theodosius I, The Great, Roman emperor; born at Cauca, in northern Spain, about 346; died at Milan, Jan. 17, 395. Was made joint emperor by Gratian and ruler over the East in 379; and defeated the Goths and other invaders. He exercised as great an influence on the religious as on the political affairs of the realm, being an ardent supporter of orthodoxy against Arianism, other heresies, and paganism. He was of a savage temper: in 390, to punish the Thessalonians for a riot, he invited them to the games of the circus, and there had them butchered to the number of seven thousand or more.

Theophilus, a turbulent ecclesiastic, who became bishop of Alexandria in 385. He condemned the writings of Origen, and persecuted the Origenists. He was the chief agent in the banishment of Chrysostom (403). Died in 412.

Totastus (Alphonsus Abulensis), an eminent Spanish theologian; born in New Castle about 1400. Became bishop of Avila. Died in 1445, leaving many works, among which are "Commentaries on the Scriptures."

Twisse, William, D. D., born at Speenham-Land, Berkshire, England, 1575; died in London, July 20, 1646. Was a fellow of New College, Oxford. In 1604 he proceeded to D. D., and then became chaplain to the princess-palatine, daughter of James I. He was of German descent, noted as a high Calvinist, and distinguished himself by his writings against Arminianism.

Tyndale, William, an English Reformer, and translator of the Bible; born in Gloucestershire, England, about 1484; executed at Vilvorde, near Brussels, Oct. 6, 1536. Was ordained priest about 1521;

left England for the Continent in 1524, and settled in Cologne, whence he was expelled. He took refuge in Worms, where he published his octavo edition of the New Testament in 1526. His translation of the Pentateuch appeared at Marburg in 1530. He was arrested at the instance of Henry VIII, May 24, 1535.

Usher, James, a British prelate, theologian, chronologist, and scholar; born at Dublin, Ireland, Jan. 4, 1580; died at Reigate, Surrey, England, March 20, 1656. He took the degree of M. A. at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1600; was regius professor of divinity there (1607-20); became archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland in 1624 or 1625; was preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, London, from 1647 until shortly before his death.

Valens, Roman emperor of the East; born at Cibalæ, in Pannonia, about 328; killed in the battle of Adrianople, Aug. 9, 378. Was made emperor in 364, terminated the troubles with Persia by a truce in 377, and permitted the Goths to settle south of the Danube in 376. The Goths revolted under Frithigern in 377 and overcame the generals of the emperor.

Valentinian I, born at Cibalæ, Pannonia, about 321; died at Bregetio, Nov. 17, 375. A Roman officer, proclaimed emperor by the army in 364. He associated with himself his younger brother, Valens, as emperor of the East, and retained the West. He was actively engaged in strengthening the northern frontiers against the barbarians.

Verstegan, Richard, an English antiquary, of Dutch extraction; born in London. He removed to Antwerp, where he published his principal work, entitled "A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence Concerning the Most Noble and Renowned English Nation" (1605). Died about 1635.

Victorin, bishop of Petau, a city of Pannonia, on the Drave; flourished about 290. According to Cassiodorus and Jerome, he was a Greek by birth, understood Greek better than Latin, and taught rhetoric before he became a bishop.

Vossius, Isaak (1618-89), Dutch philologist, son of Gerhard, born at Leyden, Netherlands. He traveled extensively over Europe, collecting MSS. He settled in England (1670), and was appointed canon of Windsor (1673). His works include scientific treatises.

Wake, William, D. D., archbishop of Canterbury; born at Blandford, England, in 1657; died at Lambeth, Jan. 24, 1737. Was educated at Oxford; was successively D. D. and canon of Christ Church (1689), dean of Exeter (1701), bishop of Lincoln (1705), and archbishop of Canterbury (1716).

Walch, Christian Wilhelm Franz, was born at Jena, in 1726. Was the author of several valuable works on ecclesiastical history, theology, and ancient literature; among the most important of these are his "History of the Jewish Patriarchs Mentioned in the Books of Roman Law," "Compendium of the Most Modern Ecclesiastical History," and a "History of Heresies, Schisms, and Religious Controversies Down to the Reformation." Died in 1784.

Webster, Daniel, a famous American statesman, orator, and lawyer; born at Salisbury, N. H., Jan. 18, 1782; died at Marshfield, Mass.,

Oct. 24, 1852. Was a member of Congress from Massachusetts (1823-27); was Whig United States senator from Massachusetts (1827-41); became famous for his constitutional speeches in reply to Hayne in 1830, and in opposition to Calhoun in 1833. He was Secretary of State (1841-43, also 1850-52).

Wilberforce, Samuel, D. D., born at Clapham, near London, Sept. 7, 1805; killed by a fall from his horse, near Dorking, England, July 19, 1873. Was graduated at Oriel College, Oxford, 1826; was rector of Brighthstone, Isle of Wight (1830-40), and of Alverstok (1840-45), being also during this period successively archdeacon of Surrey, canon of Winchester, and dean of Westminster. In 1845 he became bishop of Oxford, and in 1869 bishop of Winchester.

Wilson, Daniel, D. D., bishop of Calcutta; born at Spitalfields, London, July 2, 1778; died in Calcutta, Jan. 2, 1858. Was educated at Oxford; was tutor and vice-principal of St. Edmund's Hall (1807-12); curate in London (1812-24); vicar of Islington (1824-32), when he was consecrated bishop of Calcutta and metropolitan of India. His publications are numerous.

Wood, Anthony, an English antiquary; born at Oxford, England, Dec. 17, 1632; died there, Nov. 28, 1695. Was educated at Oxford, and was author of the "History and Antiquities of Oxford," also of "Athenæ Oxonienses," a personal history of distinguished Oxonians between 1500 and 1690.

Wyclif, John, a celebrated English Reformer; born at Spreswel (thought to be either Hipswell or Barford), Yorkshire, England, about 1324; died at Lutterworth, Leicestershire, Dec. 31, 1384. Was called "the Morning Star of the Reformation." He was a fellow, and later (1360) master, of Balliol College, Oxford. He made the first complete translation of the Bible into English (about 1382) from the Vulgate, assisted by Nicholas, of Hereford. He wrote many tracts and sermons.

Zahn, Theodor (1838), German theologian; was born at Mörs, in Prussia. He became professor of theology in Kiel (1871), in Erlangen (1878), and in Leipzig (1888). His works on the canon of the New Testament have gained him a high reputation.

Zwingli, Huldreich, a famous Swiss Reformer; born at Wildhaus, an Alpine village in the canton of Gall, Switzerland, Jan. 1, 1484; died Oct. 11, 1531, on the battle-field of Kappel. Was educated at Bern, Vienna, and Basel. In 1506 he was called to be pastor of Glarus; became preacher at Einsiedeln in 1516, and at Zürich in 1518. He accompanied the Zürichers against the forces of the Forest Cantons in 1531.

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